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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

MOST REV. JAMES USSHER, D. D.

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

AND

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

VOLUME XI.

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THE WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

MOST REV. JAMES USSHER, D.D.,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY

CHARLES RICHARD ELRINGTON, D.D.,

LATE REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,
AND RECTOR OF ARMAGH.

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

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ANNALIUM

PARS POSTERIOR,

IN QUA,

PRÆTER MACCABAICAM

ET

NOVI TESTAMENTI HISTORIAM,

IMPERII ROMANORUM CÆSARUM
SUB CAIO JULIO ET OCTAVIANO ORTUS,
RERUMQUE IN ASIA ET ÆGYPTO GESTARUM CONTINETUR

CHRONICON:

AB

ANTIOCHI EPIPHANIS REGNI EXORDIO, USQUE AD IMPERII VESPASIANI
INITIA ATQUE EXTREMUM TEMPLI ET REIPUBLICÆ JUDAICÆ
EXCIDIUM, DEDUCTUM.

JACOBO USSERIO ARMACHANO

DIGESTORE.

LONDINI.
1654.

ANNALIUM

PARS POSTERIOR.

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ANNALES
NOVI TESTAMENTI.

ÆTAS MUNDI SEPTIMA.

4041. Quum longo jam tempore Saulus Damasci evangelium prædicavisset, inierunt Judæi illum interimendi consilium. Hi ab Aretæ regis Arabiæ Petrææ (qui Herodis tetrarchæ exercitum nuper fuderat) præfecto, præsidio urbem Damascenorum tenente adjuti observabant portas die ac nocte, ut eum prehensum interimerent. Verum a discipulis e fenestra per murum fune in sporta nocte demissus, ex eorum insidiis evasit[a].

Primo igitur apostolatus sui triennio apud Damascenos exacto, rediit Saulus Hierosolymam, ut viseret Petrum: et permansit apud eum dies quindecim[b].

Ibi quum tentaret se propius adjungere discipulis, timebant omnes, non credentes eum esse discipulum. Sed Barnabas acceptum eum duxit ad apostolos (Petrum videlicet, et Jacobum fratrem Domini:) neminem enim ex apostolis alium tum ille vidit[c]; et exposuit eis, quomodo

[a] Act. cap. 9. ver. 23, 24, 25. 2 Corinth. cap. 11. ver. 32, 33.
[b] Galat. cap. 1. ver. 18. [c] Id. ibid. ver. 19.

in via vidisset Dominum, et quod locutus esset ei; et quomodo Damasci libere locutus esset in nomine Jesu[d].

Saulus Hierosolymis libere in nomine Domini Jesu loquebatur, et disceptabat cum Hellenistis: (sive Judæis qui Græca lingua utebantur; ut Syrus recte hic est interpretatus:) illi vero conabantur eum interimere[e].

Orans in templo Saulus extra se raptus est, et vidit Dominum dicentem sibi: "Festina, et exi cito Hierosolymis; quoniam non excipient testimonium tuum de me." Cui ille: "Domine, ipsi sciunt me pertraxisse in carcerem et verberibus affecisse per singulas synagogas eos qui credebant in te. Et quum effunderetur sanguis Stephani martyris tui, ego quoque adstabam et custodiebam pallia eorum qui interficiebant eum." Et dixit ei Dominus: "Proficiscere[f]: nam ego te procul ad gentes emittam."

Fratres vero Hierosolymitani deduxerunt eum Cæsaream, et emiserunt in patriam suam Tarsum[g]. Venitque in regiones Syriæ et Ciliciæ, hactenus ignotus facie ecclesiis Judææ; quæ audientes solum, eum nunc evangelizare fidem quam olim vastabat, Deum de illo glorificabant[h].

Ecclesiæ autem per totam Judæam et Galilæam et Samariam habentes pacem ædificabantur: et pergentes in timore Domini et consolatione Sancti Spiritus, multiplicabantur[i].

Herodi Agrippæ regi ex Cypro nata est filia Drusilla, nupta postea Felici[k]; quæ moriente patre sexennis erat[l].

Caligula Macronem, cui Ægyptus mandata fuerat, (sexennio, quod Flacci Abillii præfecturæ a Tiberio præstitutum fuerat, jam exacto) et uxorem ejus Enniam, quorum opera ipse imperium consecutus fuerat, ad mortem voluntariam adegit[m].

[d] Act. cap. 9. ver. 26, 27.
[e] Id. ibid. ver. 29.
[f] Act. cap. 22. ver. 17—21.
[g] Ibid. cap. 9. ver. 30.
[h] Galat. cap. 1. ver. 21, 22, 23.
[i] Act. cap. 9. ver. 31.
[k] Act. cap. 24. ver. 24.
[l] Joseph. lib. 18. cap. 7. et lib. 19. cap. ult.
[m] Philo, de legat. ad Caium; et lib. in Flaccum. Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 26. Dio, lib. 59. pag. 647.

Flaccus, qui Ægypto tum præerat, interfecto Macrone cui maxime fidebat, a Caligula imperatore male sibi metuit. Qua occasione arrepta, Dionysius, Lampo et Isidorus illi persuaserunt ut populum Alexandrinum, ab Augusto et ejus familia in honore habitum, beneficio aliquo sibi conciliaret; nihil vero gratius illis se posse facere, quam si eos sinat in Judæos sævire. Quorum et ille sententiam est secutus[n].

Caligula Soæmo Arabum Ituræorum regnum, Cotyi Armeniam minorem ac deinde nonnullas Arabiæ partes, Rhymetalci Cotyis ditionem, Polemonis filio paternum (Ponti) imperium ex senatusconsulto tribuit[o].

Anno imperii C. Caligulæ secundo, veniam ab eo Herodes Agrippa impetravit domum redeundi, regni ordinandi gratia; eo peracto, reversurum se pollicitus[p]. Suasit vero illi imperator, ut navigatione compendiaria usus, expectatis Etesiis ventis, recta peteret Alexandriam; pedestri itinere inde minore cum difficultate in patriam rediturus. Cui ille obtemperans, quum descendisset Puteolos, et naves Alexandrinas in portu paratas ad solvendum invenisset, post paucos dies Alexandriam appulit[q].

Alexandrini, ob inveteratam cum Judæis simultatem ægre ferentes regem ipsorum quempiam extitisse, Agrippam in gymnasio sermonibus scurrilibus et mimographorum ludicris carminibus traducebant. Propulsum quoque ad gymnasium quendam insanum nomine Carabam, qui interdiu noctuque nudus oberrabat per compita, in superiore loco statuerunt, ut spectari posset ab omnibus. Mox capiti diadema imponunt papyraceum, pro paludamento corpori stoream induunt: pro sceptro frustum arundinis humi sublatum quidam ei dedit in manum. Sic ornatum regiis insigniis, et in regem transformatum more histrionico, adolescentes perticas in humeris gestantes stipabant pro satellitio: tum alii salutatum accedebant, alii sibi reddi jura petebant, alii consulebant eum de republica. Post hæc acclamatum est a circumstantibus, magna voce

[n] Philo, in Flaccum.

[o] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 649.

[p] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 8.

[q] Philo, in Flaccum.

Marim appellantibus: quod nomen Syrorum lingua Dominum significat[r]. Atque ita Judæorum rex eodem modo ab aliis est irrisus, quo regiæ dignitati veri sui Domini Jesu Christi ipsi Judæi ante quinquennium illuserant.

Judæi Alexandrini Agrippam de insidiis per Flaccum præsidem in ipsorum perniciem paratis edocuerunt: scriptumque quod Flacco dederant, Caio in principatus sui exordio transmittendum, regi tradiderunt. Hoc ad Caium se missurum ille est pollicitus, simulque significaturum, ab initio illud Judæos mittere voluisse; sed impeditos præsidis malevolentia fuisse, quo minus tempestive id facerent[s].

Petrus apostolus, ecclesias Judææ, Galilææ et Samariæ visitans, devenit ad sanctos qui habitabant Lyddæ: ibique Æneam, ab annis jam octo decumbentem in grabato, a paralysi, qua tenebatur, sanavit. Quo viso miraculo, omnes qui Lyddam et agrum Saronitanum[t] incolebant conversi sunt ad Dominum[u].

Discipula quædam, Syriaco nomine Tabitha Græco Dorcas (id est Caprea) dicta, bonis operibus et eleemosynarum largitione celebris, Joppæ ex morbo decessit. Quum autem Lydda esset prope Joppen, discipuli, audito Petrum illic esse, duos viros miserunt ad eum, rogantes ne cunctaretur usque ad ipsos progredi. Qui adveniens, quum in genua procumbens esset precatus, mortuam vitæ restituit. Id autem innotuit per totam Joppen: et multi crediderunt in Dominum. Mansitque ibi Petrus multos dies in domo Simonis cujusdam coriarii[w].

Alexandrinorum vulgus, summo mane in theatrum confluens, redempto jam Flacci præsidis favore, in proseuchis Judæorum dedicandas esse Cæsaris statuas unanimiter conclamavit. Quod præses, licet sciret non minus quam decies centena millia Judæorum incolere Alexandriam totamque regionem quanta patet a Catabathmo Libyæ

[r] Philo, in Flaccum.

[s] Philo, in Flaccum, et in legat. ad Caium.

[t] De quo, 1 Chronic. cap. 5. ver. 16. et cap. 27. ver. 29.

[u] Act. cap. 9. ver. 31—35. [w] Id. ibid. ver. 36—43.

usque ad terminos Æthiopiæ, nullo respectu securitatis publicæ habito, fieri permisit[x]. Illi vero conglobati in cohortes numerosissimas, proseuchas, quæ multæ in singulis urbis regionibus erant, aut arbustis succisis vastarunt, aut diruerunt funditus: quasdam etiam incenderunt injectis ignibus tanta rabie atque insania, ut in proxima quoque ædificia transiliret incendium. In proseuchis autem omnibus quas diruere incendereve non poterant, quod accolerentur magna Judæorum frequentia, effigies Caii statuerunt: in maxima vero ac celeberrima sublimem quadrigis aheneis; idque tam præpopero studio, ut, cum carerent novis quadrigiis, veteres æruginosas, auribus, caudis pedibusque mutilatas, e gymnasio raperent, olim dedicatas (ut ferebatur) Cleopatræ, quæ fuerat ultimæ hujus nominis reginæ proavia. Hæc vero existimabat Caius ex vehementi Alexandrinorum in ipsum studio profecta: quæ partim ex quotidianis actis cognoscebat transmissis sibi ab Alexandria, (et enim libentius lectitabat quam ullum poema vel historiam) partim ex nonnullis servis domesticis, quorum plerique erant Ægyptii, eadem cum ipso laudare aut irridere solitis[y].

C. Caligula, sorore Drusilla defuncta, justitium indixit: in quo risisse, lavisse, convivio quemquam accepisse, capitale fuit[z].

Ægypti præses Flaccus edictum proposuit, in quo Judæos qui cives erant Alexandrini peregrinos appellabat et exteros: ne causæ quidem dicendæ potestatem faciens, sed injudicatos condemnans. Quinque erant urbis illius regiones, a primoribus earum literis denominatæ: quarum duæ dicebantur Judaicæ, quod in his plurimi Judæi habitarent; quamvis et in aliis non pauci sparsim habuerint domicilia. Alexandrinorum igitur vulgus, licentiam grassandi in Judæos a Flacco nactum, e quatuor literis eos expulsos contrusit in unius partem angustam. Qui, quod plures essent quam ut is locus eos caperet, egrediebantur in litora et monumenta et sterquilinia, exuti rebus suis

[x] Philo, in Flaccum.
[y] Philo, in legat. ad Caium.
[z] Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 24. Dio, lib. 59. pag. 648.

omnibus. Inimici vero facto in desertas domos impetu, prædas tanquam jure belli partas dividebant: effractisque Judæorum officinis, quæ tum propter luctum mortis Drusillæ clausæ fuerant, hinc quoque plurima egesserunt, quæ per medium forum translata verterunt in usus proprios. Sed minus nocebant domorum plusquam quadringentæ direptiones, quam abrupta negotiatio: quum creditores amisissent pignora, nec sineretur ullus agricola, nauta, negotiator, opifex, exercere artes consuetas[a].

Tot myriadas virorum, mulierum, puerorumque in urbis angulum angustissimum, ceu pecora, compulsas, sperabant adversarii se intra paucos dies visuros acervatim jacere: aut fame necatos per ciborum inopiam, aut in loco æstuoso compressos, vitiato etiam per crebras respirationes circumvicino aere. Ne quis autem clanculum inde se proriperet, diligenter cavebant: et quotquot intercepissent, excruciatos prius mox enecabant, nullam ab eis abstinendo sævitiam. Alia manus circa portus fluminis insidiabatur Judæis appellentibus, et eorum mercimoniis: quibus in conspectu dominorum direptis, ipsos protrusos exurebant, constructo rogo e gubernaculis, contis, et navium tabulis. Alii media in urbe concremabantur miserrimo supplicii genere. Nam præ lignorum inopia sarmenta comportabantur, quibus accensis injiciebant miseros: qui semiustulati fumo magis quam igni necabantur. Multi etiam vivi loris laqueisque circa talos adstrictis per medium forum raptabantur, insultante vulgo et ne mortuis quidem parcente corporibus. Dissecta enim membratim frustatimque conculcabant tanta crudelitate, ut ne reliquias quidem ad sepulturam superesse sinerent[b]. Qui vero dolebant suorum vicem cognati amicique, confestim pœnas dabant suæ misericordiæ; arreptique flagris cædebantur, et post omnia tormenta quæ poterant excipere corporibus, tandem in crucem agebantur[c].

Ex senatu, quem Augustus constituerat publicum Judæorum concilium, Flaccus præses triginta octo compre-

[a] Philo, in Flaccum.

[b] Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

[c] Id. in Flaccum.

hensos in suis privatis ædibus confestim vinciri jussit: traductosque per medium forum senes reductis in tergum manibus, ligatos partim loris partim catenis ferreis, induxit in theatrum, statutosque coram inimicis eorum sedentibus, jussit nudatos concidi verberibus: atque ex his Euodium, Tryphonem, et Andron, in conspectu illorum qui bonis eos prius spoliaverant. Et licet mos esset in neminem damnatum animadvertere donec solemnes celebritates natalitiaque Augustorum festa præteriissent; ille tamen per eos ipsos dies (Caii natali in postremum Augusti mensis diem tum incidente) affligebat homines innoxios, ad hunc modum distributis spectaculis. Mane usque horam tertiam quartamve Judæi flagellabantur, suspendebantur, rotis alligabantur, damnabantur, per mediam orchestram ducebantur ad supplicium. Deinde inducebantur saltatores, mimi, tibicines, aliaque ludicra scenicorum certaminum. Ipsæ quoque mulieres non solum in foro, sed etiam in medio theatro tanquam captivæ corripiebantur, et ob quamvis calumniam in scenam trahebantur non sine gravissimis contumeliis: deinde cognito eas esse alterius generis, dimittebantur; multas enim quasi Judæas comprehendebant, priusquam rem diligentius dispicerent. Postquam autem Judaicæ comperiebantur, ex spectatoribus facti tyranni, jubebant eis suillas carnes offerri; quas quotcunque metu tormentorum gustabant, sine alia majore vexatione dimittebantur: quæ vero sibi temperabant, tortoribus tradebantur ad cruciatus maximos[d].

Accitus a præside Castus centurionum fidissimus, jubetur assumpto e sua cohorte audacissimo quoque in domos Judæorum irrumpere, scrutarique nunquid armorum ibi lateat. Quo propere mandata exequente, Judæi intima quæque aperientes scrutatoribus ostendebant: ubi mulierculæ inclusæ, nunquam e conclavi egredi solitæ, et virgines præ pudore declinantes aspectum etiam familiarium, tunc non solum ignotis verumetiam militari ferociæ spectabantur pavidæ. Nihilominus accurata facta scrutatione, non inveniebantur ista quæ quærebantur arma. Ægyptiis

[d] Philo, in Flaccum.

quidem paulo ante arma dempta fuerant per Bassum a Flacco jussum id curare. Sed tum videre licebat magnum navium numerum appulisse ad portus fluminis, plenarum omni armorum genere: quæ hominibus seditiosis, qui antea quoque sæpius defectiones tentarant, adimi par erat. Sed longe alia Judæorum erat ratio: qui defectionis nunquam suspecti, studia quotidiana quæstusque exercebant, ad concordiam et tranquillitatem civitatis facientia[e].

4042. Dum festi tabernaculorum solennitas per autumni æquinoctium a Judæis Alexandrinis tantopere afflictis intermitteretur, Flaccum præsidem a Stephanione liberto Tiberii Cæsaris convivio exceptum ex improviso Bassus centurio comprehendit; ad id faciendum, cum cohorte militum ex Italia a Caio missus. Cumque ora solvisset hyemis initio, marinis tempestatibus jactatus, post plurimos labores ægre in Italiam delatus est: ubi confestim a duobus infensissimis accusatoribus, Lampone et Isidoro (qui ipsum in Judæos incitaverant) exceptus est. Qui damnatus, omni patrimonio et bonis domesticis (quæ selectissima habuerat) exutus, in exilium actus est. Et quidem in insulam omnium sterilissimam Gyarum in Ægeo sitam deportatus fuisset: nisi deprecante Lepido pro Gyaro Andrum propinquam ei permissum esset incolere: ubi postea Caii jussu (ut et alii omnes honorati exules) occisus periit[f].

Agrippam regia dignitate præfulgentem videns Herodias soror ipsius, Herodis tetrarchæ uxor, invidia percita, non prius destitit quam viro persuasit ut Romam contenderent, eandem regiam dignitatem a Cæsare petituri. Agrippa, cognita eorum mente et apparatu, quamprimum eos e portu solvisse didicit, etiam ipse libertum suum Fortunatum Romam ad imperatorem misit cum muneribus et literis contra Herodem patruum scriptis. Ille Herodi ad Cæsarem, apud Baias Campaniæ oppidum amœnissimum tum agentem, admisso superveniens, Agrippæ literas reddidit; accusantes Herodem, quod prius cum Sejano conspirasset in Tiberium, et nunc iterum Artabano Partho faveret

[e] Philo, in Flaccum. [f] Id. ibid.

contra Caii novum imperium, tanto ad hoc comportato armorum apparatu, quantus instruendis virorum septuaginta millibus sufficeret. Quo commotus Caius, percontatus est Herodem, verane essent quæ nunciarentur de armorum numero. Quo annuente, (neque enim vera negare poterat) satis approbatam Caius putans defectionem, ademit illi Galilææ et Perææ tetrarchiam, quam postea ad Agrippæ regnum adjecit, pecunia quoque ejus illi donata. Herodem vero, perpetuo damnatum exilio, Lugdunum in Gallia relegavit. Cognito deinde sororem Agrippæ esse Herodiadem, pecuniam ei propriam concessit: et ratus non libenter fore marito calamitatis sociam, in Agrippæ gratiam se illi parsurum promisit. Illa Caio pro hac indulgentia gratias egit; verum ea se in præsentia uti non posse professa est: quod nefas existimaret, maritum in hac calamitate deserere, cujus fortunæ, dum floreret, ipsa fuisset particeps. Quod ille indigne ferens, ipsam quoque cum marito in exilium ire jussit, et bona ejus Agrippæ largitus est[g]. Ita incesti sui connubii pœnas illi luerunt: post obtruncatum ab hoc Herode Johannem Baptistam annis octo post Christum Servatorem ludibrio ab eodem habitum[h].

Pontius Pilatus quoque, tantis irrogante Caio angoribus coarctatus est, ut propria se manu interfecerit: quemadmodum ex Romanis historicis Hieronymus in chronico, et ex Græcis Olympiadum scriptoribus refert in ecclesiastica sua historia Eusebius[i], cum Orosio[k], et Cassiodoro in chronico.

Caius Baiani sinus medium intervallum Puteolanas ad moles trium millium et sexcentorum fere passuum ponte conjunxit; in quo currum ejus, tum alia multa spoliorum instar subsequebantur, tum etiam ex Parthorum obsidibus Darius puer, Artabani regis filius: Dario et Xerxe non nisi ludibrii causa memorato, quia longe plus maris ipse ponte instravisset[l].

[g] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 9.
[h] Luc. cap. 23. ver. 11.
[i] Lib. 2. cap. 7.
[k] Lib. 7. cap. 5.
[l] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 1. Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 19. Dio, lib. 59. pag. 653.

Idem, obtentu Germanici belli, ultra transitum a se Rhenum parumper progressus, inde statim rediit, quasi in Britanniam iturus[l].

Lucius Vitellius ex Syria accersitus est a Caio, ut interficeretur[m]. Crimini enim ipsi dabatur, quod Tiridatem, Parthis a Tiberio regem missum, expelli ab illis sivisset[n].

Vitellio successorem in Syriam Caius misit Petronium[o]: Publium videlicet Petronium, (ut ex Philone, in legatione ad Caium, et Josepho[p] constat,) qui filius fortasse illius fuerit, de quo ad annum mundi 3983. ex Strabone dictum est; minime vero omnium Lucius ille Petronius, longe ante hoc tempus mortuus, quem "admodum humili loco natum ad equestrem ordinem pervenisse" memoravit Valerius Maximus[q]; uti opinatus est Baronius[r].

Vitellius ad Caium veniens, hoc modo neci se eripuit. Composuerat se longe quam gloria ejus ferret humiliori habitu, Caiique pedibus advolutus, effusis lachrymis, atque illum simul et Deum appellans sæpius et adorans, tandemque vovens si incolumis evasisset se ei sacrificaturum; ita hominem emollivit ac sibi placavit, ut non modo superstes maneret, sed etiam inter præcipuos posthac amicos haberetur[s]. Atque ita ille, miri in adulando ingenii, primus Caium adorari ut deum instituit: quum reversus ex Syria non aliter eum adire ausus esset quam capite velato, circumvertensque se, ac deinde procumbens[t]. Et quum postea Caius rem sibi esse cum Luna dixisset, percunctatusque esset Vitellium, vidissetne se cum dea congredi; ille quasi attonitus, oculis in terram demissis, tremens, exili voce respondit: "Solis, domine, vobis diis licet invicem videre[u]." Eoque facto initio Vitellius, qui in regendis provinciis prisca virtute egerat, omnes reliquos adulando superavit[x].

[l] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 656.
[m] Id. ibid. pag. 661.
[n] Dio, in excerptis, ab Henr. Valesio edit. pag. 670.
[o] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 11.
[p] Antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 6.
[q] Lib. 4. cap. 7.
[r] Ann. chron. 41. num. 4.
[s] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 661.
[t] Sueton. in A. Vitellio, cap. 2.
[u] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 661.
[x] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 661. Tacit. annal. lib. 6. cap. 32.

Ipse deinde Caius sibi sacerdos fuit, equumque suum collegam sacerdotii adscivit[y]. Mileti vero in Asia templum sibi extrui jussit: hanc urbem præ cæteris eligens, specie quidem quod Ephesum a Diana, Pergamum ac Smyrnam ab Augusto Tiberioque occupatas esse diceret; sed revera quia amplissimum ac pulcherrimum, quod Milesii Apollini ædificabant, suo nomini vindicare cupiebat[z]. Mileti quoque Didymeum peragere destinaverat[a].

4043. In Jamniam, urbem Judææ frequentem cum primis populo, subrepserant e finitimis regionibus inquilini; qui semper moliebantur aliquid adversus ritus Judaicos. Hi cum audirent ab advenis, quantopere Caius pro deo coli cuperet, et quam infensus universæ Judæorum genti esset; ex tempore aram excitarunt e luto formato in lateres, tantum ut molesti essent civibus. Hanc quum illi indignati e medio sustulissent; adversarii rem ad Capitonem quæstorem detulerunt, qui in Judæa exigendis tributis præerat. Ad Caium ille scripsit, exaggerando rem et amplificando. Caius vero pro altari lateritio subverso in Jamnia, colossum inauratum poni jussit in ipso templo Hierosolymitano: consultoribus usus, Helicone Ægyptio et Apelle tragœdo Ascalonita. Literis igitur de statua dedicanda ad Petronium Syriæ præsidem accuratissime scriptis, mandavit illi Caius, ut exercitus, contra irruptiones orientalium regum nationumque oppositi, dimidium ab Euphrate adversus Judæos duceret, ut prosequeretur statuam; non quo augustior dedicatio fieret, sed ut confestim periret siquis obsisteret. Sed neque statua transmissa fuit ex Italia, neque jussus est Petronius e tota Syria lectissimam sumere: alioqui præpropere violatis Judæorum legibus, exortus fuisset repentinus tumultus. Itaque Petronius in propinquo jussit parari statuam, et accitis e Phœnicia peritissimis artificibus præbuit materiam, officina Sidone instituta[b].

Interim contractis quantum poterat auxiliis, cum dua-

[y] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 662.
[z] Dio, in excerptis Valesii, pag. 670. et 673.
[a] Sueton. in C. Caligula, cap. 21.
[b] Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

bus Romanis legionibus hybernavit apud Ptolemaidem, primo vere bellum illaturus: quod et Caio significavit per literas. Qui collaudata ejus industria, hortatus est eum ad agendum gnaviter, et frangendam bello gentis contumaciam. Ita Josephus[c].

Inter Judæos et Græcos Alexandriam inhabitantes exorta seditione, terni ab utraque parte legati delecti ad Caium missi sunt. Judæorum legationis princeps erat Philo, vir per omnia clarissimus; Græcorum Apion[d]; qui Oasi in Ægypto natus, Alexandrinus dici maluit, quod ejus civitatis jure gauderet[e]. *Πλειστονίκην*, quasi sæpe victorem, cognominatum, inter alios refert Plinius, libro trigesimo septimo historiæ naturalis, capite quinto; in totius quoque operis ad Titum Vespasianum Cæsarem præfatione ista de eodem adjiciens: "Apion grammaticus, hic quem Tiberius Cæsar cymbalum mundi vocabat, quum tympanum potius videri posset, immortalitate donari a se scripsit, ad quos aliqua componebat." Qui et mendacissimum adversus Judæos commentarium edidit, cui in secundo contra eundem libro respondet Josephus: nam prior liber aliis Judaicæ gentis obtrectatoribus ab eo est oppositus.

Legati igitur Judæorum (quos quinque numero fuisse, sub finem libri de hac legatione a se scripti confirmat ipse Philo; non tres, ut Josephus voluit) ad deprecandum injurias quas quotidie patiebantur, medio hyemis ad Caium navigarunt. Placuitque offerri ei libellum continentem summam calamitatum, et earum deprecationem; ex prolixiore supplicatione, quam per Agrippam regem Judæi ad eum ante miserant, desumptam. Adversarii vero Heliconem Ægyptium, imperatoris cubiculo præfectum, sibi conciliarunt, non tantum pecunia, sed et spe honorum, quos ei pollicebantur se collaturos, quamprimum Caius veniret Alexandriam. Quem cum Judæorum legati placare et mollire desiderarent; nullum ad eum aditum invenire potuerunt[f].

Ipse Caius primum, dissimulato in Judæos odio, legatos

[c] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 11.
[d] Id. ibid. cap. 10.
[e] Joseph. lib. 2. contr. Apion.
[f] Philo, in legatione ad Caium.

eorum exceptos in Campo Martio, cum e maternis hortis exiret, hilari vultu resalutavit, et dextra innuit se propitium: missoque ad eos Homulo qui legationibus admittendis præerat, pollicitus est se cogniturum eorum causam per otium. Postea vero, cum hortos Mæcenatis et Lamiæ, qui et inter se et urbi propinqui erant, inviseret, et introducti legati eum reverenter adoravissent, atque Augusti imperatoris appellatione eum salutavissent; ringendo rogavit: "Vosne estis illi diis invisi, qui me omnium confessione deum declaratum soli aspernamini, mavultisque vestrum innominatum colere?" simulque sublatis ad cœlum manibus erupit in vocem, quam ne audire quidem fas est, nedum proloqui verbis totidem. Ac mox exorta est adversæ partis ingens lætitia: quæ deorum omnium illi acclamabat cognomina. His appellationibus gaudentem conspicatus Isidorus sycophanta amarulentus: "Magis," inquit, "detestareris, domine, istos eorumque tribules, si scires eorum erga te impietatem atque malevolentiam. Omnibus enim pro salute tua votivas cædentibus victimas, isti soli non sustinuerunt sacra facere. Cum dico, isti, de cunctis Judæis loquor." Tunc exclamaverunt unanimiter legati: "Domine Cai, calumniis petimur. Immolavimus hecatombas: libatoque ad aram sanguine, carnes domum non retulimus ad epulas, ut quorumdam est mos; sed integras victimas exurendas sacro igni tradidimus; idque ter; primum, quando successisti in imperium; iterum, quando gravem illum morbum evasisti, cui totus orbis condoluit: tertio, votum pro victoria Germanica." "Esto," inquit Caius, "sacra fecistis, sed alteri: mihi certe non sacrificastis." Ibi legatos horror pervasit, hac nova voce attonitos: ille interim villas obibat, inspectans aulas et conclavia, in imis ædibus et in cœnaculis; ubi legatos eum sequentes carptim interrogans, "cur abstinerent a porcina, et, quodnam jus Alexandrinæ civitatis prætenderent;" posita tandem ferocia, "Homines isti," inquit, "non tam mihi videntur mali quam miseri, qui sibi pesuaderi non sinunt, me esse naturæ divinæ participem." Simulque abiit et legatos jussit abscedere[g].

[g] Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

Agrippæ e regno suo reverso Caius tetrarchiam patrui sui Herodis (Lugdunum in exilium missi) donavit. Cum enim in Philippi tetrarchia per triennium regnasset; quarto jam anno accessit illi Herodis tetrarchia[g]. Quod beneficium, in literis ad Caium paulo post scriptis, ita ipse agnoscit: "Donasti[h] mihi regnum; qua sorte nulla inter mortales felicior: id quum prius unam regionem non excederet, adjunxisti mihi mox majorem alteram, Trachonitim et Galilæam."

Petronius honoratiores Judæorum sacerdotes et magistratus evocavit, indicaturus eis Caii mandata de dedicanda in templo statua; simulque suasurus ut patienter ferrent jussa domini, et caverent mala imminentia: paratum enim esse robur exercitus Syriaci ad edendas per totam eorum regionem strages maximas. Qui perculsi ad primam ejus rei mentionem, tanquam in præsenti calamitate obmutuere; quasi e fonte profundendo lachrymas, et capillos barbasque vellendo. Qui vero Hierosolymis cæteraque regione famam hujus conatus audierant, velut de communi sententia coorti, tesseram dante dolore publico, profecti sunt uno agmine, desertis oppidis, castellis et ædibus: continuatoque itinere contenderunt in Phœniciam, ubi tunc agebat Petronius. Ac primum tantus clamor cum fletu planctuque sublatus est, ut hebetaret aures præsentium. Secutæ sunt compellationes, et preces, quales dictare solent calamitosa tempora. Erant autem distributi in sex ordines, seniorum, juniorum, puerorum; rursum alia parte, anuum, mulierum, virginum. Ubi vero Petronius in loco superiore conspectus est, universi ordines velut ad unum edictum humi procubuerunt supplices cum ululatu quodam flebili; jussique surgere et accedere propius, vix tandem surrexerunt, et conspersi multo pulvere diffluentesque lachrymis, accedebant reductis more damnatorum ambabus manibus. Quorum miserabili supplicatione Petronius simul cum assessoribus commotus, consultatione habita, literas ad Caium mittendas curavit: quibus dedicatio statuæ dilata fuisse significabatur partim

[g] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.

[h] Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

propter opifices, certum temporis spatium ad colossum perficiendum necessario requirentes; partim propter convectionem frumenti, ad iter quod cum copiis suis in Ægyptum Caius instituere ferebatur necessariam. Maturas enim tum segetes fuisse: timendumque, ne deplorata religione Judæi vitam quoque contemnerent, et vastatis agris suasmet fruges late per campos collesque incenderent[i].

Acceptis literis, Caius ad tempus iram adversus Petronium tegebat implacabilem. Vehementer enim timebat præsides, quod illis promptum esset res novas moliri, præsertim in magnis provinciis apud magnos exercitus; qualis erat ad Euphratem tractus Syriæ. Delinito igitur per literas homine, laudabat in speciem ejus providentiam et in prospiciendis futuris solertiam: mandato tamen addito, ne messibus jam convectis ullam curam præverteret dedicationis negotio[k].

Ad Judæorum Alexandrinorum legatos pervenit tum hujus rei nuncius: jussisse Caium poni sibi colossum in adytis templi intimis, ascito in titulo novi Jovis cognomento. Quo illi attoniti, omnes simul conclave ingressi et inclusi deplorabant fortunam privatam atque publicam: Deum tamen servatorem non defore sperantes, qui sæpe gentem hanc eripuerit exitio[l].

Agrippam regem, qui horum omnium ignarus ad Caium salutandum more suo venerat, ille torve intuitus: "Boni," inquit, "honestique cives tui, qui soli ex omni hominum genere dedignantur Caium habere pro deo, videntur jam mortem sibi per contumaciam quærere: dum me jubente in ipsorum templo consecrari Jovis simulachrum, populariter ex urbe agrisque occurrunt specie supplicum, sed revera mandatum meum proculcaturi." Quibus auditis, rex horrore est correptus; et tremore membra quatiente solutisque nervis collapsus fuisset, ni eum sustentassent proximi: qui jussi domum illum retulerunt nil sentientem et subitanea vi mali sopitum ac stupidum. Ac Caius magis

[i] Philo, in legat. ad Caium. [k] Id. ibid.
[l] Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

etiam exasperabatur in gentis odium: "Si[m] Agrippa," inquiens, "familiaris et amicissimus plurimisque devinctus beneficiis, tantum tribuit patriis ritibus, ut ne verbo quidem eos violari ferat, sed deliquio pene exanimatus sit: quid expectandum est ab aliis, qui nihil habent quod se in diversum retrahat?"

Agrippa ad se reversus, prolixas pro gente sua ad Caium scripsit literas; (a Philone libro de legatione sua insertas:) quas hoc ille terminavit epilogo: "Quid[n] de me loquentur vel tribules, vel universi homines? Alterutrum enim sequetur, aut ut appeller meorum proditor, aut inter tuos amicos posthac non habear: quo utrolibet quid potest esse infelicius? Nam si adhuc in amicis numeror, proditionis insimulabor, si nec patriam indemnem, nec templum inviolatum præstitero; nam vos præpotentes soletis amicorum ad imperatoriam opem confugientium rebus consulere. Quod siqua in re animo tuo molestus sum; noli me vincire, ut Tiberius, sed ne toties vincula timeam, jube mox interimi; quid enim mihi vita opus est, cui spes unica salutis fuit in tua benevolentia?"

His literis Caius mitigatus, ut videbatur, respondit clementius; et Agrippæ donavit ceu maximam gratiam, ne fieret dedicatio; simulque scribi jussit Publio Petronio Syriæ præsidi, ne quid in Judæorum templo novaret. Ne tamen solida esset ea gratia, terrorem admiscuit sic scribens: "Quod si extra unam metropolim in finitimis urbibus quicumque volentes altaria templave aut statuas imaginesve mihi meisque ponere veriti fuerint; quisquis obstiterit plectatur continuo, aut ad me mittatur." Verum divina providentia factum est, ut nemo finitimorum quicquam moveret[o].

Peste apud Babylonem grassante, Judæorum multitudo inde Seleuciam migravit: quo et alia eorum multitudo, relicta Neerda, et aliis Babylonicæ provinciæ urbibus, ante quinquennium se contulerat. Seleuciæ vero semper Græcis male cum Syris conveniebat, Græcorum tamen

[m] Philo, de legat. ad Caium. [n] Id. ibid.
[o] Philo, de legat.

factione præponderante. Quo postquam a Judæis migratum est, eorum favore conditio Syrorum cœpit esse potior, aucta viris bellicosis et periculorum contemptoribus. Quare Græci succumbentes, et videntes se non posse recuperare dignitatem pristinam manente Judæorum et Syrorum consensu, suos quisque familiares Syros appellaverunt de pace et amicitia: id quod facile impetratum est. Nam quum utrinque primatibus commissum esset negotium, secuta est reconciliatio: quam ita demum ratam fore placuit, si utrique Judæos communibus prosequerentur odiis. Itaque eos improviso aggressi occiderunt supra quinquaginta virorum millia: neque ullus evasit, nisi quem amici aut vicini servavit misericordia. Hi deinde secesserunt Ctesiphontem urbem Græcanicam vicinam Seleuciæ; ubi quotannis rex hybernare est solitus, habens ibi majorem supellectilis partem repositam: ibique sedes fixerunt, tutos se rati regiæ majestatis reverentia. Cæterum Babyloniorum ac Seleuciensium terror omnes ejus tractus Judæos pervagatus est: quando quicquid erat Syrorum in illis regionibus cum Seleuciensibus conspiravit in eorum perniciem. Quo factum est ut plerique Neerdam et Nisibim se receperint, securitatem suam reponentes in earum munitionibus; quæ alioquin etiam habitabantur a viris bellicosissimis[p].

Romam Caius natali suo, qui postremus mensis Augusti dies fuit, ovans ingressus est[q].

4044. Alexandrinis legatis coram Caio comparentibus, Apion multa in Judæos jactavit crimina; interque cætera, quod Cæsarem non prosequerentur debitis honoribus; nam, cum quam late patet orbis Romanus Caio extruerentur templa et altaria, et pari honore coleretur cum cæteris numinibus, solos istos turpe putare dedicare illi statuas, aut jurare per nomen Cæsaris. His et multis aliis, quæ ad exasperandum Caium facerent, ab eo prolatis, quum respondere pararet Philo, repulsus est a Cæsare jubente illum abire, et per iracundiam vix temperante ab injuria. Ita vero cum contumelia ejectus Philo, Judæos qui illum

[p] Joseph. ant. lib. 18. cap. ult. fin.   [q] Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 43.

comitabantur bono jussit esse animo: Caium, tametsi verbo quidem illis succensebat, re tamen ipsa perfecisse, ut Deus ipsis contra ejus conata præsto esset ad opitulandum[r].

Caius, gratiæ Judæis concessæ jam pœnitens, jussit Romæ fieri alium colossum æreum inauratum, omisso illo Sidonio, ne quem motum excitaret in populo: utque navibus transportatum per silentium, repente clam priusquam sentiretur in templo Hierosolymitano poneretur. Id autem facturus erat obiter, in Ægyptum navigans. Tenebatur enim miro visendæ Alexandriæ desiderio, magna cura profectionem instituens, ut ibi diu degeret: ratus deificationem suam, quam somniabat, in hac una civitate posse succedere, atque inde hujus religionis exemplum manaturum ad minores cæteras. Ita Philo, qui hæc optime scivit, in legatione sua ad Caium: ex quo reformandum illud Taciti, de Judæis: "Jussi a Cæsare effigiem ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere: quem motum Cæsaris mors diremit."

Apelles Ascalonita, qui Caium in Judæos incitaverat, ab eodem propter alia crimina ferreis compedibus vinctus, et in rota ex intervallo sæpius tortus est[t].

A sortibus Antiatinis monitus Caius, ut a Cassio caveret, C. Cassium Longinum Asiæ tum proconsulem in suspicione habens, qui genus a Cassio Julii Cæsaris interfectore ducebat, vinctum ad se adduci jussit, et occidendum delegavit: immemor Chæream, a quo paulo post occisus est, Cassium etiam nominari[u].

Apollonius Ægyptius, qui domi dixerat quid Caio esset eventurum, Romam ad eum adductus est ipsa die cædis, (quem nonum Kalendas Februarias fuisse, in capite quinquagesimo octavo Suetonius significat) et evocatus ad luendum paulo post supplicium, salvus evasit[w].

Imperavit C. Caligula triennio, decem mensibus, et diebus octo, ut est apud Suetonium[x], et Clementem Alexan-

[r] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 10. Euseb. lib. 2. histor. eccles. cap. 5.
[s] Histor. lib. 5. cap. 9. [t] Philo, de legat.
[u] Sueton. in C. Calig. cap. 57. Dio, lib. 59. pag. 662.
[w] Dio, lib. 59. pag. 663. [x] Cap. 59.

drinum, in primo libro Stromatum: vel mensibus potius novem et diebus viginti octo, ut in libri quinquagesimi noni fine habet Dio. Cujus loco patruus ejus Claudius Cæsar Drusi filius, a prætorianis militibus imperator declaratus est.

Rex Agrippa, ubi cognovit ad imperium raptum esse a militibus Claudium, ægre dimota turba ad eum pervasit; et nactus eum turbatum pronumque ad cedendam potestatem senatui confirmavit, hortatus ut magno animo in retinendo principatu pergeret. Jamque unus erat e fautoribus Claudii, cum accersitus a senatu ignarum se omnium simulans, et unguentis delibutus tanquam a compotatione veniens, ex senatoribus quæsivit quid de Claudio factum sit. Quibus id quod verum erat respondentibus, et insuper ipsius sententiam de præsenti statu postulantibus; se quidem aiebat pro senatus dignitate nullum recusare periculum, existimare tamen mittendos esse aliquos ad Claudium qui ei principatum deponere suaderent: et ad eam legationem semetipsum obtulit. Cum aliis vero aliquot ille missus, Claudio seorsum trepidationem senatus indicavit: authorque fuit, ut responderet sicut decebat ad summam potestatem evectum principem, sicut et postea idem Claudio author fuit, ut erga senatores ad ipsum conversos mitius sese gereret[y].

In imperio confirmatus Claudius, Mithridatem Iberum, quem Caius evocatum in vincula condiderat, domum ad recipiendum regnum remisit: et alii cuidam Mithridati, qui genus a magno illo Mithridate deducebat, Bosphorum largitus est; pro eo parte Ciliciæ Polemoni data[z].

Agrippæ Palæstino, qui eum in potiundo principatu adjuverat Romæ tunc præsens, regnum auxit, et honores consulares tribuit. Fratri quoque ejus Herodi prætoriam dignitatem, et principatum quendam (Chalcidis scilicet) concessit: in senatumque ingredi eos, ac patribus Græce gratias agere permisit[a].

Et edictum quidem a Claudio est propositum, quo

[y] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 3.

[z] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 670.

[a] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 670.

Agrippam in regno per Caium ante concesso confirmabat, collaudans simul ejus operam et industriam: addita insuper Judæa et Samaria, quod olim ad ejus avi Herodis regnum pertinuissent. Has igitur velut familiæ debitas restituit: Abilam autem et finitimam ejus ditionem in Libano, quæ Lysaniæ fuerat, adjunxit de suo. Fœdus deinde regis cum Romano populo in æs incisum est in urbis foro medio[b].

Dimisit Claudius Alexandrum Lysimachum Alabarcham veterem amicum, et olim procuratorem suæ matris Antoniæ, quem Caius iratus vinxerat; cujus filio Marco desponsa fuit Bernice Agrippæ filia[c], quo defuncto ante nuptias, rex virginem Herodi suo fratri eam collocavit; impetrato illi regno Chalcidis a Claudio[d].

Antiochum, suo regno a Caio privatum, Commagena donavit et parte quadam Ciliciæ[e].

Helicon Ægyptius, qui Caii cubiculo præfectus fuerat et ipsum contra Judæos incitaverat, propter alias culpas a Claudio interfectus est: ut notat Philo, in libro de legatione ad Caium. Quem librum, De virtutibus ironice a se inscriptum (cum summam Caii improbitatem suis coloribus in eo depingat) Claudio imperante coram universo senatu Romano recitavisse illum memoriæ proditum est: indeque non illud opus solum, sed etiam alia ab eo edita, tantopere admiratos fuisse Romanos, ut digna existimarent quæ in bibliothecis tanquam monumenta quædam reponerentur[f]; inter quæ, et quinque libri fuerunt, de miseriis quas sub Caii imperio Judæi perpessi fuerant, ab eo conscripti[g]; quorum tres perierunt, ad Flaccum uno, et de legatione illo altero, adhuc relicto superstite.

Occiso vero Caio Judæi qui sub eo vehementer ab Alexandrinis oppressi fuerant, cœperunt animos resumere: moxque ad arma ventum est. Tum Claudius per epistolam mandavit Ægypti præsidi, ut seditionem illam com-

[b] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 4.
[c] De qua, Act. cap. 25. ver. 13. 23.
[d] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 5.
[e] Act. cap. 25. ver. 13. 23. Dio, lib. 60. pag. 670.
[f] Euseb. lib. 2. histor. ecclesiast. cap. 17. κεφ. ιη.
[g] Euseb. lib. 2. histor. ecclesiast. cap. 5.

pesceret: atque ad preces Agrippæ Judææ et Herodis Chalcidis regis pro Judæis edictum Alexandriam misit, scriptum in hanc sententiam: "Volo[h] inconcussa esse jura eorum a Caii insania: eisque jus esse perseverandi in patriis ritibus. Jubeoque utramque partem, quoad potest, dare operam ne quid turbarum commoveatur: idque proposito hoc edicto ita statuo."

Eorundem quoque regum rogatu, Claudius II. consul designatus (primo hoc imperii sui anno) Judæis non solum Alexandriæ, sed etiam per totum imperium suum sparsim habitantibus, permisit ut suo jure et majorum moribus uterentur: simul etiam monens, ut hac gratia contenti modestius se gererent, neque conspuerent religiones externarum gentium; suis autem suo arbitratu viverent legibus[i]. Romæ vero, quum Judæi adeo iterum frequentes fierent, ut difficulter sine tumultu propter multitudinem urbe possent exigi; non ejecit quidem eos, patriis tamen legibus vitam agentes convenire vetuit. Reducta quoque a Caio collegia dissolvit: et cauponum tabernas, in quibus coeuntes potabant, sustulit[k].

Claudius Agrippam regem, præsidibus provinciarum et procuratoribus omnibus per literas commendatum, ad curam sui regni misit. Qui magna celeritate usus Hierosolymam pervenit: ibique votiva sacrificia persolvit, nihil eorum omittens quæ lege præscripta sunt. Unde et multos Naziræos tonderi mandavit: et catenam auream donatam a Caio, monumentum suarum calamitatum et divinæ liberationis, in sacrario supra gazophylacium suspendit. Rite vero votis Deo redditis, Theophilum Anani filium submovit a summo sacerdotio; et Simonem cognomento Cantharam, Boethi (Herodis magni soceri) filium, in ejus locum substituit. Hierosolymitis deinde amoris ipsorum et benevolentiæ gratiam retulit, remisso eis tributo quod soliti erant in singulas ædes pendere. Magistrum autem præfecit toti suæ militiæ Silam, quem multorum et difficilium laborum individuum socium habuerat[l].

Paulo post Doritæ quidam juvenes temerarii religionis

[h] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 4.
[i] Id. ibid.
[k] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 669.
[l] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 5.

specie posuerunt in synagoga statuam Cæsari. Quo facto vehementer rex Agrippa commotus ad iracundiam, sine mora ad Petronium Syriæ præsidem profectus, questus est de eorum audacia. Qui et ipse non minus ægre ferens hoc facinus, ut impium et imperatoris mandatis contrarium, Doritarum magistratibus asperius scripsit: eos qui contra edictum Augusti ausi sunt talia, per centurionem Vitellium Proculum ad se adduci jubens; et ne quis in posterum tale quippiam auderet imperans[m].

Cæsareæ Cornelius Romanus centurio cohortis ad legionem Italicam spectantis, Judaicæ religionis studiosus sed incircumcisus, (cujusmodi proselytos portæ et pios nationum Hebræi appellare solent) quasi hora diei nona ab Angelo sibi apparente jussus est Simonem Petrum accersere; qui per longum jam tempus Joppæ moratus fuerat apud Simonem coriarium. Qui mandato illius obtemperans, duos ex famulis suis ad eum misit et militem pium ex iis qui cum ipso erant assidui[n].

Postridie illis iter facientibus, et appropinquantibus urbi, ascendit Petrus in tectum domus ut precaretur, circa horam sextam, ubi dum esurienti paratur cibus, in mentis excessu posito conspectum est linteum magnum e cœlo demissum, omni animalium genere refertum. De quibus cum promiscue comedere jussus, Gentes pro immundis habendas non esse didicisset; spiritu monente, postridie cum missis a Cornelio, sex Joppensibus quibusdam fratribus comitantibus, Cæsaream perrexit: ubi Cornelium cum tota familia et amicis quamplurimis in ejus domo congregatis, concione ad eos habita, ad fidem Christi convertit; atque Spiritu Sancto cœlitus in eos ultro, nulla præcedente Petri manuum impositione delapso, Christi baptismo tinxit[o].

Audierunt autem apostoli et fratres qui erant in Judæa, Gentes etiam recepisse sermonem Dei. Quum igitur ascendisset Petrus Hierosolymam, litem ei moverunt qui ex

[m] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 5, 6.
[n] Act. cap. 10. ver. 1—8. cum cap. 9. ver. 43.
[o] Act. cap. 10. ver. 9—48. et cap. 11. ver.5—17.

Judaismo ad Christum erant conversi, quod cum viris incircumcisis conversatus fuisset et cibum sumpsisset. Qui cum rem totam ordine eis exposuisset, et sex fratrum qui adfuerant testimonio comprobasset; quieverunt illi, et glorificaverunt Deum, quod etiam Gentibus dedisset pœnitentiam ad vitam[p].

Rex Agrippa Simonem Cantharam pontificatu privavit: quem cum vellet Jonathæ Anani filio tradere, renuente isto per modestiam, quod jam antea eo honore esset semel defunctus, contulit eum in fratrem ejus Matthiam, ab ipso ut longe digniorem ei commendatum[q].

Petronius Vibius Marsus in administratione provinciæ Syriæ successit[r].

Silas magister militiæ regis Agrippæ, quia per omnem fortunam ei fidus nullius unquam periculi socius esse detrectaverat, fretus amicitia postulabat etiam paris honoris esse particeps: et in familiaribus colloquiis molestus erat interdum extollens se immodice, et sæpe prioris fortunæ adversitates in memoriam revocans. Quæ cum sine modo repeteret, in tantum regem exasperavit, ut non tantum præfecturam illi ademerit, sed etiam vinctum in ipsius patriam adservandum miserit. Elapso deinde aliquanto tempore lenita jam ira, quum natalem suum celebraret, accersivit Silam ut regio interesset convivio. Qui cum protervum responsum regi remisisset, eum reliquit in custodia[s].

Ad Hierosolymorum curam rex Agrippa conversus, muros novæ quæ vocatur civitatis permuniit sumptu publico, latioresque et altiores quam ante fuerant reddidit: et fecisset adversus omnem humanam vim inexpugnabiles, ni Marsus Syriæ præses Claudio significasset eam rem per literas. Qui suspicatus Judæos molituros aliquid novi, diligenter scripsit Agrippæ, ut a munienda urbe desisteret: atque ille mox paruit[t].

Patefacto jam Gentibus fidei ostio, Cyprii et Cyrenenses qui dispersi fuerant post martyrium Stephani Antiochiæ in

[p] Act. cap. 11. ver. 1—18.
[q] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 6.
[r] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 6.
[s] Id. ibid. lib. 19. cap. 7.
[t] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. 7.

Syria Græcis (Ἕλληνας hic habet codex antiquissimus Alexandrinus, non, ut vulgati, Ἑλληνιστὰς) Christum prædicaverunt: multusque numerus credidit, et conversus est ad Dominum. Hoc cum pervenisset ad aures ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, misit ea illuc Barnabam: qui adhortatus est omnes firmiter adhærere Domino. Et adjuncta est multa turba Domino[u].

Romæ fame ingente exorta, Claudius non modo ad præsens tempus copiæ alimentorum, verum in perpetuum etiam prospexit. Cum enim frumentum, quo Roma utitur, omne propemodum aliunde advehatur; et Tiberis ostia portus opportunos non haberent: portum Ostiæ extruxit[x], post undecim annos opere ægre absoluto; quamvis continuis tredecim hominum millibus sine intermissione operantibus[y].

Fames ista, quæ secundo Claudii contigit, particularis fuit; sicut et altera, undecimo anno illius facta, cujus Tacitus[z], Suetonius[a], et Orosius[b] meminerunt: non universalis illa ab Agabo prædicta; quam quarto ejusdem anno cœpisse, non solum ex chronico Eusebii et Orosio[c], sed etiam ex tempore mortis Herodis Agrippæ, cum eadem fame conjunctæ[d], manifestum est.

Barnabas Tarsum abiit, ut quæreret Saulum: et cum inventum duxit Antiochiam. Factumque est ut annum totum convenirent in ecclesia, docerentque turbam multam; et discipuli nominarentur primum Antiochiæ Christiani[e]. Quod nomen, Latina non Græca forma a Christo deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ tum agentibus impositum illis fuisse videatur.

Per id tempus descenderunt Hierosolymis prophetæ Antiochiam: quorum unus Agabus, significavit per Spiritum, famem magnam futuram in toto terrarum orbe[f].

Lycios, ad cædem usque Romanorum quorundam tumultuando progressos, Claudius in servitutem redegit, et

[u] Act. cap. 11. ver. 20—24.
[x] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 671, 672.
[y] Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 20.
[z] Annal. lib. 12. cap. 43.
[a] In Claudio, cap. 18.
[b] Lib. 7. cap. 6.
[c] Lib. 7. cap. 6.
[d] Act. cap. 12. ver. 23. 25.
[e] Act. cap. 11. ver. 25, 26.
[f] Ibid. ver. 27, 28.

præfecturæ Pamphyliæ adjecit. De qua re quum in curia cognosceret, legatum quendam Lycium quidem origine, Romanum tamen natum, Latine interrogavit; ac non intelligenti, quid quæsivisset, civitatis jus ademit: dicens, Romanum eum esse non debere, qui sermonem eum nesciret[g].

Rex Agrippa, Beryti magnis sumptibus extructo pulcherrimo theatro et amphitheatro et balneis ac porticibus, dedicationem eorum splendidissime celebravit: exhibitis in theatro spectaculis, et musicorum omne genus certaminibus, aliaque voluptatum varietate; in amphitheatrum vero inductis plurimis gladiatorum paribus. Volens deinde spectatores oblectare etiam catervatim commissis pugnatoribus, ex maleficis in hoc destinatis duas cohortes fecit, septingentorum quamque hominum; ut illis per imaginem belli decertantibus, pœna noxiorum in pacis voluptatem verteretur: atque ita omnes mutuis absumpti sunt vulneribus[h].

Tiberiadem deinde ad eum venerunt reges, Antiochus Commagenæ, Emesenorum Sampsigeranus, minoris Armeniæ Cotys, Polemon Ponti, et præter hos Herodes frater rex Chalcidis. Quibus adhuc apud eum morantibus Marsus Syriæ præses supervenit. Servans igitur Agrippa debitam Romanis reverentiam, usque ad septimum lapidem obviam ille processit. Et quum eodem cum hospitibus curru veheretur; Marsus, suspectam habens tantam regum concordiam, per nuncios mandavit singulis, ut sine mora discederent. Qua re vehementer Agrippa offensus, Marsum exosum habuit[i]; sæpiusque per literas Claudium est precatus, ut eum ab administratione rerum Syriæ amoveret[k].

Matthiæ Anani filio ademptum pontificatum Elionæo Cithæi filio Agrippa dedit[l].

Ingruente fame, quæ ab Agabo prædicta fuerat, Christiani Antiocheni subsidium conferentes fratribus habitantibus in Judæa, ad seniores illud miserunt per manum Barnabæ

[g] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 676.
[h] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.
[i] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.
[k] Id. lib. 20. cap. 1.
[l] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.

et Sauli; postquam illi simul per annum jam integrum populo Antiocheno verbum Domini prædicavissent[m].

Per id tempus rex Herodes Agrippa (ut Syrus paraphrastes recte eum hic nominat) injectis manibus infestavit nonnullos ex Ecclesia[n], ut institutis et ritibus patriis adversantes: quorum illum religiosissimum fuisse observatorem, Josephus[o] indicat.

Interemit autem Jacobum, filium Zebedæi, fratrem Johannis gladio[p]. Addit vero ex traditione majorum Clemens Alexandrinus, libro septimo Hypotyposeωn[q], eum ipsum qui Jacobum in judicium adduxerat, quum testimonium Christo illum tam libere perhibentem cerneret, se etiam Christianum ingenue confessum esse. Ambobus igitur una ad supplicium adductis, hunc inter eundum a Jacobo postulasse veniam sibi concedi: Jacobum autem paululum rem animo complexum dixisse, Pax tibi, illumque osculatum esse; et sic tandem utrumque securi percussum vitam deseruisse.

Rex videns Jacobi cædem placere Judæis, Petrum etiam diebus azymorum conjecit in carcerem, traditum quatuor militum quaternionibus ut eum servarent: volens eum post Pascha producere populo. Quum autem preces pro ipso assidue ad Deum fierent ab Ecclesia, noctu ab angelo per miraculum liberatus, venit domum Mariæ matris Johannis Marci, ubi multi congregati precabantur: iisque monitis ut Jacobo (filio Alphæi, fratri Domini) et reliquis modum liberationis suæ annunciarent, profectus est in alium locum[r].

Herodes spe sua frustratus, innoxios custodes jussit ad supplicium rapi: ipseque Cæsaream descendens, ibi commoratus est. Erat autem infenso erga Tyrios et Sidonios animo. Quorum agri quum ipsis alendis (hoc famis præsertim tempore) non sufficerent; sed ex vicina Galilæa et aliis regionibus Herodi subditis victum sibi comparare necesse haberent: concorditer venerunt ad eum, et Blasto

[m] Act. cap. 11. ver. 26. 29, 30.
[n] Act. cap. 12. ver. 1.
[o] Antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.
[p] Act. cap. 12. ver. 2.
[q] Apud Euseb. lib. 2. histor. ecclesiast. cap. 8. κεφ. θ.
[r] Act. cap. 12. ver. 3—17.

regio cubiculario sibi conciliato pacem petierunt. Statuto autem die, Herodes indutus veste regia, et considens pro tribunali, concionabatur ad eos: populo acclamante, Vox Dei et non hominis. Illico vero percussit eum angelus Domini, eo quod non tribuisset gloriam Deo; et crosus a vermibus, animam efflavit[s].

Eandem vero historiam ita Josephus amplificat; bubonis etiam apparitione adjecta, ne Germanici sui harioli divinatio frustranea esse videretur: "Tertium[t] Judææ totius regni annum exegerat, (ineunte jam quarto) cum pervenit in urbem Cæsaream, quæ prius Stratonis turris dicta est, ubi solennes ludos celebravit pro salute Cæsaris: ad quam festivitatem magna multitudo nobilium ac procerum convenerat ex tota provincia. Ejus celebritatis die secunda, processit mane in theatrum, amictus veste tota ex argento mirabili opere contexta, quæ radiis orientis solis perculsa, et divinum quendam fulgorem emittens, venerationem cum honore incutiebat spectantibus. Moxque adulatores perniciosi aliunde acclamantes, deum consalutabant, rogantes ut faveret propitius; hactenus enim et hominem reveritos, nunc agnoscere et fateri in eo quiddam mortali natura excellentius. Hanc impiam adulationem ille nec castigavit, nec repulit: pauloque post suspiciens vidit supra caput suum bubonem funi extento insidentem; moxque, ut sensit hunc esse calamitatis nuncium qui olim felicitatis fuerat, ex intimis præcordiis indoluit. Secuta sunt ventris tormina, statim a principio vehementia. Conversis igitur in amicos oculis: *En,* inquit, *ego vestra appellatione deus, vitam relinquere jubeor, fatali necessitate coarguente vestrum mendaciam; et quem immortalem salutastis, ad mortem rapior. Sed ferenda est voluntas cœlestis numinis; neque enim male viximus, imo tanta felicitate, ut omnes me beatum prædicent.* Hæc locutus, crescente dolore discruciabatur. Propere igitur relato in regiam rumor sparsus est brevi esse moriturum: quamobrem confestim totus populus una cum uxoribus atque liberis saccum indutus more patrio supplicabat Deo pro salute

[s] Act. cap. 12. ver. 18—23.

[t] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.

regis, omnia miscens lamentis et ejulatibus. Rex autem in celsiore decumbens cubiculo, et in faciem stratos humi prospiciens, non temperabat sibi a lachrymis. Cruciatu deinde per continuos quinque dies nihil item remittente confectus, vitam finiit."

Septem regni annos illi tribuit Josephus; quatuor sub Caio (demptis videlicet tribus vel quatuor mensibus: neque enim quatuor integros annos in imperio exegit ipse Caius) et tres sub Claudio (tribus itidem aut quatuor mensibus additis:) atque ex annuis reditibus 1200 myriadas percepisse eum addit; neque eas tamen, propter summam ipsius munificentiam, sumptibus ejus suffecisse, sed mutuum præterea pecunias accepisse[u].

Priusquam evulgaretur regis obitus, Herodes dynasta Chalcidis et Chelcias magister regiæ militiæ conspirantes simul Aristonem miserunt, qui Silam communem amborum inimicum interficeret: quasi hoc a rege mandatum acciperet[x].

Agrippæ superstites fuerunt, filius quidem unus Agrippa, annum agens decimum septimum qui Romæ eo tempore educabatur apud Claudium: filiæ vero tres. Ex quibus Bernice nupta erat Herodi patruo, nata annos sexdecim; reliquæ duæ tum erant virgines. Mariamme decennis, desponsata a patre Julio Archelao Chelciæ filio: et Drucilla sexennis, ab eodem desponsata Epiphani filio Commagenorum regis Antiochi[y].

Postquam cognitum est excessisse Agrippam, Cæsareæ et Sebastes (urbium ab avo ipsius conditarum) cives convicia infanda jactabant in defunctum; militum quoque vulgus protractas e palatio filiarum statuas unanimiter detulerunt in lupanaria, illisque illudebant modis quos turpe sit eloqui; instructisque per loca publica epulis convivia celebrabant coronis redimiti et unguentis delibuti, libantes interim Charonti, et sibi invicem propinantes præ gaudio quod ex obitu regis conceperant[z].

[u] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.
[x] Ibid.
[y] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.
[z] Ibid.

Verbi Domini sementis crescebat et multiplicabatur. Barnabas autem et Saulus reversi sunt Hierosolymis, expleto ministerio; simul inde secum Johanne Marco assumpto[a].

Rhodios, quod Romanos in crucem sustulissent, Claudius libertate privavit[b].

Cum vellet Claudius Agrippam juniorem successorem paterni regni mittere; liberti et amici qui multum apud eum poterant dissuaserunt: negantes tutum, admodum adolescenti et vixdum pueritia egresso tantum regnum committere; cui administrando esset impar, quodque etiam viriles gravare posset humeros. In quo æquum illi visi sunt dicere[c]; licet ipsi revera inhiarent præfecturis illarum regionum, ex quibus possent ditescere. Quo referendum illud Taciti[d].

Judææ igitur et totius regni Agrippæ (quod primi Herodis, avi sui, regno majus erat) præsidem Claudius Cuspium Fadum misit: defuncto hoc honoris tribuens, ne Marsum inimicum in regnum ejus induceret. Et ante omnia Fado injunxit, ut Cæsarienses et Sebastenos acriter castigaret, propter inflictam regi mortuo injuriam, contumeliasque illatas filiabus ejus adhuc viventibus: alam vero Cæsariensium et Sebastenorum cum quinque illis cohortibus ablegaret in Pontum, illic militaturas; militesque e Romanis legionibus Syriam tuentibus delectos in illorum locum substitueret. Missa tamen postea legatione flexerunt Claudium milites, ut manere eos in Judæa permitteret: qui sequentibus temporibus maximarum calamitatum Judæis fuerunt initium, et seminarium belli exorti Floro præside[e].

Amoto etiam Marso in gratiam defuncti amici Agrippæ regis, a Claudio in Syriæ præfectura datum esse successorem Cassium Longinum, in libri vigesimi initio scribit Josephus: licet anno abhinc tertio Marsum in Syria adhuc præsidem Tacitus retineat.

[a] Act. cap. 12. ver. 24, 25.
[b] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 681.
[c] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. cap. ult.
[d] Histor. lib. 5. cap. 9.
[e] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 19. fin.

4048. Judæi trans Jordanem fluvium habitantes cum Philadelphensibus contenderunt de Niæ vici finibus referti viris bellicosissimis. Transamnenses autem illi, sine consensu primatum et magistratuum, arma capientes Philadelphensium multos interfecerunt. Quo cognito, Cuspius Fadus vehementer iratus est; quod non expectassent suum judicium, si putabant sibi factam a Philadelphensibus injuriam, sed ita temere ad arma concurrissent. Comprehensis igitur tribus præcipuis seditionis authoribus, vinciri eos mandavit. Horum unum Annibam nomine affecit supplicio: reliquos duos Amaramum et Eleazarum exilio puniit. Nec ita multo post capitis damnavit Tholomæum latronum principem vinctum ad se perductum, qui plurima damna intulerat Idumæis et Arabibus: deditque operam, ut tota Judæa purgaretur a latrociniis[f].

Cassius Longinus (vel, juxta Taciti mentem, Vibius Marsus) Syriæ præses, Hierosolyma cum copiis veniens, et Cuspius Fadus Judææ procurator, accitis pontificibus et Hierosolymitanorum primatibus, mandatum Cæsaris eis exposuerunt; ut stolam et reliqua ornamenta summi pontificis in arcem Antoniam deponerent, a Romanis ibi custodienda, quemadmodum ante Vitellii tempora fieri erat solitum. Illi non audentes contradicere, rogabant primum, ut legatos sibi ad Cæsarem liceat mittere, qui ab eo petant sacræ stolæ servandæ jus: deinde, ut expectetur super ea postulatione rescriptum illius. Responsum est permissuros, ut legati mittantur, si prius darentur obsides. Quumque prompte liberos suos dedissent, legati profecti sunt[g].

In ecclesia Antiochena prophetæ et doctores erant, Barnabas, et Simeon Niger, et Lucius Cyrenæus, et Manahem qui fuerat una cum Herode tetrarcha educatus, et Saulus. Quibus ministrantibus Domino, et jejunantibus, jussit Spiritus Sanctus, Barnabam et Saulum separari a reliquis ad ministerium prædicandi evangelii. Hi

[f] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 1.

[g] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 15. cap. ult. et lib. 20. cap. 1.

jejunio, precibus et manuum impositione ab Ecclesia Deo commendati, assumpto secum ministro Johanne Marco, Seleuciam venerunt; indeque in Cyprum, Barnabæ patriam, navigaverunt; ubi apud Salaminios primo cœperunt prædicare verbum Dei in synagogis Judæorum[h].

Peragrata deinde insula Paphum usque, invenerunt ibi pseudoprophetam Judæum Barjesu, Elymam sive Magum cognominatum: qui Sergium Paulum regionis proconsulem, verbum Dei a Barnaba et Saulo audire desiderantem avertere a fide conabatur. Quem cum Saulus acerrime increpatum cæcitate subito percussisset; proconsul, hoc miraculo et doctrina Domini perculsus, ad fidem est conversus. Atque ab eo tempore Saulus novo Pauli nomine semper invenitur appellatus. Ipse vero et qui cum eo erant provecti Papho, venerunt Pergam Pamphyliæ: ubi Johannes Marcus abscedens ab eis, reversus est Hierosolymam[i].

Legati Hierosolymitani, intercedente Agrippa juniore qui tum apud Claudium educabatur, custodiæ stolæ pontificalis a Vitellio prius concessæ confirmationem obtinuerunt: impetrato hac de re Claudii, tribunitiæ potestatis quintum annum agentis, ad Hierosolymitanorum magistratus rescripto, dato quarto Kalendas Julias Rufo et Pompeio Sylvano suffectis consulibus, in quo gratificari se hic etiam voluisse scripsit Herodi regi Chalcidis et juniori Aristobulo sibi devotissimis[k].

Eodem etiam tempore Herodes rex Chalcidis potestatem in templum et sacrum ærarium, jusque eligendorum summorum pontificum, a Claudio impetravit[l].

Claudius, quia natali suo defectus solis futurus erat, veritus ne quis inde tumultus existeret, quum alia quoque prodigia quædam accidissent; antequam fieret, scripto publice proposito significavit, non modo futurum id deliquium, et tempus et quantitatem ejus, sed etiam causas ob quas necessario eventurum esset[m]. Natalis vero Clau-

[h] Act. cap. 13. ver. 1—4. [i] Id. ibid.

[k] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 15. cap. ult. et lib. 20. cap. 1.

[l] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 1. [m] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 682.

dii in Kalendas Augusti incidit[n]; quo die, duabus fere horis ante meridiem sol quarta diametrii parte defecit.

Herodes rex Chalcidis, amoto Simone Canthara, Josepho Canei (sive Camydis) filio summum pontificatum contulit[o].

Theudas quidam præstigiator, prophetam se jactans, magnæ vulgi multitudini persuasit, ut assumptis suis facultatibus ipsum ad Jordanem sequerentur: scissurum se verbo fluvium et facilem præbiturum transitum promittens. In hos Judææ procurator Cuspius Fadus turmas immisit equitum: qui ex improviso irruentes multos interemerunt, multos vivos ceperunt, et in his ipsum Theudam, cujus caput abscissum reportarunt Hierosolyma[p].

4049. Paulus et Barnabas digressi Perga, venerunt Antiochiam Pisidiæ: et ingressi in synagogam die Sabbati, post lectionem legis et prophetarum a synagogæ præfectis ad loquendum sunt invitati. Ubi egregia a Paulo concione habita, egressos ex Judæorum synagoga Gentes rogaverunt ut eadem sequente Sabbato ipsis exponerent. Solutoque conventu, secuti sunt multi ex Judæis et religiosis proselytis Paulum ac Barnabam: qui alloquentes eos, persuaserunt eis ut permanerent in gratia Dei[q].

Sequente vero Sabbato urbs prope tota convenit ad audiendum sermonem Dei. Visa autem turba, Judæi repleti invidia, contradicebant iis quæ a Paulo dicebantur. Quorum blasphemiis Paulus et Barnabas commoti, Judæis relictis, solis Gentibus Christum prædicaverunt. Quibus cum lætitia evangelium amplectentibus, crediderunt quotquot erant ordinati ad vitam æternam. Perferebatur autem verbum Domini per totam illam regionem. Unde irritati Judæi, per mulieres religiosas (proselytas portæ Hebræis dictas) et honoratas, ac primos urbis, persecutione in Paulum et Barnabam excitata, ejecerunt eos a finibus suis: qui, excusso pulvere pedum suorum in eos, venerunt Iconium. Discipuli vero replebantur gaudio et Spiritu Sancto[r].

Iconii Paulus et Barnabas introeuntes synagogam Judæorum, ita loquebantur, ut crederet Judæorum simul et

[n] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 667.
[o] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 1.
[p] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 2. fin.
[q] Act. cap. 13. ver. 14—43.
[r] Act. cap. 13. ver. 44—52.

Græcorum magna multitudo. Qui vero increduli fuerunt Judæi, incitarunt et male affectos reddiderunt animos gentium adversus fratres. Multum vero tempus ibi commorati sunt, libere loquentes, freti Domino; qui testimonium dabat sermoni gratiæ suæ, dabatque ut signa et miracula ederentur per manus eorum[s]. Quo tempore ad Christi fidem conversa putatur Thecla Iconiensis virgo nobilissima: cujus tamen acta inter apocrypha merito referuntur a septuaginta episcoporum synodo sub Gelasio habita.

Scissa urbis Iconiensis multitudine, alii a Judæis erant, alii ab apostolis. Quum autem factus esset impetus Gentium ac Judæorum una cum suis primoribus ad eos injuriis afficiendos et lapidandos; perfugerunt in civitates Lycaoniæ Lystram et Derben, et circumjacentem regionem: ibique evangelium prædicaverunt[t].

Lystræ claudo ab utero matris homine a Paulo sanato, quum plebs Paulo ut Mercurio, et Barnabæ ut Jovi sacrificare vellet: illi laceratis vestibus honorem illum aversantes, ægre eos cohibuerunt ne sibi sacrificarent. Mox vero quum Iconio et Antiochia eo venissent increduli Judæi, excitato tumultu furiosa plebs Paulum lapidatum extra urbem traxit quasi mortuum. Quum autem circumstetissent eum discipuli, surrexit, et ingressus est urbem[u].

Hoc anno, et hoc etiam fortasse tempore, raptus Paulus in tertium cœlum, verba audiit ineffabilia; ante quatuordecim annos quam ab eo conscriberetur posterior ad Corinthios epistola[x]. Quo spectare putatur Triephonis illud, apud Lucianum sive antiquiorem illo authorem dialogi qui Philopatris inscribitur: "Quando me Galilæus (sive Christianus) ille convenit recalvaster, naso justo præditus, qui in tertium usque cœlum per aerem ingressus, quæ optima atque pulcherrima sunt inde didicit; per aquam nos renovavit, in beatorum vestigia insistere fecit; et ex impiorum regionibus nos redemit." Ita Triephon:

[s] Act. cap. 14. ver. 1, 2, 3.
[t] Ibid. ver. 4—7.
[u] Act. cap. 14. ver. 8—20.
[x] 2 Corinth. cap. 12. ver. 2, 3, 4.

"Deum alte regnantem, magnum, ætherium, atque æternum, Filium Patris, Spiritum ex Patre procedentem, unum ex tribus, et ex uno tria," ibidem etiam, Christianorum more, prædicans.

Paulus cum Barnaba, profectus Lystra, Derben venit: ubi prædicato evangelio, multos Christo lucrifecerunt[y].

Inter alios qui Christo nomen hoc tempore dederunt, fuit Timotheus, cum pia matre sua Eunice et avia Loide; quæ ipsum ab infantia in sacrarum literarum scientia instituendum curaverant. Hic in locis illis tum degens, licet adhuc pene puer, persecutionum quas spiritualis ipsius pater B. Paulus Antiochiæ in Pisidia, Iconii et Lystræ in Lycaonia sustinuit, oculatus testis fuit[z].

Paulus et Barnabas ultra Derben non progressi, Lystram et Iconium et Antiochiam redierunt: confirmantes animos discipulorum, et ad afflictiones fidei causa constanter tolerandas adhortantes. Et quum constituissent illis per singulas ecclesias presbyteros, precatique essent cum jejuniis; commendarunt eos Domino in quem crediderant. Deinde peragrata Pisidia, venerunt in Pamphyliam: ac Pergæ locuti verbum Domini, descenderunt Attaliam. Et illinc navigaverunt Antiochiam, unde primo profecti fuerant ad opus illud quod impleverant: ubi congregatæ ecclesiæ retulerunt quanta Deus per ipsos effecisset, et quomodo Gentibus ostium fidei aperuisset[a].

Cuspio Fado in Judææ procuratione successor datus est Tiberius Alexander, Alexandri alabarchæ Alexandrini (veteris amici Claudii) filius; qui patriam religionem Judaicam deseruerat[b].

Sub eo, fame adhuc grassante in Judæa, Helena Adiabenorum (in Assyriæ et Mesopotamiæ confiniis) regina, a Judæo quodam ad veri Dei cultum conversa, Hierosolymam ad visendum templum venit, ut ibi Deum adoraret, votivasque victimas redderet: copioso viatico instruente, et dierum aliquot itinere eam deducente filio Izate rege,

[y] Act. cap. 14. ver. 20, 21.

[z] Act. cap. 16. ver. 1, 2. 2 Tim. cap. 1. ver. 2. 5. et cap. 3. ver. 11. 15.

[a] Act. cap. 14. ver. 21—27.

[b] Joseph. ant. lib. 20. cap. 3.

qui et ipse ab Anania Judæo mercatore ad eandem religionem fuerat traductus. Cumque multos civium illa videret perire alimentorum inopia, ex suis alios misit Alexandriam comparaturos vim magnam tritici, alios in Cyprum qui copiam ficuum passarum inde adveherent: quibus omnibus brevi reversis, cibos egenis distribuit. Filius quoque ejus Izates, comperto quanta fame populus laboraret, pecuniam misit Hierosolymitanorum primatibus[c].

Izates rex quinque adolescentes filios Hierosolymam misit, ut linguam et disciplinas Judaicas diligenter discerent. Mater quoque ejus Helena tres extruxit pyramides, tribus ab urbe Hierosolymitana dissitas stadiis: in quibus et ipsius et filii Izatis ossa postea sunt condita[d]; quæ Helenæ monumenta non solum Josephi, sed etiam Eusebii et Hieronymi tempore adhuc extabant[e].

4050. Paulus et Barnabas Antiochiæ cum discipulis non parvum tempus commorati sunt[f]. Post quod, Paulus Christi evangelium usque ad Illyricum propagavisse videtur, iis qui de Christo nihil adhuc audiverant illud prædicando[g]; eaque perpessus fuisse, quæ in posteriore ad Corinthios epistola[h] ipse commemorat; nempe, ut Philippis postea semel, ita prius bis a Gentibus alibi, cæsus virgis fuisse; a Judæis quinquies plagas quadragenas una minus accepisse: ter naufragium fecisse, noctem ac diem in profundo egisse. Cum enim inter Pauli et Barnabæ ad ecclesiam Antiochenam reditum et eorundem ex ea ad concilium Hierosolymitanum institutam profectionem, juxta nostras quidem rationes, integrum interpositum reperiatur quinquennium: nusquam alibi commodius reponere ista possumus, quam in hoc tanti spatii sacræ historiæ silentio.

Valerio Asiatico consule iterum, Therasia insula, spec-

[c] Joseph. ant. lib. 20. cap. 2. et 3. [d] Id. ibid. cap. 2.

[e] Joseph. lib. 5. belli, κεφ. ιγ. et ιϛ. in Græco; vel, lib. 6. cap. 6. et 7. in Latino. Euseb. lib. 2. histor. ecclesiast. cap. 11. κεφ. ιβ. et Hieronym. epist. 27.

[f] Act. cap. 14. ver. 28. [g] Rom. cap. 15. ver. 19, 20.

[h] Cap. 11. ver. 24, 25.

tantibus nautis, in Ægeo mari enata est[i], nocte qua defectus lunæ acciderat[k]. Conspecta autem fuit eclipsis lunæ nocte interjecta inter ultimum Decembris diem, terminantem annum illum quo secundum consulatum gessit Valerius Asiaticus, et Kalendas Januarias inchoantes consulatum Claudii Augusti IV. et L. Vitellii III. sub quo, parvam insulam, ante non visam, apud Theram insulam enatam esse, retulit Dio[l].

Jacobus et Simon filii Judæ Galilæi (qui, Quirinio censum agente, Judæos ad defectionem solicitabat) a Tiberio Alexandro Judææ procuratore crucis supplicio affecti sunt[m].

Herodes rex Chalcidis, amoto Josepho Camydæ filio, Ananiam Nebedæi filium pontificem constituit[n].

Artabano Parthorum regi, conjugique ac filio, Gotarzes necem præparavit[o]. Moriens vero Artabanus, regnum Bardani filio suo reliquit[p]. Ambo enim hi fratres, Gotarzes et Bardanes, Artabani potius filii habendi sunt, cum Josepho; quam fratres, cum Tacito.

Bardanes a Parthis, Gotarzis sævitiam metuentibus, ad capessendum regnum accitus, ut erat magnis ausis promptus, biduo tria millia stadiorum invadit, ignarumque et exterritum Gotarzem proturbat: neque cunctatur, quin proximas præfecturas corripiat, solis Seleuciensibus dominationem ejus abnuentibus. In quos, ut patris quoque sui defectores, ira magis quam ex usu præsenti accensus, implicatur obsidione urbis validæ, et munimentis objecti amnis muroque et commeatibus firmatæ. Interim Gotarzes Daharum Hyrcanorumque opibus auctus, bellum renovat: coactusque Bardanes omittere Seleuciam, Bactrianos apud campos castra contulit[q].

Nunciata Parthorum discordia summaque imperii ambigua, Mithridates majoris Armeniæ rex, monente Claudio Cæsare, in regnum remeavit, fratris sui Pharasmanis Ibe-

[i] Seneca, natural. quæst. lib. 2. cap. 26. et lib. 6. cap. 21.
[k] Aurel. Victor, in Claudio.
[l] Lib. 60. pag. 685.
[m] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 3.
[n] Id. ibid.
[o] Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 8.
[p] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 2.
[q] Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 8.

rorum regis fisus opibus. Et quidem distractis eo modo orientis viribus, et quonam inclinarent incertis, Armeniam ille occupavit: Romano milite castellorum ardua subigente, simulque Ibero exercitu campos persultante. Neque enim restitere Armenii, fuso qui prælium ausus erat Demonacte præfecto. Paululum cunctationis attulit rex minoris Armeniæ Cotys, versis illuc quibusdam procerum: sed eo literis Cæsaris coercito, cuncta in Mithridatem fluxere, atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret[r].

Quum Gotarzes et Bardanes pugnam pararent, Gotarze popularium insidias fratri patefaciente, complexi dextras, apud altaria pepigere, fraudem inimicorum ulcisci, atque ipsi inter se concedere. Cumque potior Bardanes regno retinendo fuisset visus: Gotarzes, ne quid æmulationis existeret, penitus in Hyrcaniam abiit[s].

Regresso Bardani dedita est Seleucia, septimo post defectionem anno. Exin validissimas præfecturas ille invasit: et recuperare Armeniam in animo habebat, ni Vibio Marso (vel, juxta Josephum, Cassio Longino potius) Syriæ legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret[t].

Tiberio Alexandro in Judææ administratione Ventidius Cumanus successit; et vita decessit Herodes rex Chalcidis Agrippæ magni frater, anno imperii Claudii octavo; relictis tribus filiis superstitibus, quorum Aristobulus ex priore uxore Mariamme natus est: e Bernice vero fratris filia Bernicianus et Hyrcanus[u].

Instante Paschatis festo, concurrentibus undique ad solennitatem turbis plurimis, Cumanus (præcedentium præsidum exemplo) jussit cohortem unam armatam stare supra templi porticus; cohibituram tumultum, si quis forte existeret. Ejus festi die quarta quidam miles nudatas obscœnas corporis partes populo ostendit. Qua contumelia furentes Judæi vociferabantur non se affectos, sed ipsum Deum, quem honoraret ea celebritas: et quidam audaciores in Cumanum jactabant convicia, dicentes ab illo submissum petulantem illum militem. His auditis, Cumanus

[r] Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 8. et 9.
[s] Id. ibid. cap. 9.
[t] Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 9.
[u] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 3.

et ipse non mediocriter turbatus est: rogabat tamen ut desinerent movere seditionem festo tempore. Cumque impeterent eum conviciis, jussit totum exercitum armis convenire in Antoniam, castellum templo imminens. Vulgaris autem multitudo viso adventu militum territa, cœpit magno impetu fugere: et cum essent angusti viarum exitus, rati a tergo hostem insequi, comprimebant se inter fugiendum et conculcabant in angustiis: ita ut viginti millia extinctorum illo tumultu numerata fuerint; quemadmodum in libro vigesimo antiquitatum, capite quarto, habet Josephus. In libro vero secundo belli Judaici[w], *ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους*, supra decem millia, periisse legimus: ubi, *ὑπὲρ τρισμυρίους*, supra triginta millia, Rufinus legit; eundem quoque numerum Eusebio, tum in chronico, tum in ecclesiasticæ historiæ libro secundo[x], et Orosio[y] retinentibus.

Quidam qui ex illa turba fugientes evaserant, in publica via, juxta Bethoron, centesimo ab urbe stadio Stephanum Cæsaris servum iter facientem aggressi sunt latrocinio, omnesque ejus diripuerunt sarcinas. Quo audito Cumanus confestim eo misit milites, jussos ut vicos loco propinquos diriperent. In hac populatione miles quidam libros Mosaicos in quodam vico inventos protulit, eosque laceravit in conspectu omnium; multis debacchatus et in legem et in totam gentem conviciis. Hoc ubi ad Judæos perlatum est, facto concursu agmine magno petunt Cæsaream, in qua tum Cumanus agebat; supplicantes ut non suam, sed læsi numinis ulcisceretur injuriam. Tum præses veritus defectionem populi, de amicorum consilio militem illum violatorem legis securi feriit; atque hoc modo tumultum jam repullulantem sedavit[z].

Apollonius Tyaneus, ad Indos itinere instituto, urbem Babyloniam intravit mense secundo anni tertii regni Bardanis: ibique cum rege congressus est[a].

[w] Cap. 11. κεφ. κ.
[x] Cap. 18. κεφ. 19.
[y] Lib. 7. cap. 6.
[z] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 3.
[a] Philostrat. in vita Apollon. lib. 1. cap. 19. et 20. collat. cum Eusebio, in Hieroclem.

Gotarzes pœnitentia concessi regni, et revocante nobilitate, cui in pace durius servitium est, contraxit copias. Huic contra itum est ad amnem Erindem: in cujus transgressu multum certato pervicit Bardanes, prosperisque præliis medias nationes subegit, ad flumen Sinden, quod Dahas Ariosque disterminat. Ibi modus rebus secundis positus: nam Parthi quanquam victores, longinquam militiam aspernabantur. Igitur extructis monumentis, quibus opes suas testabatur, nec cuiquam ante Arsacidarum tributa illis de gentibus parta, Bardanes regreditur: ingens gloria, atque eo ferocior, et subjectis intoleratior[b].

Bardanes ad Izatem Adiabenorum regem profectus, ut vellet sibi belli adversus Romanos gerendi esse socius, ei suasit. Quem a proposito deducere conabatur Izates, continenter denarrans ei Romanorum gesta et potentiam. Bardanes autem his offensus, continuo bellum indixit Izatæ: quod tamen, morte præventus, exequi non potuit[c]. Parthi enim postquam mentem ejus cognoverunt, et quod Romanis bellum inferre statueret, dolo ante composito, incautum venationique intentum interfecerunt primam intra juventam; sed claritudine paucos inter senum regum, si perinde amorem inter populares, quam metum apud hostes quæsivisset[d].

Nece Bardanis turbatæ Parthorum res, inter ambiguos quis in regnum acciperetur. Multi ad Gotarzen inclinabant; quidam ad Meherdatem, Vononis I. filii Phraatis III. filium, qui obses Romanis fuerat datus. Deinde prævaluit Gotarzes: potitusque regia, per sævitiam ac luxum adegit Parthos mittere ad Claudium Romam occultas preces, quibus mitti Meherdatem patrium ad regnum orabant[e]. Gotarzis dominationem, nobilitati plebique juxta intolerandam, apud eum conquesti. Jam enim fratres, jam propinquos, jam longius sitos, cædibus exhaustos; adjici conjuges gravidas, liberos parvos: dum socors domi, bellis infaustus, ignaviam sævitia tegat[f].

[b] Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 10.
[c] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 2.
[d] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 2. Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 10.
[e] Tacit. annal. lib. 11. cap. 10.
[f] Id. ibid. lib. 12. cap. 10.

Quum dux Romanus Didius e regno Bosphorano Mithridatem expulisset, et fratrem ejus Cotyn juventa rudem in eo collocasset, robur exercitus inde abduxit; paucis tantum cohortibus, cum Julio Aquila equite Romano, novo regi ibi relictis. Mithridates amissis opibus vagus, concivit nationes, illexit pefugas, postremoque exercitu coacto, regem Dandaridarum exturbavit, imperioque ejus potitus est[g].

Parthorum legatis auditis, Claudius Meherdatem eis regem dedit; monitum, ut non dominationem et servos, sed rectorem et cives cogitaret, clementiamque ac justitiam capesseret. Datumque est C. Cassio, qui Syriæ præerat, deducere juvenem ripam ad Euphratis[h].

Ea tempestate Cassius cæteros præeminebat peritia legum, militarium artium ignarus. Quantum tamen sine bello dabatur, revocabat priscum morem, legiones ea cura exercitando ac si hostis ingrueret; ita dignum majoribus suis, et familia Cassia ratus, per illas quoque gentes celebrata. Excitis igitur quorum de sententia petitus rex, positisque castris apud Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis, postquam illustres Parthi, rexque Arabum Acbarus (sive Abgarus) advenerat, monuit Meherdatem, barbarorum impetus acres cunctatione languescere, aut in perfidiam mutari; itaque urgeret cœpta. Quod spretum fraude Acbari, juvenem ignarum et summam fortunam in luxu ratum, multos per dies attinuit apud oppidum Edessam[i].

Quum Mithridates, Dandaridarum imperio potitus, jam jamque Bosphorum invasurus crederetur; diffisi propriis viribus Aquila et Cotys, quia Zorsines Siracorum (ad Caucasum) rex Mithridati se adjunxerat, externas et ipsi gratias quæsivere, missis legatis ad Eunonem qui Aorsorum (inter Scythas) genti præcellebat. Nec fuit in arduo societas, potentiam Romanam adversus rebellem Mithridatem ostentantibus. Igitur pepigere, equestribus præliis Eunones certaret, obsidia urbium Romani capesserent[k].

[g] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 15.
[h] Id. ibid. cap. 11.
[i] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 12.
[k] Id. ibid. cap. 15.

Tum composito agmine incedunt: cujus frontem et terga Aorsi, media Romanæ cohortes et Bosphorani tutabantur: sic pulsus hostis, ventumque Soza oppidum Dandaricæ; quod desertum a Mithridate, ob ambiguos popularium animos obtineri, relicto ibi præsidio, visum. Ad Siraeos deinde pergunt: et transgressi amnem Pandam, circumveniunt urbem Uspem, editam loco, et mœnibus ac fossis munitam, nisi quod mœnia non saxo sed cratibus junctis et media humo adversum irrumpentes invalida erant; eductæque altius turres, facibus atque hastis turbabant obsessos. Ac ni prælium nox diremisset, cœpta patrataque expugnatio eundem intra diem foret[l].

Postero die misere legatos, veniam liberis corporibus orantes. Servitii decem millia offerebantur. Quod aspernati sunt victores, quia trucidare deditos sævum, tantam multitudinem custodia cingere arduum: ut belli potius jure caderent. Datumque militibus, qui scalis evaserant, signum cædis. Excidio Uspensium cæteris metus injectus, nihil tutum ratis, cum arma, munimenta, impediti vel eminentes loci, amnesque et urbes juxta perrumperentur. Itaque Zorsines diu pensitato Mithridatisne rebus extremis an patrio regno consuleret; postquam prævaluit gentilis utilitas, datis obsidibus, apud effigiem Cæsaris procubuit: magna gloria exercitus Romani, quem incruentum et victorem, tridui itinere abfuisse ab amne Tanai constitit. Sed in regressu dispar fortuna fuit: quia navium quasdam, quæ mari remeabant, in litora Taurorum delatas circumvenere barbari, præfecto cohortis et plerisque aliis interfectis[m].

Interea Mithridates, nullo in armis subsidio relicto, consultat cujus misericordiam experiretur. Frater Cotys proditor olim, deinde hostis metuebatur. Romanorum nemo id authoritatis aderat, ut promissa ejus magni penderentur. Ad Eunomen igitur confugiens, regiam ingreditur, genibusque ejus provolutus, "Mithridates," inquit, "terra marique a Romanis per tot annos quæsitus, sponte adsum. Utere ut voles prole magni Achæmenis: quod

[l] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 16. [m] Id. ibid. cap. 17.

mihi solum hostes non abstulerunt." Eunones claritudine viri, mutatione rerum, et prece haud degenere permotus, legatos literasque ad Cæsarem mittit; quibus pro Mithridate non potentiam neque regnum precabatur, sed ne triumpharetur, neve pœnas capite expenderet. Claudius vero ambigens, venia an pœna illum afficeret, tandem ad mitiorem sententiam est perductus[n].

4053. Quum Carrhenes Meherdatem ad rem gerendam vocaret, promptasque res ostentaret si citi advenirent; ille malo ductus consilio, non cominus Mesopotamiam, sed flexu Armeniam petiit, id temporis importunam, quia hyems occipiebat. Exin nivibus et montibus fessi, postquam campis propinquabant, copiis Carrhenis sunt adjuncti. Transmissoque amne Tigri, permearunt Adiabenos; quorum rex Izates societatem Meherdatis palam induerat, sed in Gotarzen per occulta et magis fida inclinabat. In transitu tamen capta est urbs Ninos vetustissima sedes Assyriæ[o].

Mithridates Bosphoranus, per Junium Cilonem procuratorem Ponti Romam perductus, ferocius quam pro fortuna disseruisse apud Claudium ferebatur: elataque vox ejus in vulgum hisce verbis: "Non sum remissus ad te, sed reversus: vel si non credis, dimitte et quære." Vultu quoque interrito permansit, quum juxta rostra custodibus circumdatus visui populo præberetur. Consularia insignia Ciloni, Aquilæ prætoria sunt decreta[p].

Quum Bithyni Junium hunc Cilonem præfectum suum, jus dicente Claudio, munerum haud mediocriter captorum multis clamoribus postea accusarent, Claudiusque præ turba non intelligens quid vellent, assistentes interrogaret quidnam dicerent Bithyni; Narcissum, in Cilonis gratiam mentitum, respondisse ferunt, agere eos gratias Junio: idque credentem Claudium subdidisse, "Præsit ergo adhuc eis alterum biennium[q]." Hoc vero tempore Cadius Rufus, iisdem Bithynis accusantibus, lege repetundarum damnatus est[r].

[n] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 18, 19, 20. [o] Id. ibid. cap. 12. et 13.
[p] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 21. [q] Dio, lib. 60. pag. 687.
[r] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 22. et histor. lib. 1. cap. 77.

Ituræi et Judæi, defunctis regibus Sohemo atque Agrippa, provinciæ Syriæ additi sunt[s]. Agrippæ quidem junioris regnantis annos hinc deduci, et ex Josepho apparet, principium belli Judaici (quod mense Maio anni vulgatæ nostræ æræ Christianæ LXVI. cœptum est) in decimum septimum regnum Agrippæ annum conjiciente[t]; et ex nummo Græco, suo loco exhibendo, in quo Judæa capta (circa mensem Septembrem anni ejusdem æræ LXX.) Agrippæ anno vigesimo primo fuisse significatur. Verum huic non Judææ regnum quod Agrippa pater, sed Chalcidis quod Herodes patruus habuerat, Claudius donavit; simul cum potestate in templum Hierosolymitanum et sacrum ærarium, atque jure eligendi summos pontifices, quæ idem patruo ipsius prius concesserat. Paternum vero regnum ita provinciæ Syriæ est additum, ut proprios tamen procuratores a Cæsare acciperet: Ventidio Cumano Judææ et Galilææ administrationem hoc tempore, ut antea, retinente, in interjectam autem inter utramque Samariam misso procuratore Felice, Claudii et matris ejus Antoniæ liberto; qui ab hac Antonii, ab illo Claudii prænomen acceperat. Is frater alterius liberti Pallantis fuit: quem apud patronum Claudium flagrantissima gratia tum fuisse, a Tacito[u] est notatum.

Gotarzes apud montem Sambulon vota diis loci suscepit, præcipua religione Herculis. Nondum vero satis aucto exercitu, flumine Corma pro munimento est usus. Et quanquam per insectationes et nuncios ad prælium vocaretur, nectebat moras, locos mutabat, et missis corruptoribus exuendam ad fidem hostes emercabatur. Ex quibus Izates Adiabenus, et rex Acbarus Arabum Edessenorum cum exercitu abscesserunt; levitate gentili, et quia experimentis cognitum est, Barbaros malle Roma petere reges quam habere. At Meherdates validis auxiliis nudatus, cæterorum proditione suspecta, quod unum reliquum, rem in casum dare, prælioque experiri statuit.

[s] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 23.

[t] Lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. fin. κεφ. κε. init.

[u] Annal. lib. 11. cap. 29.

Nec detrectavit pugnam Gotarzes, diminutis hostibus ferox. Concursumque magna cæde, et ambiguo eventu: donec Carrhenem profligatis obversis, longius evectum integer a tergo globus circumveniret. Tum omni spe perdita, Meherdates promissa Parrhacis paterni clientis secutus, dolo ejus vincitur, traditurque victori. Atque ille non propinquum neque Arsacis de gente, sed alienigenam et Romanum increpans, auribus decisis vivere jubet, ostentui clementiæ suæ et in Romanos dehonestamento[x].

Josephus Matthiæ filius, quartum decimum ætatis annum agens, ex literarum studiis eam laudem est consecutus, ut etiam a pontificibus et urbis Hierosolymitanæ primatibus de penitiori legum sensu consuleretur: quemadmodum in libro de vita sua ipse de se narrat.

Gotarze morbo obeunte, in regnum Parthicum accitus Vonones, Medis tum præsidens, brevi et inglorio imperio perfunctus est: resque Parthorum in filium ejus Vologesen sunt translatæ; qui, materna origine ex pellice Græca, concessu fratrum regnum est adeptus. Ita Tacitus[y]. Gotarzi vero, sublato per insidias, Vologesem fratrem successisse, scribit Josephus[z]; duobus eum germanis eodem secum patre genitis regna distribuisse addens; Pacoro grandiori Mediam, Tiridati minori Armeniam.

Bellum inter Armenios Iberosque exortum est: quod Parthis quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum causa fuit. Iberos Pharasmanes vetusta possessione, Armenios frater ejus Mithridates ope Romanorum obtinebat. Erat Pharasmani filius Rhadamistus, decora proceritate, vi corporis insignis, claraque inter accolas fama. Quum in paternum regnum affectaret, Pharasmanes vergentibus jam annis sibi metuens, aliam ad spem juvenem trahere cœpit, et Armeniam ostentare, pulsis Parthis datam Mithridati a semet memorando: sed vim differendam, et potiorem esse dolum adjiciens, quo

[x] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 14. [y] Ibid. et cap. 44.
[z] Antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 2.

incautum opprimerent. Ita Rhadamistus, simulata adversus patrem discordia, tanquam novercæ odiis impar, perrexit ad patruum: multaque ab eo comitate cultus, primores Armeniorum ad res novas illexit[a].

Rhadamistus, reconciliationis specie assumpta, regressus ad patrem, quæ fraude confici potuerint prompta nuntiavit, cætera armis exsequenda. Interim Pharasmanes belli causas confingit: prælianti sibi adversus regem Albanorum, et Romanos auxilio vocanti fratrem adversatum; eamque injuriam excidio ipsius ultum iturum. Simul magnas copias filio tradidit. Ille eruptione subita territum exutumque campis Mithridatem compulit in castellum Gorneas, tutum loco ac præsidio militum, quibus Cœlius Pollio præfectus, centurio Casperius præerat. Rhadamistus frustra vel cum damno tentatis munitionibus, avaritiam præfecti emercatur; obtestante Casperio, ne socius rex, ne Armenia donum populi Romani, scelere et pecunia venderentur. Postremo quia multitudinem hostium Pollio, jussa patris Rhadamistus, obtendebant, pactus inducias abscedit: ut nisi Pharasmanem bello absterruisset, T. Numidium Quadratum præsidem Syriæ doceret, quo in statu Armeniæ forent[b].

Periodus Calippica sexta incipit.

Digressu Casperii centurionis velut custode exsolutus Pollio præfectus, Mithridatem ad fœdus cum Pharasmane, seniore fratre, sanciendum hortatur; cætera quoque necessitudinum nomina referens, quod filiam ejus in matrimonio haberet, quod ipse Rhadamisto socer esset. Cunctante Mithridate, et suspectis præfecti consiliis quod pellicem polluerat, inque omnem libidinem venalis habebatur; Casperius interim a Pharasmane, ut Iberi obsidio abscedant, expostulat. Ille propalam incerta, et sæpius molliora respondens, secretis nuntiis monet Rhadamistum, oppugnationem quoque modo accelerare. Augetur flagitii merces, et Pollio occulta corruptione impellit milites, ut pacem flagitarent, seque præsidio abituros minitarentur. Qua necessitate, Mithridates diem locumque fœderi

[a] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 44. [b] Ibid. cap. 45.

accepit, castelloque egreditur. Ac primo Rhadamistus in amplexus ejus effusus, simulavit obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellans. Adjecit et jusjurandum, non ferro, non veneno vim allaturum: simul in locum propinquum traxit, provisu suo illic sacrificium paratum dictitans, ut diis testibus pax firmaretur. Ibi vero prostrato Mithridati injiciuntur catenæ: tandemque jussis Pharasmanis acceptis, Rhadamistus quasi jurisjurandi memor patruum et socerum suum, ejusque conjugem sororem suam, projectos in humum et veste multa gravique opertos necavit. Filii quoque ejus, quod cædibus parentum illachrymaverant, trucidati sunt[c].

Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridatem, et regnum ab interfectoribus obtineri, vocat concilium, docet acta, et an ulcisceretur consultat. Paucis decus publicum curæ: plures absistendum ab ultione censent. Ne tamen annuisse facinori viderentur, et diversa Cæsar præciperet; missi ad Pharasmanem nuntii sunt, ut abscederet a finibus Armeniæ, filiumque abstraheret[d].

4055. Erat Cappadociæ procurator Julius Pelignus, ignavia animi et deridiculo corporis juxta despiciendus; sed Claudio perquam familiaris, cum privatus olim iners otium oblectaret. Is Pelignus auxiliis provincialium contractis, tanquam recuperaturus Armeniam, dum socios magis quam hostes prædatur, abscessu suorum, et incursantibus barbaris, præsidii egens, ad Rhadamistum venit: donisque ejus evictus, ultro regium insigne sumere cohortatur; sumentique adest author et satelles. Quod ubi turpi fama divulgatum; ne cæteri quoque ex Peligno conjectarentur, Helvidius Priscus legatus cum legione mittitur, rebus turbidis pro tempore ut consuleret. Itaque propere montem Taurum transgressus, moderatione plura quam vi composuerat: cum redire in Syriam jubetur, ne initium belli adversus Parthos existeret. Nam Vologeses casum invadendæ Armeniæ obvenisse ratus, quam, a majoribus suis possessam, externus rex flagitio obtineret, contraxit copias, fratremque Tiridatem dedu-

[c] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 46, 47. [d] Id. ibid. cap. 48.

cere in regnum paravit; ne qua pars domus sine imperio ageret. Incessu Parthorum, sine acie pulsi Iberi: urbesque Armeniorum Artaxata et Tigranocerta jugum accepere. Dein atrox hyems, seu parum provisi commeatus, et orta ex utroque tabes, perpellunt Vologesen omittere præsentia[e].

Vacuam rursus Armeniam Rhadamistus invasit, truculentior quam antea, tanquam adversus defectores, et in tempore rebellaturos. Atqui illi, quamvis servitio sueti, patientiam abrumpunt, armisque regiam circumveniunt. Nec aliud Rhadamisto subsidium fuit, quam pernicitas equorum quibus seque et Zenobiam conjugem abstulit. Sed conjux gravida, primam utcunque fugam ob metum hostilem et mariti charitatem toleravit. Post festinatione continua, ubi quati uterus, et viscera vibrantur, oravit ut morte honesta contumeliis captivitatis eximeretur. Ille primo amplecti, allevare, adhortari, modo virtutem admirans, modo timore æger, ne quis relicta potiretur. Postremo violentia amoris, et fascinorum non rudis distringit acinacem, vulneratamque ad ripam Araxis trahit, flumini tradit, ne corpus etiam auferretur. Ipse præceps Iberos ad patrium regnum pervadit. Interim Zenobiam placida illuvie spirantem, ac vitæ manifestam, advertere pastores; et dignitate formæ haud degenerem reputantes, obligant vulnus, agrestia medicamenta adhibent; cognitoque nomine et casu, in urbem Artaxata ferunt. Unde publica cura deducta ad Tiridatem, comiterque excepta, cultu regio habita est[f].

Quidam Christiani nominis professores, e secta Pharisæorum, Antiochiam e Judæa descendentes, Christianos ex Gentibus circumcidi oportere dicebant et legem Mosis observare, si salvi esse vellent; multorum in Syria et Cilicia fratrum animas perversa sua doctrina perturbantes. Quibus Paulus et Barnabas acriter se opposuerunt[g]. Eos "*παρεισάκτους ψευδαδέλφους*, irreptitios falsos fratres,"

[e] Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. 49, 50. [f] Id. cap. 50, 51.
[g] Act. cap. 15. ver. 1, 2. 5. 23, 24.

appellat Paulus[h], eorumque antesignanum Cerinthum hæresiarcham fuisse, docent Philastrius[i], et Epiphanius[k].

Paulus, annis quatuordecim post profectionem Hierosolymitanam triennio a conversione sua exacto susceptam, ascendit Hierosolymam una cum Barnaba[l]; utroque cum aliis nonnullis ab ecclesia Antiochena eo misso, ut apostolorum Hierosolymitanorum (quorum nomine ad dogma suum tutandum turbones isti sunt abusi) de oborta controversia sententiam exquirerent[m].

Ascendit autem Paulus ex revelatione, assumpto simul et Tito Græco: quem ad circumcisionem cogi noluit, ne falsis illis fratribus ad momentum cedere videretur[n].

Paulus et Barnabas in itinere per Phœniciam et Samariam narrantes conversionem Gentium, fratres omnes magno affecerunt gaudio. Et quum pervenissent Hierosolymam, excepti sunt ab ecclesia, et ab apostolis ac presbyteris; et retulerunt quanta Deus per ipsos effecerat[o].

Paulus privatim primariis inter apostolos, Jacobo, Petro et Johanni, qui existimabantur esse columnæ, exposuit evangelium quod prædicabat inter Gentes. Qui cum vidissent ipsi concreditum fuisse evangelium inter Gentes sicut Petro inter Judæos, et cognovissent gratiam ipsi datam, dextras societatis dederunt ei ac Barnabæ; ut illi apud Gentes, ipsi vero apud Judæos apostolatu fungerentur; monentes tantum, ut pauperum qui Hierosolymis erant sublevandorum curam susciperent[p].

Concilio apostolorum et presbyterorum Hierosolymis habito, quum post multam disceptationem Petrus sententiam suam dixisset, Barnabas et Paulus exposuerunt quanta per ipsos miracula Deus inter Gentes edidisset. Concludente deinde Jacobo, communi apostolorum et presbyterorum et totius ecclesiæ decreto nihil aliud credentibus Gentibus imponi placuit, quam ut ab idolothytis, scortatione, suffocato, et sanguine abstinerent. In quam sententiam synodica ab iis ad Antiochenos et reliquos in

h Galat. cap. 2. ver. 4.
i De hæres. cap. 87.
k Hæres. 28.
l Galat. cap. 2. ver. 1.
m Act. cap. 15. ver. 2, 3. 24.
n Galat. cap. 2. ver. 1—5.
o Act. cap. 15. ver. 3, 4.
p Galat. cap. 2. ver. 2. 7.–9, 10.

Syria et Cilicia fratres scripta est epistola: quam primi nominis in ecclesia viris, Judæ cognomento Barsabæ et Silæ, cum Paulo et Barnaba, Antiochiam perferendam tradiderunt. Qui cum Antiochiam venissent, reddita et lecta epistola, magno fratres gaudio perfuderunt: Juda quoque et Sila, qui et ipsi prophetæ erant, multo eos sermone confirmantibus[q].

Aliquanto post, Juda ad apostolos reverso, Silæ visum est Antiochiæ manere: ubi Paulus quoque et Barnabas, cum aliis multis, verbum Domini prædicaverunt[r].

Josephus Matthiæ filius, anno ætatis decimo sexto cuinam Judæorum sectæ sese addiceret deliberans, omnium trium (Pharisæorum scilicet Sadducæorum et Essenorum) duro et magno labore cepit experientiam[s].

Pallanti Claudii liberto prætoria insignia, et centies quinquagies sestertium decreta sunt[t].

Quum Galilæis, ad festum Hierosolymam proficiscentibus, per Samariam necessario esset transeundum[u]; ad vicum Samaritarum Nain (aliter Geman) in magno campo situm, Galilæo quodam interfecto, indeque pugna inter viatores et vicanos orta, multi Galilæorum desiderati sunt. Id indigne ferentes eorum primates, ad arma Judæos conciverunt, hortantes ut se in libertatem assererent. Servitutem enim etiam per se molestam, tum vero fieri intolerabilem, si cum subditorum injuriis conjuncta sit. Hierosolymis igitur, relicta diei solennitate, armatum vulgus in Samariam impetum fecit; nec cuiquam principum suorum retinenti acquiescere voluit. Asciti quoque in auxilium latronum duces, Eleazarus Dinæi filius et Alexander, in Acrabatenæ regioni conterminos Samaritas irruentes, promiscuam ediderunt cædem; et a nullius ætatis exitio temperantes, vicos etiam inflammaverunt. At Cumanus, cognitis quæ gesta fuerant, assumpsit secum unam equitum Sebastenorum alam, et quatuor cohortes peditum: armatisque etiam Samaritanis, contra Judæos profectus eosque

[q] Act. cap. 15. ver. 6—32.
[r] Id. ibid. ver. 33, 34, 35.
[s] Joseph. de vita sua.
[t] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 53.
[u] Johan. cap. 4. ver. 3, 4.

assecutus, multos eorum qui Eleazarum erant secuti interfecit, plures vero captos abduxit. Tum vero Hierosolymitanorum primores, ut viderunt ad quantam calamitatem ventum esset, induti saccos et capita sparsi cinere, reliquam multitudinem quæ ad vastandos Samaritanorum fines irruerat, precabantur ut ab incepto desinerent ; præ oculis ponentes diruendam patriam, templum incendendum, liberosque cum uxoribus captivos abducendos : rogabantque ut depositis armis suas quisque domos repeteret. Quibus Judæi tandem acquiescentes, recesserunt ; latrones vero ad loca munita reversi sunt denuo. Atque ex eo tempore universa Judæa repleta est latronum receptaculis[x].

Samaritanorum primates Numidium Quadratum Syriæ præsidem tunc Tyri degentem convenerunt ; vindictam de Judæis, qui vicos eorum diripuerant et incenderant, postulantes. Præsto autem fuerunt etiam Judæorum nobiles, et Jonathas filius Anani summus pontifex : qui objecta diluentes, initium tumultus a Samaritanis profectum dicebant, qui primi homicidium perpetrassent ; causam tamen calamitatum postea secutarum fuisse Cumanum, qui illorum muneribus corruptus eam cædem ulcisci noluerit. His auditis, Quadratus judicium distulit ; dicens se prolaturum sententiam, postquam præsens apud Judæam rei veritatem exactius cognoverit. Ita tum infecto negotio discessum est[y].

Interim Felix intempestivis remediis delicta accendebat, æmulo ad deterrima Ventidio Cumano, cui pars provinciæ habebatur : ita divisis, ut huic Galilæorum natio, Felici Samaritæ parerent ; discordes olim, et tum contemptu regentium minus coercitis odiis. Igitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias, et aliquando præliis congredi, spoliaque et prædas ad procuratores referre. Hique primo lætari : moxque gliscente pernicie, cum arma militum interjecissent, cæsi milites sunt. Ar-

[x] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.

[y] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.

sissetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus Syriæ rector subvenisset[z].

Nec diu adversus Judæos qui in necem militum proruperant, dubitatum, quin capite pœnas luerent: Cumanus et Felix cunctationem afferebant, quia Claudius causis rebellionis auditis, jus statuendi etiam de procuratoribus illi dederat. Sed Quadratus Felicem (utpote Pallantis, qui Romæ omnia tum poterat, fratrem) inter judices ostentavit, receptum in tribunal, quo studia accusantium deterrerentur: et flagitiorum quæ duo deliquerant, unus Cumanus damnatus; et quies provinciæ reddita est[a].

Agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Clitarum cognomentum, Trosobore (sive Atosoboro) duce, montes asperos castris cepere: atque inde decursu in litora aut urbes, vim cultoribus ac oppidanis, ac plerumque in mercatores ac navicularios audebant. Obsessaque civitas Anemuriensis, et missi e Syria in subsidium equites cum præfecto Curtio Severo turbantur: quod duri circum loci, peditibusque ad pugnam idonei, equestre prælium haud patiebantur. Dein rex ejus oræ Antiochus, blandimentis adversus plebem, fraude in ducem, quum barbarorum copias dissociasset, Trosobore paucisque primoribus interfectis, cæteros clementia composuit[b].

Petrus apostolus Antiochiam veniens, cum Gentilibus fidelibus edebat et familiariter conversabatur. Verum quum Hierosolymis eo venissent a Jacobo fratres Judæi nonnulli, eorum offensionem metuens, a Gentilibus subduxit se. Cujus exemplum secuti sunt et reliqui ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Judæi: adeo ut Barnabas quoque simul abriperetur eorum simulatione. Eam præposteram simulationem, libertati evangelicæ contrariam, non ferens Paulus, Petro in os restitit, ejusque timiditatem coram omnibus acriter coarguit[c].

4056. Quadratus in Samariam veniens, cum jussisset reos causam suam dicere, comperit Samaritanorum culpa tumultum primum excitatum fuisse. Cæsaream vero pro-

[z] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 54.
[a] Id. ibid.
[b] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 55.
[c] Galat. cap. 2. ver. 11—14.

cedens, cognito quod Judæorum quidam res novas moliti essent, in crucem egit quos Cumanus vivos ceperat et vinctos ibi reliquerat. Inde profectus in vicum Lyddam instar urbis amplum, sedens pro tribunali, iterum Samaritanorum causam audiens, didicit e quodam Samarita, Dortum Judæorum primatem cum aliis quatuor sociis Judæos ad defectionem solicitasse: quos ille affecit supplicio. Et Judæorum octodecim viros, quos cognovit pugnæ fuisse participes, securi percussit[d].

Duos principes sacerdotum, Jonatham et Ananiam, ejusque filium Ananum, et nonnullos alios Judæos nobiles, Quadratus ad Cæsarem misit: similiterque Samaritanorum nobilissimos quosque. Præcepit etiam Cumano procuratori, et Celeri tribuno, Romam navigare reddituros Claudio rationem eorum quæ in regione gesserant[e].

His ita compositis, Quadratus veritus ne novum aliquid Judæi molirentur, Lydda ascendit Hierosolyma: ubi pacata invenit omnia, populumque occupatum patrio azymorum festo, et operantem sacrificiis. Credens igitur nihil novaturos, reliquit agentes festa, et Antiochiam repetiit[f].

Cumanus et Samaritæ Romam missi statuta die causam suam jussi sunt dicere. Comparaverant autem sibi favorem libertorum et amicorum Cæsaris: quorum opera vicissent adversarios Judæos, nisi Agrippa junior tum Romæ degens, et Judæorum primores premi favore potentum videns, multis precibus obtinuisset ab Agrippina uxore Claudii, ut marito persuaderet legitime causam cognoscere, et in deprehensos tumultus authores justam proferre sententiam. Claudius igitur his precibus præmollitus, auditis partibus, ut comperit a Samaritanis factum tumultus principium, eos qui tum ad judicium venerant supplicio tradidit. Cumanum mulctavit exilio. Celerem vero tribunum vinctum Hierosolymam mittens, Judæis ad supplicium tradidit; ut per urbem tractus capite cæderetur[g].

[d] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.
[e] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.
[f] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.
[g] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.

Procuratorem deinde in Judæam destinavit Claudium Felicem, fratrem Pallantis, qui eam provinciam, una cum Samaria et Galilæa administraret[h]; quod precibus suis Jonathas summus pontifex a Cæsare obtinuit[i]. Claudium ex libertis suis " Felicem cohortibus et alis, provinciæque Judææ præposuisse, trium reginarum maritum;" scribit Suetonius[k]; quem et " Judææ impositum, cuncta malefacta sibi impunia ratum futura, tanta potentia subnixo," scribit Tacitus[l]: in quinto etiam historiarum suarum libro[m] de tyrannico illius in Judæa regimine amplius addens: " Antonius Felix per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatræ et Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta: ut ejusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset."

Quum rex Agrippa junior per quadriennium præfuisset Chalcidi, Claudius post exactum imperii annum duodecimum ea illi ablata, in majus eum regnum transtulit. Philippi tetrarchia ei donata, Batanæa videlicet et Gaulanitide, simul cum Trachonitide; adjuncta etiam Abila Lysaniæ tetrarchia, quam Varus rexerat[n].

His donationibus a Cæsare ornatus juvenis collocavit Azizo Emessenorum regi circumciso sororem Drusillam. Epiphanes enim Antiochi Commagenorum regis filius recusavit ejus nuptias, quod mutata sententia Judæorum religionem amplecti nollet, ut erat pollicitus puellæ parentibus: Mariammem quoque matrimonio conjunxit Julio Archelao Chelciæ filio, cui ab Agrippa patre jam ante desponsata fuerat[o].

Josephus Matthiæ filius Bani cujusdam institutum imitari cœpit; qui in solitudine vivens, amictum sibi parabat ex arboribus, et sponte provenientibus alimentis utebatur, crebrisque ob continentiam nocte ac die lavacris frigidis: atque in ejus contubernio tres annos exegit[p].

[h] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα. et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5.
[i] Joseph. lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 6.
[k] In Claudio, cap. 28.
[l] Annal. lib. 12. cap. 54.
[m] Cap. 9.
[n] Joseph. lib. 20. antiqu. cap. 5. cum lib. 2. belli, cap. 11. κεφ. κα.
[o] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 5.
[p] Id. in lib. de vita sua.

Nero, causa Iliensium suscepta, Romanum Troja demissum, et Juliæ stirpis authorem Æneam, aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera facunde exsecutus, impetravit ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur[q]. Claudiusque illis, quasi Romanæ gentis authoribus, tributa in perpetuum remisit: recitata vetere epistola Græca senatus populique Romani, Seleuco regi amicitiam et societatem ita demum pollicentis, si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes præstitisset[r].

Rhodiis quoque, ob pœnitentiam veterum delictorum, libertatem Claudius reddidit; ademptam sæpe aut firmatam, prout bellis externis meruerant, aut domi seditione deliquerant[s]. Pro Rhodiis vero atque Iliensibus Neronem Græce apud patrem consulem, Claudium videlicet ante biennium postremum suum consulatum gerentem, verba fecisse, scribit Suetonius[t].

Tributum Apamiensibus terræ motu convulsis in quinquennium a Claudio est remissum[u].

Retulit dein Claudius de immunitate Cois tribuenda: multaque super antiquitate eorum memoravit. Argivos vel cum Latonæ parente (Cæo, a quo insulæ nomen datum) vetustissimos insulæ cultores: mox adventu Æsculapii artem medendi illatam, maximeque inter posteros celebrem fuisse; nomina singulorum referens, et quibus quisque ætatibus viguissent. Quin etiam dixit Xenophontem, Coum medicum, cujus scientia ipse uteretur, eadem familia ortum: precibusque ejus dandum, ut omni tributo vacui in posterum Coi, sacram et tantum Dei ministram insulam colerent[x].

Quum Barnabam sollicitaret Paulus, ut ecclesias simul inviserent in quibus evangelium annunciavissent, consulebat Barnabas ut Johannem Marcum secum assumerent. Contra vero censebat Paulus, non esse assumendum eum, qui ab ipsis abscessisset ex Pamphylia[y], nec eorum comes in illo opere fuisset. Unde ægre ferente Barnaba, conso-

[q] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 58
[r] Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 25.
[s] Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 25. et Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 58.
[t] In Nerone, cap. 7.
[u] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 58.
[x] Tacit. ann. lib. 12. cap. 61.
[y] Act. cap. 13. ver. 13.

brino suo[y] eam infamiæ notam inurendam, tanta inter eos orta est contentio, ut alter ab altero discederet. Et Barnabas quidem, assumpto Marco, navigavit in Cyprum, patriam suam. Paulus vero allecto Sila, commendatus gratiæ Dei a fratribus, peragravit Syriam ac Ciliciam, confirmans ecclesias[z].

Veniens Paulus Derben et Lystram, inter discipulos offendit ibi Timotheum, natum patre quidem Græco sive Gentili, matre vero Judæa fideli Eunice: cui omnes qui Lystris erant et Iconii fratres bonum perhibebant testimonium. Eum secum assumpturus Paulus, quo Judæos magis lucrifaceret, prius circumcidendum curavit[a].

Paulus et Silas, prout pertransibant urbes, tradebant eis observanda illa quæ decreta fuerant ab apostolis et presbyteris qui erant Hierosolymis. Et ecclesiæ confirmabantur fide, et numero augebantur quotidie[b].

Phrygia deinde peragrata et Galatica regione; prohibiti a Spiritu Sancto prædicare verbum Dei in Asia, quum venissent in Mysiam, tentabant ire in Bithyniam: sed non permittente eos ire Spiritu, a Mysia descenderunt Troadem. Ibi in somnis Paulo adstare visus est vir quidam Macedo, dicens: "Transiens[c] in Macedoniam succurre nobis."

Ut visum hoc ille vidit, "statim studuimus abire in Macedoniam; certi facti quod vocasset nos Dominus ad evangelizandum eis:" inquit Lucas[d], qui hic et deinceps de Paulo et ejus comitibus in prima persona loquens, cum hactenus de eis in tertia locutus fuisset, ab hoc tempore comitem se Paulo in prædicatione evangelii adjunctum fuisse satis indicat.

4057. Paulus et Silas, cum Luca et Timotheo, provecti Troade, recto cursu Samothracem venerunt, et sequente die Neapolim, atque illinc Philippos; quæ primaria ejus tractus Macedoniæ urbs erat, et juris Italici colonia: commoratique sunt in ea urbe aliquot dies[e].

[y] Coloss. cap. 4. ver. 10.
[z] Act. cap. 15. ver. 36—41.
[a] Act. cap. 16. ver. 1, 2, 3.
[b] Ib. ver. 4, 5.
[c] Act. cap. 16. ver. 6—9.
[d] Id. ibid. ver. 10.
[e] Act. cap. 16. ver. 11. 12.

Die Sabbathi egressi ex urbe ad flumen, ubi erat proseucha, allocuti sunt mulieres quæ illuc convenerant. Inter quas una Lydia Deum colens, quæ purpuram vendebat in urbe Thyatirorum, attendens iis quæ a Paulo dicebantur, cor ejus Domino adaperiente, in Christum credidit. Quæ cum tota sua domo baptizata, Paulum cum comitibus suis hospitio excepit[f].

Proficiscentibus postea illis ad proseucham, immundus spiritus ex ancilla pythonissa eos per multos dies subsecuta clamabat: "Isti homines servi sunt Dei altissimi, qui annunciant vobis viam salutis." Quod moleste ferens Paulus, spiritui illi mandavit per nomen Jesu, ut ex illa exiret. Quo facto, videntes ancillulæ domini abiisse spem quæstus sui, Paulum et Silam in forum pertrahentes, tantum clamoribus suis apud prætores effecerunt, ut virgis uterque publice cæderetur et in carcerem conjiceretur. Ubi media nocte illis orantibus et hymnos Deo canentibus, magno terræ motu facto, foribus carceris omnibus apertis et inclusorum omnium vinculis laxatis, quum ad desperationem redactus custos stricto gladio seipsum erat interempturus, a Paulo et Sila ad Christi fidem est conversus, et cum universa familia ea ipsa nocte baptizatus. Die autem exorto, mittentibus prætoribus ut liberi dimitterentur, de contumelia et injuria accepta cum his expostulantes illi, quod cives Romanos indicta causa publice cæsos in carcerem conjecissent: ab ipsis advenientibus non sine honore liberantur, atque ut urbe excederent rogantur. Qui introeuntes ad Lydiam, quum accedentes fratres fuissent consolati, ex urbe egressi sunt[g].

Itinere deinde facto per Amphipolim et Apolloniam, venerunt Thessalonicam (totius Macedoniæ metropolim) ubi erat synagoga quædam Judæorum[h]. Illic, tantis contumeliis prius Philippis affectus, evangelium Dei cum multo certamine annunciavisse se scribit Paulus apostolus[i]. Nam secundum consuetudinem suam in Judæorum synagogam ingressus per tria Sabbatha cum eis ex Scriptura

[f] Act. cap. 16. ver. 13, 14, 15.
[g] Ib. ver. 16—40.
[h] Act. cap. 17. ver. 1.
[i] 1 Thessal. cap. 2. ver. 2.

de Christo disseruit. Quorum nonnullis credentibus, consociata est Paulo et Silæ religiosorum Græcorum multitudo magna, et ex mulieribus primariis non paucæ[k].

Thessalonicenses non de fide tantum Christiana, sed etiam de futura apostasia et Antichristi revelatione Paulus edocuit[l].

Quum Paulus diutius Thessalonicæ hæreret, semel atque iterum a Philippensibus necessaria vitæ subsidia accepit[m]. Sed increduli Judæi, assumptis quibusdam viris circumforaneis improbis, et tumultu in civitate excitato, Jasonem (in cujus domo Paulus cum comitibus hospitabatur) et quosdam fratres ad magistratus traxerunt, et magnis clamoribus accusarunt. Quibus cum ab illis fuisset satisfactum, fratres statim per noctem Paulum simul et Silam emiserunt Berœam[n].

Hic quoque quum in synagogam Judæorum introeuntes ex Scripturis diligenter prædicarent Christum, et auditores prædicata cum Scripturis conferentes, ea per omnia congruere cum illis invenirent; multi crediderunt ex eis, et Græcarum mulierum honoratarum et virorum non pauci. Cumque Judæi Thessalonicenses illuc venientes turbam contra Paulum concitarent: fratres eum statim emiserunt, velut iturum ad mare, sed Athenas usque deduxerunt; accepto ad Silam et Timotheum Berœæ relictos mandato, ut ad ipsum venirent quam citissime[o].

Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Claudius Roma expulit[p]. Hujus Chresti solus, ni fallor, meminit Suetonius: nam Christum D. N. (a quo Christiani, alibi ab eodem memorati, denominationem acceperunt) hic ab illo fuisse intellectum, adhuc mihi persuadere non possum.

Paulus, dum Silam et Timotheum Athenis expectat, disserebat in synagoga cum Judæis et religiosis, et in foro quotidie cum quibusvis obviis; cum Epicureis quoque et Stoicis philosophis de Christo et resurrectione disputans.

k Act. cap. 17. ver. 2, 3, 4.

l 2 Thessal. cap. 2. ver. 5.

m Philipp. cap. 4. ver. 16.

n Act. cap. 17. ver. 5—10.

o Act. cap. 17. ver. 10—15.

p Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 25.

Deinde, ut peregrinorum deorum annunciator, causam dicturus in medium Areopagum raptus, doctissima oratione ibi habita, tum ex ara ipsorum Ignoto Deo dicata, tum ex Arati poetæ testimonio Dei progeniem nos esse confirmante, eundem quem ipsi ignorantes colebant Deum a se annunciari ostendit[q]. Judæorum vero Deus Ignoti apud Gentes appellationem obtinebat: eodem sensu incertus Deus Lucano in libro secundo Pharsaliæ, incertum numen Trebellio Pollioni in vita Claudii, et innominatus Deus C. Caligulæ apud Philonem in libro de legatione ad eundem, nominatus. Cui ut Carmeli montis incolæ, apud Tacitum[r], neque simulacrum tribuebant, neque templum, sed aram tantum et reverentiam: ita Athenienses quoque aram misericordiæ in media sua urbe sine ullo simulachro similiter posuerunt; in duodecimo libro Thebaidos ita referente Statio:

> Nulla autem effigies, nulli commissa metallo
> Forma Dei; mentes habitare et pectora gaudet.

Inter Athenienses a Paulo ad Christi fidem hoc tempore conversos, fuit Dionysius Areopagita, et mulier (vel uxor ejus, ut visum Ambrosio, Chrysostomo et Augustino) nomine Damaris, et alii cum eis[s].

Felix Judææ procurator, visa Drusilla Agrippæ regis sorore, fœminarum omnium pulcherrima, amore ejus captus, Simonem amicum suum, Judæum genere Cyprium, pro mago se gerentem, ad eam misit, qui mulierem solicitaret ut relicto marito Azizo Emesenorum rege ipsi nuberet; beatam fore pollicens, si non fastidiret hominem. Illa male consulta volens evadere molestationes sororis Bernices, invidentis sibi formæ præcellentiam, consensit calcata religione patria Felici nubere. Ipsa vero Bernice, patrui sui Herodis regis Chalcidis vidua, quum spargeretur rumor eum fratre, Agrippa rege, eam congredi, suasit Polemoni regi Ciliciæ, ut circumcisus prius se duceret; rata sic se coarguturam mendacium. Nec recusavit Pole-

[q] Act. cap. 17. ver. 16—31. [r] Histor. lib. 2. cap. 78.
[s] Act. cap. 17. ver. 34.

mon, inductus maxime mulieris divitiis: id tamen conjugium diuturnum non fuit, propter intemperantiam (ut fertur) discedente ab eo Bernice. Qui mox desertus ab uxore, et ipse Judaicæ religionis desertor factus est[t].

Eodem tempore etiam Mariamme (tertia regis Agrippæ soror) Julium Archelaum Chelciæ filium dedignata, migravit in thalamum Demetrii, primi inter Alexandrinos Judæos tam opibus quam genere, et tum alabarchiæ magistratum gerentis[u].

Paulus Silam et Timotheum, qui Berœa ad ipsum venerant, iterum in Macedoniam remittens, solus Athenis remansit. Et ipse quidem semel atque iterum in animo habuerat Thessalonicam proficisci; nec potuerat tamen id exequi, a Satana præpeditus: ideoque Timotheum eo misit, qui Thessalonicenses in fide confirmaret et consolaretur[x].

Interim, relictis Athenis, venit Corinthum: ubi Judæum Aquilam invenit, et Priscillam uxorem ejus, qui nuper ex Italia venerant, quod edixisset Claudius ut omnes Judæi Roma excederent. Et quia idem cum illis conficiendi tabernacula artificium exercebat, mansit apud eos Paulus et operabatur. Disserebat tamen in synagoga omnibus Sabbathis, et in suam sententiam adducebat tum Judæos tum Græcos[y].

Hic vero Paulus sua manu Stephanæ familiam baptizavit[z]; quæ primitiæ fuerunt Achaiæ, et sese in ministerium sanctis addixerunt[a].

Ut advenerunt e Macedonia Silas et Timotheus, quum Paulo magno cum zelo Christum prædicanti Judæi obsisterent ac blasphemarent; vestibus suis in illos excussis, divertit ille ad Gentes, migrans in domum cujusdam nomine Justi, colentis Deum, quæ erat confinis synagogæ[b].

Crispus archisynagogus credidit Domino cum tota domo sua: multique Corinthiorum audientes credebant et bapti-

[t] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 5.

[u] Id. ibid.

[x] Act. cap. 18. ver. 5. 1 Thessal. cap. 2. ver. 17, 18. et cap. 3. ver. 1, 2.

[y] Act. cap. 18. ver. 1—4.

[z] 1 Corinth. cap. 1. ver. 16.

[a] 1 Corinth. cap. 16. ver. 15.

[b] Act. cap. 18. ver. 5, 6, 7.

zabantur[c]. Ex quibus Crispum et Gaium sua manu Paulus baptizavit[d].

Dixit Dominus nocte per visionem Paulo: "Ne metue, sed loquere, et ne tacueris. Nam ego sum tecum, et nemo te invadet ut male te accipiat: quoniam populus est mihi multus in hac urbe." Commoratus est itaque illic annum et sex menses, docens apud eos verbum Dei[e]; una cum Silvano (sive Sila) et Timotheo[f].

Post reditum Timothei ex Macedonia, Paulus (cum eodem Timotheo et Silvano sive Sila) priorem ad Thessalonicenses scripsit epistolam[g]; in qua, quum de die judicii, quasi jam instante, paulo obscurius fuisset locutus[h]; data paulo post altera ad eos epistola, clarius illud explicavit[i]; scripta utique, quum Silvanum et Timotheum in ministerio evangelii conjunctos sibi haberet[k], et postquam ipse apud Thessalonicenses, Christi fidem amplexos, jam præsens adfuisset[l]. Ut toto hic cœlo Grotius erraverit, sub C. Caligula eam exaratam fuisse epistolam existimans.

Prorumpentes Parthi rapuerunt Armeniam, pulso Rhadamisto; qui sæpe regni ejus potitus, dein profugus, nunc quoque bellum deseruit[m]. Quum vero exortus esset Vologeso Parthorum regi æmulus filius Vardanes; abscesserunt Armenia Parthi, tanquam differrent bellum[n].

4058. Asinio Marcello et Asinio Aviola consulibus III. Idus Octobres Claudius extinctus est[o]; quum imperasset annos tredecim, menses octo et dies viginti[p]. Et in medio ejusdem diei, foribus palatii repente diductis Nero, gener et adoptivus filius ejus, imperator declaratus est[q].

Initio novi hujus principatus Junius Silanus proconsul Asiæ, nobilis et e Cæsarum posteris, ignaro Nerone, vix-

c Act. cap. 18. ver. 8.

d 1 Corinth. cap. 1. ver. 14.

e Act. cap. 18. ver. 9, 10, 11.

f 2 Corinth. cap. 1. ver. 19.

g 1 Thessal. cap. 3. ver. 6.

h Id. cap. 1. ver. 1. 5.

i 2 Thessal. cap. 2. ver. 2, 3.

k 1 Thess. cap. 1. ver. 1.

l 2 Thess. cap. 2. ver. 5.

m Tacit. annal. lib. 13. cap. 6.

n Tacit. annal. lib. 13. cap. 7.

o Seneca, in ludi de morte Claudii initio. Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 45. et Dio, lib. 60. pag. 688.

p Dio, lib. 60. pag. 688. cum Josepho, antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 5.

q Tacit. annal. lib. 12. cap. ult.

dum pueritiam egresso, per dolum matris ejus Agrippinæ insons sublatus est. Ministri sceleris P. Celer eques Romanus, et Ælius libertus, rei familiari principis in Asia impositi: a quibus proconsuli venenum inter epulas datum est[r].

Legatis Armeniorum causam gentis apud Neronem orantibus, ascendere eos in suggestum imperatoris ille volebat et præsidere simul; nisi cæteris pavore defixis, Seneca admonuisset, venienti matri occurreret. Ita specie pietatis obviam itum est dedecori[s].

Rumore de occupata a Parthis Armenia Romam perlato, Nero et juventutem proximas per provincias quæsitam supplendis orientis legionibus admovere, legionesque ipsas propius Armeniam collocari jussit: duosque veteres reges Agrippam Judæum et Iocchum (vel Antiochum potius Commagenum) expedire copias, quibus Parthorum fines ultro intrarent, simul pontes per amnem Euphratem jungi. Et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regionem Sophenem Sohemo cum insignibus regiis mandavit. Domitium vero Corbulonem retinendæ Armeniæ præposuit: copiis orientis ita divisis, ut pars auxiliarium cum duabus legionibus apud provinciam Syriam et legatum ejus Quadratum remaneret; par civium sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset, additis cohortibus alisque, quæ apud Cappadociam hyemabant, et sociis regibus, prout bello conduceret, parere jussis[t].

Primo imperii Neronis anno, regi Emesorum Azizo defuncto frater in principatu successit: minoris autem Armeniæ (ut ex Tacito jam dictum est) principatum Aristobulus Herodis regis Chalcidis filius a Nerone accepit. Regno autem Agrippæ quatuor urbes idem addidit, cum agris ad singulas pertinentibus: in Galilæa, Tiberiadem et Tarichæam; in Ituræa trans Jordanem, Abelam et Juliadem cum agro ejus habitato vicis quatuordecim[u].

Domitius Corbulo, itinere propere confecto, apud Ægæas civitatem Ciliciæ obvium Quadratum habuit; illuc

[r] Tacit. ann. lib. 13. cap. 1. [s] Id. cap. 5.
[t] Tacit. ann. lib. 13. cap. 6, 7, 8.
[u] Joseph. lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 5. et lib. 2. belli, cap. 12. κεφ. κβ.

progressum, ne si ad accipiendas copias Syriam intravisset Corbulo, omnium ora in se verteret. Uterque Vologesem Parthorum regem nuntiis monebant, pacem quam bellum mallet; datisque obsidibus, solitam prioribus reverentiam in populum Romanum continuaret. Et Vologeses quidem, vel ut bellum ex æquo pararet, vel ut æmulationis suspectos per nomen obsidum amoveret, tradidit nobilissimos ex familia Arsacidarum: accepitque eos centurio Hostorius (alias Histius) a Quadrato ea de causa ad regem missus. Quod postquam Corbuloni cognitum est, ire præfectum cohortis Arrium Varum, et recipere obsides jussit. Hinc ortum inter præfectum et centurionem jurgium, quod ne diutius externis spectaculo esset, arbitrium rei obsidibus legatisque qui eos ducebant permissum est. Atque illi ob recentem gloriam, et inclinatione quadam etiam hostium, Corbulonem prætulerunt. Unde discordia inter duces: querente Quadrato prærepta quæ suis consiliis patravisset; testante contra Corbulone, non prius conversum regem ad offerendos obsides, quam ipse dux bello delectus spes ejus ad metum mutaret. Nero, quo componeret diversos, sic evulgari jussit: ob res a Quadrato et Corbulone prospere gestas, fascibus suis imperatoriis laurum addi[x].

Initio imperii Neronis Judæa tota referta erat latronum receptaculis, et magicis præstigiatoribus imperitique vulgi seductoribus: quos quotidie comprehensos Felix e medio sustulit. Eleazarum vero Dinæ filium, non mediocrem latronum globum circa se habentem, Felix ut ad se veniret persuasit, data ei fide quod nihil mali esset passurus: moxque vinctum Romam transmisit[y].

Quum Felix Jonatham summum pontificem, de rebus Judaicis melius administrandis crebrius eum et liberius admonentem ferre non posset; Doram Hierosolymitam summum Jonathæ amicum promissa pecunia induxit, ut per sicarios interimendum eum curaret. Quidam igitur quasi religionis ergo in urbem ascendentes sicis clam succincti sub vestibus, et Jonathæ famulitio permixti, pere-

x Tacit. annal. lib. 13. cap. 8, 9. y Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 6.

merunt hominem. Cujus facinoris quia nemo ultor extitit, invitati hac licentia sicarii per singula festa ventitantes et ferrum celantes pari modo immixti turbis, alios conducti pecunia, non modo in reliquis urbis partibus sed etiam in ipso templo, impune confodiebant[z].

Et urbs quidem talibus incestabatur latrociniis. Impostores autem et magi turbas illectas post se trahebant in solitudines, pollicentes se divinitus ostensuros clarissima signa et prodigia: persuasaque multitudo mox pœnas luit dementiæ, a Felice retracta et neci data[a].

Per idem tempus Ægyptius quidam magus, in provinciam advenit: et prophetæ opinionem sibi arrogans, triginta ferme (vel quatuor potius[b],) millia hominum congregavit. Et circumducens eos de solitudine in montem Oliveti: illic visuros eos affirmabat suo jussu cadere Hierosolymorum mœnia, ita ut per eorum ruinas aditus in civitatem pateret. Quo cognito, Felix cum multis equitibus et peditibus Romanis, quos etiam reliqua Judæorum multitudo juvabat, erumpens turbam seductam invasit: quorum quadringentis occisis, ducentos vivos cepit et vinculis tradidit; reliqua multitudine in regiones proprias dispersa. Ægyptius vero ipse, cum paucis pugna elapsus, disparuit[c]. Unde de eo Lysias tribunus ad B. Paulum[d], "Nonne tu es Ægyptius ille qui ante hos dies tumultum concitasti, et eduxisti in desertum quatuor millia sicariorum?"

Quum Gallio esset proconsul Achaiæ, Judæi Corinthii Paulum ad illius tribunal adduxerunt. Illo vero de ejusmodi rebus judicare recusante, et a tribunali eos abigente, Græci prehensum Sosthenem archisynagogum cædebant; nihil eorum Gallione curante[e].

L. Annæi Senecæ (qui sub discipulo suo Nerone adolescente Romæ omnia, una cum Burrho, tum administrabat) frater hic Gallio fuit: qui Claudii, veneno sublati, *ἀποθέωσιν* deridens, unco eum in cœlum raptum fuisse

[z] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 6. [a] Id. ibid.
[b] Act. cap. 21. ver. 38.
[c] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 6. et lib. 2. belli, cap. 12. κεφ. κγ.
[d] Act. cap. 21. ver. 38. [e] Id. cap. 18. ver. 12—17.

dixit; ut in fine libri sexagesimi Dio narrat. M. Annæi Senecæ patris ad Novatum, Senecam, et Melam filios, liber controversiarum extat. Horum medius L. Seneca, in consolatione ad matrem Helviam, fratrum "alterum honores industria consecutum fuisse, alterum sapienter contempsisse," docet: per priorem, Novatum intelligens; qui a Junio Gallione (quem a Tiberio in exilium fuisse missum, ad finem anni mundi 4035. ex Tacito declaravimus) adoptatus, Gallionis nomen obtinuit. Quem etiam, ut fratrem natu grandiorem, dominum ab eodem fuisse appellatum, ad locum illum epistolæ centesimæ quartæ notavit Lipsius: "Illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis: qui, cum in Achaia febrem habere cœpisset, protinus navem ascendit; clamitans non corporis esse, sed loci morbum."

4059. Quum post tumultum ad Gallionis tribunal factum mansisset adhuc Corinthi Paulus dies multos, valedicens fratribus, e portu Cenchreensi solvit. Et in Syriam inde navigaturus, primo devenit Ephesum; ubi ingressus synagogam, disseruit cum Judæis. Rogantibus autem ut diutius apud ipsos maneret, non annuit; oportere omnino se dicens instantem diem festum agere Hierosolymis: reversurum tamen se iterum ad eos, Deo volente, pollicitus. Valedicens igitur eis et Aquila atque Priscilla ibi relictis, cum reliquis comitibus Cæsaream inde navigavit[f].

Cæsarea Stratonis ascendens Paulus ad salutandam ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam, inde descendit Antiochiam Syriæ. Et quum egisset illic aliquamdiu, abiit, pertransiens ordine Galaticam regionem atque Phrygiam, et confirmans omnes discipulos[g]. Ubi a Galatis ita exceptus, ac si esset Angelus Dei, aut ipse Christus Jesus[h]; inter alia, ut collectæ pro pauperibus die quoque Dominico seponerentur, instituit[i].

Josephus Matthiæ filius, exacto cum Bano in solitudine

[f] Act. cap. 18. ver. 18—22.

[g] Id. ibid. ver. 22, 23.

[h] Galat. cap. 4. ver. 14.

[i] 1 Corinth. cap. 16. ver. 1, 2.

triennio Hierosolymam rediit: jamque novemdecim annos natus, civilem vitam aggressus est; addictus Pharisæorum placitis, proxime ad Stoicam apud Græcos sectam accedentibus[k].

Judæus quidam Apollos, Alexandrinus genere, vir eloquens et potens in Scripturis, pervenit Ephesum. Hinc initiatus via Domini, et fervens spiritu, loquebatur et docebat diligenter ea quæ sunt Domini, sciens tantum baptisma Johannis: cœpitque libere loqui in synagoga. Quem auditum Aquila et Priscilla assumpserunt, et penitus ei exposuerunt viam Dei. Quum autem vellet transire in Achaiam, fratres eum adhortati, scripserunt discipulis ut exciperent eum. Qui cum advenisset, multum contulit iis qui crediderunt. Magna enim contentione Judæos magis ac magis redarguebat publice, ostendens per Scripturas Jesum esse Christum[l].

4060. Cum Apollos esset Corinthi, Paulus peragratis jam superioribus partibus (Galatia videlicet et Phrygia) venit Ephesum: ubi duodecim invenit discipulos, qui Johannis baptismum tantum noverant, necdum Spiritum Sanctum per manuum impositionem acceperant. Quibus ulterius in Christi doctrina a se institutis quum manus ille imposuisset, delapso in eos Spiritu Sancto, loquebantur linguis et prophetabant. Deinde ingressus synagogam, libere loquebatur, ad tres menses disserens et suadens quæ ad regnum Dei pertinent[m].

Quum Judæorum quidam indurati non assentirentur, sed male loquerentur de via Dei; Paulus in conspectu multitudinis, abscedens ab illis, separavit discipulos; quotidie disserens in schola Tyranni cujusdam. Hoc autem factum est per biennium: ita ut omnes qui habitabant in Asia, tum Judæi tum Græci, audierint sermonem Domini Jesu. Virtutesque non modicas edebat Deus per manus Pauli: ita ut etiam ad infirmos deferrentur a corpore ejus sudaria et semicinctia, et discederent ab eis morbi, et spiritus mali ab eis exirent[n].

[k] Joseph. in lib. de vita sua.

[l] Act. cap. 18. ver. 24—28.

[m] Act. cap. 19. ver. 1—8.

[n] Ibid. ver. 9—12.

P. Celerem, accusante Asia, quia absolvere nequibat Cæsar, traxit, senecta donec mortem obiret; nam Celer, interfecto Silano Asiæ proconsule, magnitudine sceleris cætera flagitia obtegebat[o].

Cossutianum Capitonem Cilices detulerant maculosum fœdumque, et idem jus audaciæ in provincia ratum, quod in urbe exercuerat. Sed pervicaci accusatione conflictatus, postremo defensionem omisit, ac lege repetundarum damnatus est[p]; quo, ex Lipsio, referendum Juvenalis illud in satyra octava:

> ———— quam fulmine justo
> Et Capito et Tutor ruerint damnante senatu,
> Piratæ Cilicum.

Et Quintiliani, libri sexti capite primo, "Egregie nobis adolescentibus dixisse accusator Cossutiani Capitonis videbatur, Græce quidem, sed in hunc sensum: Erubescit Cæsarem timere."

Pro Eprio Marcello, a quo Lycii res repetebant, eo usque ambitus prævaluit, ut quidam accusatorum ejus exilio mulctarentur, tanquam insonti periculum fecissent[q].

4061. Mollibus adhuc initiis prolatatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda Armenia bellum, acriter erupit: quia nec Vologeses sinebat fratrem Tiridatem dati a se regni expertem esse, aut alienæ id potentiæ donum habere; et Corbulo dignum magnitudine populi Romani rebatur, parta olim a Lucullo Pompeioque recipere. Ad bellum id Corbulo militem prisca severitate et disciplina formavit, Armeniamque ingressus castella aliquot excidit, et urbem Artaxata succendit, Tiridate prælium inire non auso[r].

Ex Judæis exorcistæ septem, filii Scevæ primarii sacerdotis, nomen Jesu super eos qui spiritus malos habebant invocantes, adjurabant eos per Jesum quem Paulus prædicabat. In quos insiliens Energumenus, vulneratos ex domo nudos fugere coegit. Quod cum innotuisset omnibus tum Judæis tum Græcis qui habitabant Ephesi, metus in eos omnes incidit, et magnificabatur nomen Domini

[o] Tacit. ann. lib. 13. cap. 33.
[p] Id. ibid.
[q] Tacit. ann. lib. 13. cap. 33.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 34—41.

Jesu. Et multi eorum qui crediderant, veniebant confitentes et indicantes acta sua. Multi quoque ex iis qui curiosa exercuerant, comportatos libros exusserunt in omnium conspectu: quorum supputatis pretiis, inventa sunt denariorum quinquaginta millia. Ita fortiter crescebat verbum Domini, et invalescebat[s].

Galatæ, cito post Pauli ab eis discessum[t], a falsis fratribus seducti, per opera legis justificandos se putabant: quos, vehementiore hac de re scripta ad eos epistola, ille ab errore revocat[u].

4062. Induxit in animum Paulus peragrata Macedonia et Achaia proficisci Hierosolymam; Romam etiam inde dicens videre se oportere[x]. Et quidem primo Corinthum venire proposuit, inde in Macedoniam proficisci, ex Macedonia rursus Corinthum, atque inde Judæam petere[y]; ubi quum collectas ex Macedonia et Achaia mittendas pauperibus sanctis Hierosolymæ consignavisset, Romam illinc proficisci instituit, atque inde iter facere in Hispaniam[z].

Hæc animo Paulus agitans, missis in Macedoniam Timotheo et Erasto, ipse substitit ad tempus in Asia[a]; Lydiaca scilicet, in qua per urbes Epheso vicinas evangelium prædicavisse videtur, novem adhuc mensium spatio: qui biennio quo in schola tyranni, et tribus mensibus quibus prius in synagoga Ephesi ille docuerat, additi triennium conficient, quo in Asia se laboravisse ipse indicat[b], ostio illi aperto magno, licet multis oppositis adversariis[c].

Solis defectum Vipsanio et Fonteio consulibus pridie Kalendas Maias, Campania hora diei inter septimam et octavam sensit: Corbulo dux in Armenia inter horam diei decimam et undecimam prodidit visum[d]. Romæ, ita ut stellæ viderentur, eclipsis hæc conspecta est in mediis

[s] Act. cap. 19. ver. 13—20.
[t] Id. cap. 18. ver. 23.
[u] Galat. cap. 1. ver. 6, 7.
[x] Act. cap. 19. ver. 21.
[y] 2 Corinth. cap. 1. ver. 15, 16.
[z] Rom. cap. 15. ver. 24—28.
[a] Act. cap. 19. ver. 22.
[b] Ibid. cap. 20. ver. 18. 31.
[c] 1 Corinth. cap. 16. ver. 9.
[d] Plin. lib. 2. cap. 70.

sacrificiis, quæ Agrippinæ causa (a filio Nerone interemptæ) decreto senatus fiebant[e].

4063. Orto in ecclesia Corinthiaca schismate (quod Paulo ab iis qui erant e domo Chloes est indicatum) Pauli quibusdam se esse dicentibus, quibusdam Apollo, quibusdam Cephæ, quibusdam Christi[f]; Apollos cum aliis fratribus Corinthiis ad Paulum in Asiam profectus est[g], per quos ad apostolum scribentes Corinthii, de causa conjugii et cœlibatus illum consuluerunt[h].

Paulus, cum Sosthene archisynagogo illo Corinthio ad fidem Christi converso, absente tum Timotheo[i], ex Asia Lydiaca, ubi tum erat, priorem ad Corinthios epistolam per Stephanam, Fortunatum et Achaicum (ab ipsis ad visendum apostolum missis) scripsit; Apollo cum eis tam cito redire renuente[k].

In ea epistola, incestuosum Corinthium, qui patris uxorem duxerat, Satanæ tradi jubet[l]. Et errores qui in ipsorum ecclesiam irrepserant corrigit, tum practicos, tum summum illum dogmaticum, ex Sadducæorum lacunis haustum, futuram resurrectionem negantem[m], ipse se ad eos venturum significans, et quæ supererant ordinaturum[n], quum pertransiret Macedoniam: sed prius Ephesi, usque ad Pentecosten[o], permansurum[p]. Quod tamen illius consilium inopinatus quidam casus statim interrupit.

Demetrius enim argentarius, qui fabricabat templa Dianæ argentea, metuens suo quæstui, istiusmodi rerum opificibus Ephesi congregatis, tumultum in Paulum excitavit; ut qui non Ephesiis solum sed etiam totius pene Asiæ turbæ persuaderet, deos illos non esse qui manibus fiant. Qui correpto Gaio et Aristarcho Macedonibus, sociis peregrinationis Pauli, irruerunt in theatrum: sed ipsum Paulum contendere eo volentem discipuli, et quidam ex

e Xiphilin. ex Dione: cum Tacito, lib. 14. cap. 12.
f 1 Corinth. cap. 1. ver. 11, 12. et cap. 3. ver. 3, 4.
g 1 Corinth. cap. 16. ver. 12.
h Ibid. cap. 7. ver. 1.
i 1 Cor. cap. 16. ver. 10. cum Act. cap. 19. ver. 22.
k 1 Cor. cap. 1. ver. 1. cap. 16. ver. 12. 17. 19.
l 1 Cor. cap. 5. ver. 5.
m Ibid. cap. 15.
n 1 Cor. cap. 4. ver. 18. et cap. 11. ver. 34.
o 1 Cor. cap. 16. ver. 5, 6, 7.
p Ibid. ver. 5—8.

Asiarchis (spectaculorum in theatro exhibendorum curatoribus) amici ejus, ad populum eum prodire non siverunt. Alexandro vero Judæo defensione apud populum uti parante, vox una facta est omnium quasi ad horas duas clamantium: "Magna Diana Ephesiorum." Tandem tumultu scribæ civitatis prudentia sedato, Paulus, convocatis discipulis valedicens, abiit profecturus in Macedoniam[q].

Epheso quoque Aquila et Priscilla profecti, Romam sunt reversi: postquam pro Pauli salute suam ipsorum cervicem supposuissent[r]. Judæis, Claudii de eorum expulsione edicto post mortem illius exolescente, passim Romam redeuntibus[s].

Epheso in Troadem veniente Paulo, etiamsi ostium apertum illi esset per Dominum ad prædicandum evangelium Christi, turbatus tamen quod ibi non invenisset Titum (quem cum alio fratre ad Corinthios ille miserat) navigavit inde in Macedoniam[t]; quam perambulans, multo sermone fratres est exhortatus[u].

Et quum ibi afflictio ejus se non remitteret, sed foris essent pugnæ, intus terrores; consolationem ei attulit adventus Titi, atque lætus quem de Corinthiorum statu ille attulit nuncius[x]. Quorum exemplo Macedonas etiam provocavit ad expediendas collectas Hierosolymam mittendas; ab anno superiore paratam Achaiam fuisse dicens[y]; eoque exemplo illi commoti, in multa probatione afflictionis etiam supra vires suas liberales se præstiterunt[z].

Apostolus, per Titum de successu prioris epistolæ edoctus, posteriorem ad Corinthios, simul cum Timotheo, scripsit epistolam: in qua, summa illa, quam in Asia (Demetrio procurante) nuper pertulerat, afflictione commemorata, se idcirco ad eos, sicuti proposuerat, non venisse protestatur, ut eis parceret[a]; incestuoso illi resipiscenti veniam dari obsecrat[b]; misso ad eos iterum Tito, una

[q] Act. cap. 19. ver. 24—41. et cap. 20. ver. 1.
[r] Rom. cap. 16. ver. 3, 4. cum 1 Corinth. cap. 16. ver. 19.
[s] Act. cap. 28. ver. 17. 21.
[t] 2 Corinth. cap. 2. ver. 12, 13. cum cap. 12. ver. 18.
[u] Act. cap. 20. ver. 2.
[x] 2 Corinth. cap. 7. ver. 5—16.
[y] 2 Corinth. cap. 9. ver. 2.
[z] Ibid. cap. 8. ver. 1—5.
[a] 2 Cor. cap. 1. ver. 8, 9. 17. 23.
[b] Ibid. cap. 6. ver. 5—11.

cum alio fratre cujus laus erat in evangelio per omnes ecclesias, (qui Lucas fuisse existimatur) ut collectæ Hierosolymam mittendæ in promptu essent, quum ipse eo veniret[c].

Ex Macedonia in Græciam profectus Paulus, tres menses ibi peregit[d]. Intra quos Corinthum ille veniens, eleemosynas ad sublevandos fideles Hierosolymitanos in Achaia collectas recepit[e].

Corintho scriptam fuisse insignem illam ad Romanos epistolam, in præfatione ad illius explicationem pluribus confirmat Origenes: dictatam quidem a Paulo, scriptam manu Tertii, missam per Phœben diaconissam ecclesiæ Cenchreensis, juxta Corinthum[f]; quo tempore cum collectis Macedoniæ et Achaiæ profecturus erat apostolus Hierosolymam[g].

Quum vero apostolus recta inde in Syriam solvere, ut collectas illas Hierosolymam deferret, in animo haberet; a Judæis illi navigaturo factæ sunt insidiæ. Unde, qua venerat via, in Macedoniam redeundum esse censuit; indeque in Asiam proprie dictam transeundum[h].

Philippis in Macedonia præmisit ille in Asiam itineris comites, Sopatrem sive Sosipatrem Berœensem[i], Aristarchum et Secundum Thessalonicenses, Gaium Derbensem et Timotheum, cum Asianis Tychico et Trophimo: qui expectarunt illum Troade. Ipse vero, cum Luca et reliquis, post dies azymorum Philippis solvens, venit ad eos Troadem intra dies quinque: ibique commoratus est dies septem[k].

Die octavo, qui hebdomadis fuit primus, congregatis discipulis ad frangendum panem, Paulus disserebat cum eis abiturus postridie, produxitque sermonem usque in mediam noctem; ubi Eutychum adolescentem ex tertia contignatione, in cœnaculo ubi erant congregati, deorsum decidentem vitæ restituit[l].

[c] 1 Cor. cap. 8. ver. 16—19. et cap. 9. ver. 3, 4, 5.
[d] Act. cap. 20. ver. 2, 3.
[e] 1 Corinth. cap. 16. ver. 3, 4, 5. cum 2 Corinth. cap. 9. ver. 4.
[f] Rom. cap. 16. ver. 1. 2. 22.
[g] Rom. cap. 15. ver. 25, 26.
[h] Act. cap. 20. ver. 3, 4.
[i] Rom. cap. 16. ver. 11.
[k] Rom. cap. 16. ver. 4, 5, 6.
[l] Ibid. ver. 7—12.

Hinc iter pedibus confecit Paulus Assum usque: ubi Lucas et reliqui socii, navigio eo pervenientes, eum receptum Mitylenen deduxerunt. Et quum illinc enavigassent, sequenti die pervenerunt e regione Chii, postridie vero appulerunt Samum: et quum diversati essent apud Trogyllium, sequenti die venerunt Miletum[m].

Festinabat vero Paulus ut, si fieri posset, die Pentecostes esset Hierosolymis. Ephesum igitur præternavigare volens, ne tempus tereret in Asia, missis Mileto nunciis Ephesum, presbyteros ecclesiæ eo accersivit: quos gravissima oratione de officio admonuit, et ad illud gnaviter faciendum hortatus est serio. Tum positis genibus suis, oravit cum illis: flentibus omnibus et maxime dolentibus, quod dixisset, (ita enim futurum ille tum putabat) ipsos non esse amplius faciem ejus conspecturos[n].

Troade provecti recto cursu venerunt Coum, et sequenti die Rhodum, et illinc Patara. Tum conscensa navi quæ trajiciebat in Phœniciam, præterlegentes Cyprum, eaque ad lævam relicta, venerunt Tyrum[o].

Ibi permanserunt dies septem, inventis discipulis: qui Paulo dicebant per Spiritum, ne ascenderet Hierosolymam. Ille vero, positis genibus in litore orans cum eis, conscensa navi, Tyro delatus est Ptolemaidem: et salutatis ibi fratribus, postridie venit Cæsaream Stratonis. Ubi quum complures dies permansisset cum Philippo evangelista, qui unus erat ex illis septem[p], et filias habuit quatuor virgines prophetantes; adveniens ex Judæa propheta Agabus, et Pauli zona manus ac pedes sibi vinciens, vincula quæ illum manebant Hierosolymis prædixit. Qui cum a fratribus persuaderi sibi non pateretur, ne in tam præsens discrimen se conjiceret, Hierosolymam perrexit: comitantibus eum ex Cæsarea discipulis, et adducentibus apud quem diversaretur, Mnasonem Cyprium, antiquum discipulum[q].

Hic ab ecclesia libentissime exceptus, Jacobi et om-

[m] Rom. cap. 16. ver. 13; 11, 15.
[n] Ibid. ver. 16—38.
[o] Act. cap. 21. ver. 1, 2, 3.
[p] Ibid. cap. 6. ver. 5.
[q] Act. cap. 6. ver. 4—16.

nium Hierosolymitanorum presbyterorum consilio, ad eluendam quæ de eo sparsa erat calumniam, (eum nempe docere atque hortari Judæos in Christum credentes, quorum aliquot tum erant myriades, ut ab observatione legis Mosaicæ recederent) quatuor viris qui ex fidelibus Judæis votum Nazareatus fecerant se adjunxit; cum iis secundum legis præscriptum se purificans. Neque tamen eo promovit quidquam. Quum enim eum in templo vidissent nonnulli ex incredulis et rebellibus Judæis Asiaticis (qui Hierosolymam ad festum ascenderant) magnis clamoribus et vociferatione turbas concitaverunt; conficto crimine, quod introducto in templum Trophimo Gentili Ephesio illud polluisset. Cumque prope esset ut ab iis per tumultum trucidaretur, superveniente tribuno Claudio Lysia cum cohorte, ereptus est ex eorum manibus et ductus in castra. Ubi, permittente tribuno, concionem ad tumultuantem populum lingua Hebræa habuit[r].

Pauli oratione Judæis exacerbatis et vehementius adversus eum exclamantibus, tribunus Lysias virgis examinari jubet: a quo supplicio, Romanum se civem esse declarans, liberatus est. Cumque vellet tribunus certo scire cujus criminis accusaretur ille a Judæis; postera die primarios sacerdotes totumque ipsorum synedrium venire jussit, ac Paulum vinculis solutum coram eis statuit[s].

Paulum coram synedrio causam dicere incipientem Ananias pontifex (Nebedæi filius: qui licet summo sacerdotio privatus, synedrii tamen præses fuisse videtur; ut ante eum Annas sive Ananus, Caiaphæ socer) in os cædi jubet: a Paulo idcirco parietis dealbati nomine acriter objurgatus. Pharisæum deinde se esse Paulo proclamante, et de spe resurrectionis mortuorum in judicium vocari; dissensio inter Sadducæos qui accusabant, et Pharisæos qui eum excusabant, orta est. Metuens vero tribunus ne ab illis inter contendendum discerperetur, Paulum e medio ipsorum per milites in castra ducendum curavit. Cui sequente nocte apparens Dominus, subtristem consolatur et

[r] Act. cap. 6. ver. 17—40. [s] Act. cap. 22.

animat ad majora; prædicens et Romæ eum de ipso esse attestaturum[t].

Orto autem die, ex Judæis zelotis plures quam quadraginta seipsos devoverunt, neque esuros neque bibituros, usquequo interemissent Paulum. Quorum insidias a sororis Pauli filio resciscens tribunus Lysias, tertia hora noctis Paulum militum satellitio septum ad Felicem provinciæ præsidem misit: a quibus ea nocte Antipatrida, et postero die Cæsaream est deductus; ubi jussus est a Felice in prætorio Herodis custodiri[u]. Quæ omnia intra unius hebdomadæ spatium peracta fuisse, ex Act. cap. XXIV. versiculis 1. et 11. inter se collatis, intelligitur.

Post quinque dies ab Anania pontifice et senioribus per Tertullum oratorem Cæsareæ apud præsidem accusatus Paulus, a falsis eorum criminationibus se purgavit: duodecim post vim ipsi in templo illatam diebus, quum jam a multis annis Felix Judæis præfuisset: utpote qui decimum gubernationis illius annum tum ageret. Ille vero, his auditis, judicium in aliud tempus distulit: edicens centurioni ut servaretur Paulus, ac laxaretur, et ne quis prohiberetur ex ipsius familiaribus ei ministrare aut eum adire[x].

Aliquot post diebus quum advenisset Felix cum Drusilla uxore sua, quæ erat Judæa, soror Agrippæ regis; (alia a Drusilla Felicis uxore altera, Jubæ Mauritaniæ regis filia, Antonii et Cleopatræ nepte) accersivit Paulum: et tum de fide Christi, tum de justitia et continentia et judicio futuro disserentem tremens audiit. Simul etiam sperans, Paulum pecunia sese redempturum, crebrius colloquebatur cum eo; toto biennio in vinculis eum detinens[y].

Corbulo Tigranocerta in deditionem accepit, et totam Armeniam subjugavit[z].

Tigranes Alexandri (filii Alexandri illius qui a patre Herode magno necatus est) et Glaphyræ filiæ Archelai

[t] Act. cap. 23. ver. 1—11.
[u] Ibid. ver. 12—35.
[x] Act. cap. 24. ver. 1—23.
[y] Ibid. ver. 24—27.
[z] Tacit. annal. lib. 14. cap. 23—26.

regis Cappadocum filius, qui diu Romæ obses usque ad servilem patientiam detentus fuerat, in Armeniam ut regnum capesseret a Nerone missus est. Ibi omnium consensu ille non est acceptus: durante apud quosdam favore Arsacidarum. At plerique superbiam Parthorum perosi, datum a Romanis regem malebant. Additum et præsidium, mille legionarii, tres sociorum cohortes, duæque equitum alæ; quo facilius novum regnum tueretur. Pars Armeniæ ut cuique finitima, pars Nipoli (Thrascypoli,) Aristobulo atque Antiocho parere jussæ sunt[a].

Corbulo in Syriam abscessit, morte Vinidii Numidii Quadrati legati vacuam, ac sibi permissam[b].

Eodem anno ex illustribus Asiæ urbibus, Laodicea tremore terræ prolapsa, propriis opibus revaluit[c].

4064. Tarquitius Priscus repetundarum damnatus est, Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudio, qui accusatum ab eo Statilium Taurum proconsulem ipsius meminerant[d].

Apud Cæsaream Stratonis inter Judæos et Syros habitatores de pari jure civitatis contentione exorta, Judæi freti divitiis per contumeliam Syros lacessebant convitio. Qui tametsi inferiores quod ad facultates attinet, ferocientes tamen eo quod plurimi sub Romanis per ea loca militantium Cæsarienses essent et Sebasteni patria, aliquantisper et ipsi regerebant in Judæos convitia. Deinde ad lapides ventum est, ita ut multi utrinque sauciati caderent: penes Judæos tamen fuit victoria. Quos cum Felix prosiliens rogaret ut desinerent, nec illi parerent, immissis armatis militibus multos eorum interemit, plures captivos fecit: et multas eorum domos divitiis refertas in prædam concessit militibus. Judæorum vero honoratiores ac modestiores sibi ipsis timentes rogaverunt Felicem ut militibus receptui caneret, parceretque jam, et resipiscendi facultatem concederet: id quod præses indulsit eorum precibus[e].

Per idem tempus Agrippa rex summum sacerdotium

[a] Tacit. annal. lib. 14. cap. 26. cum Josepho, antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 7. fin.
[b] Tacit. annal. lib. 14. cap. 26. [c] Id. ibid. cap. 27.
[d] Tacit. annal. lib. 14. cap. 46. cum lib. 12. cap. 59.
[e] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 6.

Ismacli contulit Phabci filio. Ipsi vero summi pontificcs dissidere cœperunt a sacerdotibus et primatibus Hierosolymitanorum civium, singulique incedebant stipati manu audacissimorum et scditiosorum hominum; conflictantesque intcr se mutuis certabant convitiis et lapidationibus: nec erat qui compesceret, quasi vacante urbe magistratibus. In tantum autem exarsit summorum pontificum impudentia, ut auderent servos suos in areas mittere, qui auferrent dcbitas sacerdotibus dccimas; aliquotque pauperiores e sacerdotum ordine alimentorum inopia fame deficerent. Tanto plus tum pollebat violentia seditiosorum quam justitia[f].

4065. Marcus evangelista, qui primus Alcxandriæ Christum annunciavit, octavo Neronis anno mortuus est, et Alexandriæ sepultus[g]. Post quem, Alexandriæ presbyteri unum ex se electum, in celsiori gradu collocatum episcopum nominarunt: quo modo si exercitus imperatorem faciat; aut diaconi eligunt de se, quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent[h]. Elegerunt autem Anianum, virum tum Dco propter pietatem charum, tum in omnibus rebus admirabilem: qui post Marcum primus ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ per annos viginti duos episcopus præfuit; ab octavo Neronis anno, usque ad Domitiani quartum[i].

Vologeses Parthorum rex Tiridatem fratrem Armenia pulsum restituere conatus, alium exercitum in Armeniam, alium in Syriam ducit; Corbulo partem sui exercitus Tigrani Armeniæ regi mittit; ipse arcet Parthos a Syria, et minis efficit ut Parthus omisso bello legatos de pace mitteret: qui re infecta a Nerone dimittuntur, et Cæsennius Pætus tuendæ Armeniæ præponitur[k].

Felix, seditionem inter Judæos et Syros Cæsarienscs adhuc manere vidcns, nobiles utriusque partis elcctos

[f] Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 6.

[g] Hieronym. in scriptor. ecclesiastic. catalogo.

[h] Hieronym. in epist. ad Euagrium.

[i] Hieronym. in catalogo: cum Eusebio, in chronico, et ecclesiast. histor. lib. 2. cap. 23. κεφ. κδ. et lib. 3. cap. 12. κεφ. ιγ.

[k] Tacit. lib. 15. a cap. 1. ad 7.

legatos misit ad Neronem, de jure suo disceptaturos[l]. Idemque sacerdotes quosdam, viros honestos et bonos, ob levem quandam culpam vinctos Romam misit, acturos causam suam apud Cæsarem[m]. Idemque Paulum apostolum, toto biennio Cæsareæ in vinculis detentum, ut gratiam iniret a Judæis, vinctum ibi reliquit, quum a Nerone successorem in provincia accepisset Porcium Festum[n].

Festus ingressus provinciam, triduo post ascendit Cæsarea Hierosolymam. Apud quem cum pontifex et primarii ex Judæis Paulum accusarent, rogantes ut Cæsarea Hierosolymam adduceretur, animo eum ex insidiis in itinere interficiendi; renuens Festus, jussit Pauli accusatores venire Cæsaream. Commoratus autem Hierosolymæ dies non amplius quam decem, descendit Cæsaream: et postero die sedens pro tribunali audivit Judæos Paulum accusantes, et Paulum ab eorum accusatione se purgantem. Qui Judæis gratificari volens, interrogavit Paulum num vellet Hierosolymæ coram se ea de re de qua postulabatur judicari. Paulus qui intelligebat quo animo et consilio Festus id rogaret, et metuens sibi a Judæorum insidiis, eo proficisci renuit, et Cæsarem appellavit: eamque appellationem Festus, cum concilio collocutus, admisit[o].

Diebus aliquot transactis, Agrippa rex et Bernice soror ejus novi præsidis salutandi causa Cæsaream venerunt. Et quum dies complures illic essent commorati, Festus incertus quid de Paulo ad Cæsarem scriberet, Agrippam ea de re consuluit. Qui cum libenter se hominem audire velle dixisset: postero die, Agrippa et Bernice cum multa pompa in auditorium ingressis, una cum tribunis et eminentibus ejus urbis civibus, Paulus catena vinctus coram eis, jubente Festo, productus est[p]. Qui luculenta oratione coram eis habita innocentiam suam ita probavit, ut licet præsidi hujusmodi rerum penitus ignaro insanire videretur, regi tamen in Scripturis exercitato prope persuaserit

[l] Joseph. lib. 2. belli. cap. 12. κεφ. κγ.
[m] Joseph. in lib. de vita sua.
[n] Act. cap. 24. ver. 27.
[o] Act. cap. 25. ver. 1—12.
[p] Ibid. ver. 13—27.

ut fieret Christianus; totiusque consessus judicio existimaretur nihil morte aut vinculis dignum ipsum fecisse, ac propterea solvi potuisse nisi Cæsarem appellasset[q].

Primores Judæorum Cæsaream incolentium Romam profecti sunt, Felicem accusaturi: dedissetque omnino pœnas injuriarum quibus Judæos affecerat, nisi Nero eum donasset Pallantis fratris precibus, qui tum in pretio erat apud principem[r]; quanquam ipse postea Pallas, "quod immensam pecuniam longa senecta detineret," eodem hoc anno veneno a Nerone interfectus fuisse credatur[s].

Cæsariensium Syrorum duo præcipui Beryllum, qui pædagogus Neronis fuerat, tunc vero Græcis epistolis scribendis præerat, magna pecunia corruperunt ut impetraret ab imperatore literas, quibus abrogaretur Judæis ejus civitatis jus, hactenus commune ex æquo cum Syris cohabitatoribus: id quod ille facile obtinuit. Quod ubi Judæi Cæsarienses cognoverunt; in seditionibus usque ad initium belli Judaici (hinc præcipue conflati) perstiterunt[t].

Veniens in Judæam Festus, offendit totam afflictam a latronibus vicos passim populantibus: quorum ferocissimi, qui ad maximum numerum tunc excreverant, sicarii appellabantur, a sicis, id est, gladiolis instar acinacis Persici incurvis; quibus, immixti turbæ (ut dictum est) festis diebus Hierosolymam religionis gratia confluenti, nullo negotio quotquot collibuisset tollebant de medio. Qui etiam aliquando armati invadebant inimicorum vicos, direptosque tradebant incendio[u]. Eos solicite persecutus Festus, latronum plurimos comprehendit, ac non paucos interfecit[x].

Quum decretum esset ut Romam ad Cæsarem Paulus mitteretur, traditus est cum quibusdam aliis vinctis Julio centurioni cohortis Augustæ: qui eum navi Adramyttenæ Asiam petenti imposuit; comitante eum, præter Timotheum et Lucam, etiam Aristarcho Macedone Thessalonicensi. Sequenti autem die devecti sunt Sidonem: ubi

q Act. cap. 26.

r Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 7.

s Tacit. annal. lib. 14. cap. ult.

t Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 7.

u Joseph. antiqu. lib. 20. cap. 7.

x Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 12. fin. κεφ. κδ. init.

Julius humaniter tractato Paulo, permisit ut ad amicos profectus ab illis curaretur. Illinc provecti sublegerunt Cyprum, quod venti essent adversi. Et pelagus quod est secundum Ciliciam et Pamphyliam emensi, devenerunt Myra urbem Lyciæ: ubi cum invenisset centurio navem Alexandrinam, cuius insigne fuit Castor et Pollux, petentem Italiam, imposuit illi captivos. Quumque multis diebus tarde navigantes vix pervenissent secundum Cnidum, sublegerunt Cretam secundum Salmonem: et illum vix præterlegentes, pervenerunt ad Pulchros portus in Creta insula[y].

4066. Quum jejunium (solenne expiationis illud, mensis septimi die decimo, a Judæis quotannis celebrari solitum) jam præteriisset, et periculosa navigatio esse inciperet; futura damna Paulus prævidens, ut isthic hyemarent consuluit. Sed quum portus ille ad hyemandum parum commodus videretur, in alio potius Cretæ portu, Phœnice dicto, hyemare decreverunt. Cumque illuc tenderent, aspirante primum Noto, sed mox orto vento turbulento qui Euroclydon vocatur, ad Claudam parvam insulam sunt tempestate delati. Inde abrepti, et vehementer jactati, jacturam fecerunt; ac tertio die ipsi suis manibus armamenta navis abjecerunt: per complures dies neque sole neque sideribus apparentibus. Ablata vero in posterum spe omni salutis, ab Angelo per noctem revelatum est Paulo, sisti oportere eum Cæsari, et donavisse ei Deum omnes qui navigabant cum ipso. Nocte igitur quadragesima, quum jactarentur in Adria, suspicabantur nautæ appropinquare sibi aliquam regionem: quam postea compererunt esse Melitam insulam. Eo appellere illis conantibus, navis vi procellarum dissoluta periit: homines vero partim enatantes, partim tabulis et fragmentis navis subvecti, salvi in terram omnes evaserunt[z].

Naufragi a Melitæ incolis humanissime excepti sunt: qui accensa pyra ad eorum vestes siccandas, cum Paulus juxta focum stans viperam manu excussisset in ignem sine damno, rapti in admirationem eum Deum esse dicebant.

[y] Act. cap. 27. ver. 1—8. [z] Ibid. ver. 9—44.

Hic per tres dies apud Publium insulæ primarium diversati sunt: cujus pater febri cum dysenteria laborans a Paulo sanatus est, cæterique quotquot in insula fuerunt ægri morbo levati sunt[a].

Cesennius Pætus, necdum satis firmatis hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariæ provisu, rapiens exercitum trans montem Taurum, castella quædam et prædæ nonnihil cepit. Longinquis vero itineribus percursando quæ obtineri nequibant, corrupto qui captus erat commeatu, et instante jam hyeme, reduxit exercitum; composuitque ad Cæsarem literas, quasi confecto bello, verbis magnificis, rerum vacuas[b].

Interim Corbulo nunquam neglectam Euphratis ripam crebrioribus insidiis insedit; et Vologesem ab invadenda Syria absterruit. Vologeses autem in Pætum versus, ita eum pressit, ut ad turpe fœdus eum coegerit: cujus Monobazus Adiabenus testis est adhibitus. Dirutaque quæ ultra Euphratem communierat Corbulo, et Armenii suo arbitrio relicti sunt. At Romæ trophæa de Parthis, arcusque medio Capitolini montis sistebantur, decreta a senatu integro adhuc bello, neque tum omissa, dum aspectui consulitur, spreta conscientia[c].

Paulus et comites, multis honoribus a Melitensibus affecti et iis quæ usui erant necessaria instructi, tribus postquam ad eos advenerant mensibus conscensa navi Alexandrina quæ in insula hyemaverat, cui erat insigne Castor et Pollux, Syracusa sunt devecti: ubi manserunt triduum. Unde circumlegentes devenerunt Rhegium: et post unum diem superveniente austro, secundo die venerunt Puteolos. Ubi repertis fratribus, rogati sunt ut permanerent apud eos diebus septem: et ita contenderunt Romam[d]; anno imperii Neronis nono.

Roma fratres in occursum Paulo prodierunt usque ad Appii forum et tres tabernas. Quum Romam vero est perventum, centurio tradidit vinctos præfecto prætorii:

[a] Act. cap. 28. ver. 1—9.
[b] Tacit. ann. lib. 15. cap. 8.
[c] Tacit. ann. lib. 15. cap. 9—18.
[d] Act. cap. 28. ver. 10—14.

permissumque est Paulo, ut habitaret seorsim, cum milite qui ipsum custodiret. Tertio post die Judæorum primos qui Romæ erant convocans, exposuit eis causam cur Romam vinctus missus esset, Cæsaremque appellare coactus fuisset: cumque illi negarent se literas ullas de eo ex Judæa accepisse, sed hæresi isti ubique contradici dicerent; die constituta venientibus ad eum in hospitium eorum compluribus Christum ex lege et prophetis annunciavit a mane usque ad vesperam. Et quidam assentiebantur iis quæ dicebantur, reliqui vero increduli permanserunt: quibus postquam ex Esaia suum recitasset judicium, istis relictis ad Gentes se convertit. Mansitque biennium totum in proprio conducto: et excipiebat omnes qui ad ipsum ingrediebantur; prædicans regnum Dei, ac docens quæ sunt de Domino Jesu Christo cum omni dicendi libertate, nemine prohibente[e].

Onesiphorus Ephesius Paulum Romæ studiosissime quæsitum invenit et recreavit[f].

Principio veris legati Parthorum mandata regis Vologesis literasque Romam attulerunt, Armeniam (quam jam eripuerant) sibi dari, et pacem confirmari petentes. Sed utroque illis negato, Syriæ executio Cintio, ut præsidi, copiæ militares Corbuloni, permissæ sunt; et quintadecima legio, ducente Mario Celso, e Pannonia adjecta est. Jussi quoque sunt tetrarchæ ac reges, præfectique et procuratores, et qui prætorum finitimas provincias regebant, Corbuloni obsequi: in tantum ferme modum aucta potestate, quem populus Romanus Cn. Pompeio bellum piraticum gesturo dederat. Regressum vero Pætum, cum graviora metueret, facetiis insectari satis habuit Nero: ignoscere se statim dicens, ne tam promptus in pavorem longiore solicitudine ægresceret[g].

Corbulo, lustrato exercitu, in Armeniam profectus est: cui legati Vologesis obviam venerunt, pacem petituri. Tiridates vero in castra Romana venire coactus, detractum diadema Neronis imagini subjecit, atque ut idem ab

[e] Act. cap. 28. ver. 14—31.
[f] 2 Timoth. cap. 1. ver. 16, 17.
[g] Tacit. ann. lib. 15. cap. 24, 25.

eo resumeret ipse ad eum Romam proficisci pactus est: hac tamen conditione, ut prius suos fratres et familiam conveniret. Obsidem interea filiam tradidit, literasque supplicatorias ad Neronem: et digressus Pacorum apud Medos, Vologesem Ecbatanis repperit[h].

In Judæa Festus equestres et pedestres copias misit contra quendam impostorem magum, qui homines post se trahebat in solitudinem, deceptos vanis promissis; quasi ope ejus incolumes evasuri essent a malis omnibus. Hi universi una cum seductore ab immissis militibus oppressi sunt[i].

Eodem tempore Agrippa rex extruxit insigni amplitudine domum prope porticum in regia Hierosolymitana quæ Hasmonæorum fuerat, sitam in edito loco, unde amœnissimus prospectus patebat contemplari urbem volentibus. Hierosolymitani vero proceres, indignissime ferentes sacrificia et alia quæ in templo agerentur e privata domo spectari, altum parietem excitaverunt, quo non solum arcebatur prospectus ille domus regiæ, sed et occidentalis extra templum sitæ porticus, in qua Romani milites festis diebus stationes habebant ad templi custodiam. Quo facto tam rex offensus est, quam Festus præses provinciæ. Eo vero jubente parietem dirui, Hierosolymitani, licentia ab illo impetrata, legatos hac de re miserunt ad Neronem decem cives eximios; una cum Ismaele summo pontifice, et Chelcia custode sacri ærarii. Legatione audita, Nero non modo Hierosolymitanis ignovit, sed permisit etiam sic manere parietem; gratificatus in hoc uxori suæ Poppææ, quæ Judaicæ religioni favens pro Judæis deprecatrix fuerat: quæque decem illos viros redire permisit, Chelcia et Ismaele tanquam obsidibus apud se detentis. Id postquam Agrippa rescivit, pontificatum Ismaeli ademptum Josepho cognomine Cabi, Simonis summi quondam pontificis filio, detulit[k].

Josephus Matthiæ filius, audiens familiares sibi sacerdotes vinctos a Felice Romam missos ne in calamitate qui-

[h] Tacit. ann. lib. 15. cap. 26—31. [i] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 7.
[k] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 7.

dem constitutos curam pietatis abjecisse, et ficubus eos atque nucibus vitam sustentare, ut aliquo pacto liberaret, Romam ætatis anno vigesimo sexto exacto profectus est, multis in mari exhaustis periculis. Mersa enim nave in medio mari Adriatico, ex sexcentis circiter qui per totam noctem nataverant, octoginta ferme, feliciore usi natatu, in navem Cyrenaicam recepti et servati sunt. Inter quos Josephus, terræ redditus, Dicæarchiam sive Puteolos (ut Itali vocare malunt) veniens, familiaritatem contraxit cum Aliturio mimorum actore, qui Judæus genere Neroni charus erat. Per hunc ubi Poppææ Augustæ innotuit, absolutionem illis sacerdotibus per eam confestim impetravit[l].

Festo in provincia mortuo Nero successorem in Judæam misit Albinum. Rex vero Agrippa summum sacerdotium Josepho ademptum Anano dedit Annæ sive Anani illius filio, qui ipse prius summo pontificatu ad satietatem potitus, filios habuit quinque eadem dignitate perfunctos: quod ad eam ætatem nulli ante summorum pontificum contigerat[m].

Ananus novus pontifex, ex secta Sadducæorum, audax et ferox ingenio, tempus opportunum se nactum ratus, mortuo Festo et Albino adhuc agente in itinere, concilium judicum advocavit: statutumque coram eo Jacobum fratrem Jesu, et una quosdam alios, impietatis accusatos, lapidandos tradidit[n]. Jacobum hunc fratrem Domini tempore Paschatis e pinna templi dejectum Judæos lapidibus obtrivisse, atque unum eorum qui fullo erat, vecte quo vestes premere solebat in caput ejus impacto, vitam illi eripuisse ; ex libro quinto historiæ Hegesippi refert Eusebius[o].

Cædes Jacobi omnibus in civitate Hierosolymitana bonis et legum studiosis vehementer displicuit: missisque ad Agrippam regem clam nunciis rogaverunt, ut mandaret Anano, ne quid tale posthac ageret. Quidam etiam Al-

[l] Joseph. in lib. de vita sua.

[m] Id. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 8.

[n] Joseph. lib. 20. cap. 8.

[o] Lib. 2. histor. ecclesiast. cap. 22. κεφ. κγ.

bino occurrentes venienti ab Alexandria docuerunt eum non licuisse Anano sine ipsius consensu advocare concilium. Horum verbis ille persuasus iracunde scripsit pontifici, daturum sibi pœnas minitans: et Agrippa rex eam ob causam post tertium mensem ablatum ab eo pontificatum Jesu Damnei filio concessit[p]. Apud Christianos vero, post Jacobum fratrem Domini, Hierosolymitanæ ecclesiæ episcopus Symeon Cleophæ filius est constitutus[q].

Albinus, ut venit Hierosolymam, omnem curam et diligentiam adhibuit, ut pacaret provinciam, interfectis multis sicariis. Ananias autem pontifex, Nebedæi filius, indies apud populum celebrior fiebat et charior, honorabaturque ob liberalitatem ab omnibus: quotidieque Albinum donis venerabatur et summum pontificem. Sed habebat servos pessimos, qui adjuncto sibi audacissimo quoque obeuntes areas, vi auferebant sacerdotum decimas; pulsantes eos, qui cunctarentur reddere. Alii quoque pontifices faciebant similia, nemine valente compescere: multique sacerdotum, quibus ante ex decimis alimenta fuerant, tunc absumebantur inedia[r].

Sicarii die festo qui tum supervenerat (Pentecostes) noctu Hierosolymam ingressi, vivum ceperunt scribam ducis Eleazari, filii Ananiæ pontificis. Hunc vinctum abduxerunt, ac deinde miserunt ad Ananiam qui eorum nomine promitteret scribam dimittendum, si ille Albino persuaderet, ut ex eorum numero decem captivos solveret: quod Ananias, urgente necessitate, ab Albino impetravit. Id majorum calamitatum fuit initium. Latrones enim semper aliquam artem comminiscebantur, qua ex Ananiæ cognatis quempiam interciperent; nec prius dimittebant, quam e suis aliquot reciperent: auctique denuo magno numero, et recepta audacia, totam eam regionem vastabant[s].

Hoc tempore Agrippa rex prolatis pomœriis Cæsareæ Philippi, mutato nomine Neroniada eam vocavit: et the-

[p] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 8.
[q] Euseb. lib. 3. histor. eccles. cap. 26. κεφ. λβ.
[r] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 8. [s] Id. ibid.

atrum apud Berytios impendiis magnis exædificatum ornavit spectaculis annuis, assignata in eum usum ingenti vi pecuniæ. Frumentum enim donavit ei populo, et oleum viritim distribuit, totamque eam urbem ornavit statuis passim dispositis atque expressis ad antiqua clarorum artificum archetypa imaginibus: et omnia pene regni sui ornamenta in eam civitatem transtulit. Unde magnam sibi apud subditos paravit invidiam; quod suos spolians externam urbem excoleret[t].

4067. Quadriennio ante bellum Judaicum a Vespasiano administrari cœptum, quum civitas Hierosolymitana summa pace atque opulentia frueretur, Jesus quidam Anani filius, plebeius et rusticus, ad festum tabernaculorum veniens repente exclamare cœpit: "Vox ab oriente, vox ab occidente, vox a quatuor ventis: vox in Hierosolymam et templum, vox in maritos novos novasque nuptas, vox in omnem hunc populum." Atque hæc interdiu noctuque clamitans omnes civitatis vicos circuibat. Nonnulli autem virorum insignium, adversum omen indigne ferentes, correptum hominem multis verberibus affecerunt. Ille autem neque pro se, neque ad eos qui ipsum mulctabant, secreto quicquam locutus, eadem quæ prius vociferabat. Magistratus autem rati magis divinum esse hominis motum, duxerunt eum ad Romanorum præfectum: ubi plagis usque ad ossa laceratus, neque supplex cuiquam fuit, neque lachrymavit: sed ut poterat inclinans maxime flebiliter vocem ad singulos ictus respondebat; "Væ, væ, Hierosolymis." Albino autem interroganti quis esset, vel unde ortus, aut cur ista diceret, nihil retulit: a luctu vero civitatis non destitit, donec eum Albinus furere judicatum dimisit. Maxime autem diebus festis vociferabatur: idque per annos septem (vel sex potius; ut in Photii bibliotheca[u], legitur) et quinque menses continuos faciens neque voce raucior fuit, neque delassatus est; donec obsidionis tempore lapis tormento missus eum peremit[w].

[t] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 8.
[u] Cod. 47.
[w] Joseph. lib. 7. belli, cap. 12. κεφ. λα.

Agrippa rege jubente, Jesus Gamalielis filius in summo pontificatu successit Jesu Damnei filio non libenter sibi cedenti: unde natum est inter utrumque dissidium. Ascitis enim globis audacium juvenum, sæpe a conviciis prorumpebant ad lapides. Sed inter alios eminebat Ananias ex amplis facultatibus largitione plurimos sibi concilians. Costobarus quoque et Saulus suam quisque circa se manum habebat sceleratorum hominum; orti genere regio, et propter Agrippæ cognationem favorabiles, alioqui violenti et ad spoliandos infirmiores promptissimi[x].

Ex hoc maxime tempore labare cœpit respublica Judaica et indies in deterius ruere[y]; et multiplice existenti tunc dominatione, futuri excidii semina spargebantur[z].

Albinus vero præsens non solum causis civilibus furabatur et diripiebat bona singulorum, neque solum tributorum additamentis in commune gentem gravabat; sed etiam quos ob latrocinia decuriones civitatum comprehenderunt, vel qui a prioribus judicibus in custodiis erant relicti, accepta a cognatis eorum pecunia, liberavit: et is solum qui non dedisset, in carceribus quasi nocentissimus remanebat[a].

Per idem tempus, eorum quoque qui res novas cupiebant in urbe Hierosolymitana crescebat audacia. Ex quibus, qui erant opulenti Albinum largitione redimebant, ut eis tumultum moventibus non indignaretur: pars autem popularis, quæ non satis gaudebat quiete, Albini participibus jungebatur. Unusquisque ergo improborum cohorte propria circumdatus, ipse quidem inter cæteros quasi princeps latronum et tyrannus eminebat: stipatoribus vero suis ad direptionem mediocrium abutebatur. Ita fiebat, ut hi quidem quorum vastabantur domus, tacerent; illi autem qui extra incommodum stetissent, metu ne similia paterentur, etiam officiis ambirent eos quos constabat dignos esse suppliciis[b].

Nero, Roma incensa, e turri Mœcenatiana incendium

[x] Joseph. lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 8. [y] Id. ibid.

[z] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. κεφ. κδ.

[a] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. κεφ. κδ.

[b] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. κεφ. κδ.

prospectans, lætusque flammæ (ut aiebat) pulchritudine, excidium Ilii in scenico suo habitu decantavit; præsentia mala vetustis cladibus assimulans[c]. Fuere qui annotarent, decimo quarto Kalendas Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverant. Alii eousque cura progressi sunt, ut totidem annos mensesque et dies inter utraque incendia numerarent[d]; ac si annos 448. menses 5376. dies 167632. inter ea intercessisse dixissent.

Abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affecit, quos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Igitur primo correpti qui Christianos se fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis uterentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi, vel circulo insistens. Unde miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in sævitiam unius absumerentur[e]. Pro quibus illustrandis, adducuntur verba veteris scholiastæ, ad illud Juvenalis, in satyra prima:

> Pone Tigellinum: tæda lucebis in illa,
> Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant.

"Tigellinum si læseris, vivus ardebis, quemadmodum in munere Neronis, de quibus ille jusserat cereos fieri, ut lucerent spectatoribus, cum fixa essent guttura ne se curvarent. Nero maleficos tæda, papyro et cera supervestiebat, et sic ad ignem admoveri jubebat."

Hæc fuit prima a Romanis imperatoribus in Christianos excitata persecutio: de qua Suetonius[f], ut homo ethnicus: "Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstiti-

[c] Tacit. annal. lib. 15. cap. 38, 39, 40. Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 38. Xiphilin. ex Dione.

[d] Tacit. annal. lib. 15. cap. 41.

[e] Tacit. annal. lib. 15. cap. 44.

[f] In Nerone, cap. 15.

onis novæ ac maleficæ." Tertullianus vero, ut Christianus, in apologetico, capite quinto: "Consulite commentarios: illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam tum maxime Romæ orientem Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ etiam gloriamur: qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum."

4068. Cestius Gallus præses in Syriam, Gessius Florus procurator in Judæam a Nerone missus est. Erat vero Florus Clazomenius genere: adduxitque secum Cleopatram conjugem improbam; per quam, ut Poppææ Augustæ amicam, Judææ administrationem impetraverat[g].

Albinus, audito Gessium Florum sibi successurum venire, videri volens gratificatus Hierosolymitanis civibus, productis vinctis, quotquot erant in manifeste capitali culpa jussit interimi; reliquos, qui levioribus de causis conjecti erant in vincula, reductos in carcerem pecuniis mulctatos dimittebat alium post alium. Atque in hunc modum vacuato vinctis carcere Judæa repleta est latronibus[h].

Interea Leviticæ tribus homines, quorum erat sacros hymnos in templo canere, adito rege Agrippa induxerunt eum precibus, ut advocato concilio decerneret eis usum stolæ lineæ, quæ tum solis erat concessa sacerdotibus: hanc enim novationem pertinere ad perpetuam ipsius regni memoriam. Rex igitur de concilii sententia permisit hymnorum cantoribus, ut, deposito priore habitu, lineum ut voluerunt sumerent. Aliam etiam ejusdem tribus partem addictam templi ministeriis, ipsorum precibus permotus, permisit sacros hymnos canendos ediscere: quæ omnia fiebant contra instituta legis patriæ, nunquam violatæ absque piaculo[i].

Philippenses Epaphroditum cum pecuniis Romam miserunt, ut Paulum in vinculis visitaret, et necessaria vitæ subsidia ei subministraret. Qui Paulo adjutorem et commilitonem se adjungens, propter opus Christi, non habita

[g] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 9. [h] Id. ibid. cap. 8.
[i] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 9.

vitæ suæ ratione, mortis periculo se objecit; in morbum incidens gravissimum[k].

Onesimum servum, Colossis a Philemone domino suo Romam fugientem, Paulus senex in vinculis Christo lucrifecit[l].

Timotheus, Romæ captivus cum Paulo detentus, libertati restitutus est[m].

Per Epaphroditum, sanitatem jam adeptum, epistolam ad Philippenses Paulus scripsit: sperans etiam Timotheum brevi se ad eos missurum, simul atque videret rerum suarum statum; et seipsum etiam cito ad eos venturum confidens[n]. Quo tempore Pauli ob Christum vincula celebria facta sunt in toto prætorio; nonnullis ex ipsius Cæsaris quoque palatio ad fidem Christi conversis[o]. A Cæsare enim missus in carcerem, notior familiæ ejus factus, persecutoris domum Christi fecit ecclesiam[p].

Colossos ad Philemonem per servum ipsius Onesimum scribit Paulus epistolam, qua eum hero conciliat et commendat: liberationem e vinculis sperare se illi significans, et ut hospitium ei paret rogans. Per eundem quoque Onesimum et Tychicum aliam eodem tempore ad Colossenses ab ipso quidem nunquam visos sed ab Epaphra in Christi doctrina institutos, e vinculis Paulus scripsit epistolam[q]. Quo tempore, præter Timotheum, (cujus nomen in inscriptione utraque hæc præfert epistola) Paulo præsentes Romæ adfuerunt, et in prædicando ibi evangelio adjuverunt, ex circumcisione quidem, ipsius in captivitate socius Aristarchus Thessalonicensis[r], Marcus Barnabæ consobrinus, (de quo excipiendo, si ad eos veniret, mandata Colossenses acceperant) et Jesus qui vocatur Justus: ex aliis vero, Lucas dilectus ille medicus, Demas, et Epaphras; cujus summum affectum laudat apostolus, non in

k Philipp. cap. 2. ver. 25—30. cum cap. 4. ver. 10. 14. 18.

l Philem. ver. 9, 10. 15. cum Coloss. cap. 4. ver. 9.

m Hebr. cap. 13. ver. 23.

n Ibid. cap. 2. ver. 19—29.

o Heb. cap. 1. ver. 12, 13. et cap. 4. ver. 22.

p Hieronym. commentar. in epist. ad Philem.

q Coloss. cap. 1. ver. 7, 8. cap. 2. ver. 1. cap. 4. ver. 7, 8, 9, 18.

r Act. cap. 20. ver. 4.

Colossenses tantum suos (apud quos, eo absente, ministerium Archippus obibat) sed etiam in eos qui erant Laodiceæ et Hierapoli[s].

Eundem Tychicum, ex Asia peregrinationis suæ socium[t], in Asiam quoque Paulus tum misit, ut ex eo res ipsius fratres cognoscerent; scripta per eum ad Ephesios epistola[u], quam epistolæ ad Laodicenses nomine a Marcione hæretico fuisse venditatam, Tertullianus[w] cum Epiphanio in hæresi quadragesima secunda indicat. Quod quidem ex fide ecclesiæ Laodicensis ab eo fuisse factum, credibile esse Grotius existimat; cur in ea re mentiretur, nihil fuisse causæ asserens. Indeque eodem plane tenore scriptam fuisse ad Ephesios simul et Laodicenses epistolam ille colligit. Ubi notandum, in antiquis nonnullis codicibus (ut ex Basilii libro secundo adversus Eunomium, et Hieronymi in hunc apostoli locum commentario, apparet) generatim inscriptam fuisse hanc epistolam τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, vel (ut in literarum encyclicarum descriptione fieri solebat) "sanctis qui sunt * * * * et fidelibus in Christo Jesu;" ac si Ephesum primo, ut præcipuam Asiæ metropolim, missa ea fuisset; transmittenda inde ad reliquas (intersertis singularum nominibus) ejusdem provinciæ ecclesias: ad quarum aliquas, quas Paulus ipse nunquam viderat, illa ipsius verba potissimum spectaverint: "Audita[x] ea quæ in vobis est fide in Domino Jesu, et charitate in omnes sanctos;" et, "siquidem[y] audistis dispensationem gratiæ Dei quæ data est mihi erga vos," &c. quæ Marcion fortasse Laodicensibus magis convenire censebat, qui apostolum corpore præsentem non viderant[z], quam Ephesiis, cum quibus ille tam diu est conversatus[a].

Circa idem tempus epistolam ad Hebræos Paulus scripsit, Timotheo jam soluto, sed alio ad tempus ab eo di-

[s] Coloss. cap. 4. ver. 10—14. 17. Philem. cap. 23, 24.
[t] Act. cap. 20. ver. 4. [u] Ephes. cap. 6. ver. 21, 22.
[w] Lib. 5. contra Marcion. cap. 11. et 17.
[x] Ephes. cap. 1. ver. 15. [y] Ibid. cap. 3. ver. 2. 4.
[z] Coloss. cap. 2. ver. 1.
[a] Act. cap. 19. ver. 8. 10. et cap. 20. ver. 31.

gresso: cum quo, si mox veniret, visurum se eos promittit, salute illis interim a fratribus Italis dicta[b].

Absoluto jam templi Hierosolymitani ædificio, quum videret populus esse in otio circiter octodecim opificum millia, solitorum hactenus in templo ex operarum mercedibus victum quærere; nolensque sacram pecuniam repositam habere, ne quando præda Romanis fieret, simulque opificibus inde provisum cupiens: (quod vel una hora operato statim merces repræsentaretur:) Agrippæ regi suasit, ut orientalem instauraret porticum. Ea profundæ valli et angustæ imminens, muro quadringentos cubitos alto erat subnixa, saxis constructo quadratis valde candidis; eratque cujusque saxi longitudo cubitorum viginti, sex vero altitndo: opus Salomonis regis, qui primus integrum templum condidit. Rex autem, cujus curæ Claudius Cæsar fabricam templi commiserat, reputans, quodcunque opus demoliri facile, reparari difficile, maxime talem porticum egentem et tempore longo et pecuniis plurimis; non annuit populi precibus: sed urbem candido saxo consternere si liberet non vetuit[c].

Paulus, expleto biennio quo in libera custodia detentus Romæ evangelium docuit[d], in Asiam inde navigasse, et Colossis hospitio a Philemone exceptus fuisse videtur[e].

Die festo azymorum, hoc anno in Xanthici sive Aprilis diem octavum incidente, hora nona nocturna circa aram itemque templum tantum lumen effulsit, ut clarissimus dies putaretur: et hoc usque ad mediam permansit horam. Eodemque festo die etiam bos cum ad hostiam duceretur, agnum in medio fani peperit. Orientalis autem porta interioris templi, cum esset ænea atque gravissima, et sub vesperam vix a viginti viris clauderetur, serisque ferro vinctis obseraretur, pessulosque altos haberet in saxeum limen demissos uno perpetuo lapide fabricatum, visa est noctis hora sexta sponte patescere. His autem

[b] Hebr. cap. 13. ver. 23, 24.
[c] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 8.
[d] Act. cap. 28. ver. 30.
[e] Philem. ver. 22.

curriculo per custodes templi magistratui nunciatis, ascendit ille, vixque eam potuit claudere[f].

Die vicesimo primo mensis Artemisii sive Maii, ante solis occasum visi sunt per inane ferri currus totis regionibus, et armatæ acies tranantes nubila, et civitati circumfusæ. Festo autem Pentecostes, nocte sacerdotes intimum templum more suo ad divinas res celebrandas ingressi, primum quidem motum quendamque strepitum senserunt, postea vero subitam vocem audiere, quæ diceret: Migremus[g] hinc.

In Creta insula prædicavit Paulus evangelium: relicto ibi Tito, ut quæ reliqua erant corrigeret, et presbyteros ibi per singulas urbes ordinaret[h].

Rex Agrippa pontificatum Jesu Gamalielis filio abrogatum Matthiæ Theophili filio concessit: quo pontifice Judaicum bellum habuit initium[i].

Josephus, magnis a Poppæa Augusta donatus muneribus, in patriam rediens, ibi deprehendit novarum rerum studia gliscere, multosque ad defectionem spectare: quos a tam infelici proposito frustra ille deterrere conatus est[k].

Adeo enim violenter potestate sua Gessius Florus est abusus, ut Albinum Judæi desiderarent quasi beneficum. Nam ille quantum poterat clam erat malus et nocens: Florus contra quasi ad ostentandam missus malitiam, publice traducebat gentis injurias, nihil sibi ad summam in rapinis et suppliciis iniquitatem reliquum faciens. Erat enim inflexibilis ad misericordiam, nullis unquam lucris satiabilis, undecunque parva æque captans ac magna; ut etiam latronum esset particeps. Multi enim illum quæstum exercebant decisis prædarum partibus: adeoque nullus erat injuriarum vel modus vel finis, ut miseri Judæi non ferentes rapacem latronum insolentiam cogerentur laribus relictis et patriis ceremoniis ad exteros fugere;

[f] Joseph. lib. 7. belli, cap. 12. κεφ. λα.
[g] Joseph. lib. 7. belli, cap. 12. κεφ. λα.
[h] Tit. cap. 1. ver. 5.
[i] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 20. cap. 8.
[k] Joseph. in lib. de vita sua.

judicantes ubivis etiam apud Barbaros se vivere posse commodius[l].

Neronem, post finem quinquennalis sui ludicri secundo lustro celebrati (anno enim æræ Christianæ sexagesimo primus agon Neroneus institutus fuerat) et ab aurigatione sero reversum, Poppæa uxor gravida et ægra conviciis incessebat: quam iratus ille ictu calcis occidit[m].

Ephesi aliquandiu moratus Paulus, Timotheum ibi, quum inde in Macedoniam proficisceretur, reliquit, ut eam ecclesiam, se absente administraret[n]; in Macedonia vero apud Philippenses permansit, sicut eis ipse antea promiserat[o].

4069. Paulus priorem ad Timotheum scripsit epistolam: in qua Hymenæum et Alexandrum, naufragium fidei facientes, Satanæ a se traditos narrat, ut castigati discerent non blasphemare[p]. Hymenæus vero, cum Phileto, futuram resurrectionem negabat; eam jam factam fuisse dicens[q]. Alexander autem, faber ærarius ille est, qui tanta mala Paulo exhibuit, et sermonibus ejus tam vehementer restitit[r].

Ad Titum quoque in Cretam aliam Paulus misit epistolam: rogans, ut quum ad eum Arteman miserit vel Tychicum, veniat ad eum Nicopolim (illam victoria Actiaca celebrem) ubi hibernare constituerat; simulque Zenam legis peritum et Apollo studiose deducendum curet, nequid illis desit[s].

Exacta hyeme, Paulus Ephesum ad Timotheum rediit: et Troadem profectus, penulam ibi suam reliquit. Erastus mansit Corinthi, cujus erat procurator[t]: Trophimum reliquit Paulus Mileti ægrotantem[u].

Cestius Gallus Syriæ præses Antiochia Hierosolymam veniens, viresque civitatis ac florem Neroni significare

[l] Joseph. lib. 20. antiqu. cap. 9. et lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. κεφ. κδ.

[m] Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 35. Tacit. annal. lib. 16. cap. 2. et 6.

[n] 1 Timoth. cap. 1. ver. 3. cap. 3. ver. 14, 15.

[o] Philipp. cap. 1. ver. 25, 26. et cap. 2. ver. 24.

[p] 1 Timoth. cap. 1. ver. 20.

[q] 2 Timoth. cap. 2. ver. 17, 18.

[r] 2 Timoth. cap. 4. ver. 14, 15.

[s] Tit. cap. 3. ver. 12, 13.

[t] Rom. cap. 16. ver. 23.

[u] 1 Timoth. cap. 3. ver. 14. 2 Timoth. cap. 4. ver. 13. 20.

cupiens, contemnenti nationem; a pontificibus petiit, ut, si quo modo possent, multitudinem numerarent. Illi autem, quum dies paschatis adesset, quando a nona hora usque ad undecimam hostias cædebant, hostias numeravere 255600. ad quas comedendas decem et aliquando viceni homines per singula contubernia conveniebant[x].

Cestium circumstans multitudo non minor quam 300. myriadum (3000000.) supplicabat, et ut gentis suæ calamitatibus subveniret, et pestem illam provinciæ Florum ut ejiceret clamitabat. Qui tamen cum sub populi ore esset, et Gallo assisteret, non solum nihil movebatur, sed voces illas etiam deridebat. Cestius vero compescens impetum populi, et edicens quod deinceps placatiorem eis Florum redderet, regressus est Antiochiam. Deduxit autem eum usque ad Cæsaream Florus, illudens mendaciis, et Judæorum genti bellum sedulo comminiscens; quo scilicet solo iniquitates suas occultari posse credebat. Pace siquidem permanente, habiturum se apud Cæsarem accusatores Judæos: verum si defectionem negotiatus fuisset, majore utique malo abducendam a se esse invidiam peccatorum minorum. Indeque ut gens ab Romano abrumperetur imperio, sedulo indies augebat calamitates[y].

Paulus secundo Romam veniens, a Nerone auditus et absolutus est. De quo ita ipse[z]: "In prima mea defensione nemo mihi adfuit, sed omnes me deseruerunt: utinam ne illis imputetur. Sed Dominus mihi adfuit et corroboravit me; ut per me impleretur prædicatio, et omnes gentes audirent: et ereptus fui ex ore leonis." Ut enim antea per biennium, ita deinceps per integrum annum omnibus gentibus Romam, tanquam ad communem patriam, undique confluentibus evangelium prædicavit.

Demas Paulum reliquit, amplexus præsens sæculum, et profectus est Thessalonicam: Crescens in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam. Lucas solus cum Paulo Romæ mansit[a].

[x] Joseph. lib. 7. belli, cap. 17. edit. Latin. vel, lib. 6. κεφ. με. edit. Græc.
[y] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. κεφ. κδ.
[z] 2 Timoth. cap. 4. ver. 16, 17. [a] Ibid. ver. 10, 11.

Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea patuit, prædictum Judæi ad se trahentes rebellarunt: inquit Suetonius[b]. "Duravit Judæis patientia," inquit Tacitus[c], "usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum;" mense videlicet Artemisio sive Maio, anno imperii Neronis duodecimo, regni Agrippæ decimo septimo, præfecturæ Gessii Flori secundo[d]. Ejus belli historiam in posteriore secundi libri parte, et quinque libris sequentibus a Josepho plenissime habemus descriptam: cujus breviarium, ex Ludovici Cappelli V. Cl. Judaicæ historiæ compendio desumptum, huc transtulimus.

Nero in Græciam transiens, ad hyemem ingruentem ibi mansit[e].

Rex Agrippa Judæos longa oratione a bello dehortatus est: sed frustra; nam paulo postquam Hierosolymis ille discessisset, seditiosorum nonnulli Massadam castellum munitissimum fraude occupant, et Romanos, qui isthic erant, omnes interficiunt. Hierosolymis autem Eleazarus Ananiæ pontificis filius, templi tum *στρατηγὸς*, juvenis audax et factiosus, persuasit sacerdotibus, ut nullius nisi Judæorum hostias admitterent, ne illas quidem quæ pro Cæsare et Romanis offerri solebant: quod temerarium factum cum principes civitatis, quietis amantes, intolerabile judicarent, et argumentum apertæ defectionis esse viderent, nec possent tamen seditiosos a sententia dimovere; legatos ad Florum Cæsarem, et ad Agrippam regem mittunt, rogantes ut propere, missis copiis, seditionem incipientem opprimerent. Florus, qui Judæorum defectionem volebat, id neglexit. Agrippa autem misit mille equites, qui superiorem civitatem cum optimatibus et pontificibus, cæteraque multitudine, quæ optabat quietem, occuparunt et tenuerunt adversus seditiosos, qui templum et inferiorem civitatem tenebant; per septem continuos dies invi-

[b] In Vespasiano, cap. 4.

[c] Lib. 5. histor. cap. 10.

[d] Joseph. lib. 2. belli, cap. 13. *κεφ. κε.* et lib. 20. antiquit. cap. ult.

[e] Xiphilin. ex Dione.

cem confligentes. Sed die festo ξυλοφορίας, sicarii multi in templum recepti cum cæteris, vim regiis militibus faciunt, et civitate superiore pellentes compellunt eos in Herodis regiam superiorem, incenso Archivo, Hasmonæorum palatio, (quæ tum erat Agrippæ regia) et Ananiæ pontificis domo. Postridie, Augusti decimo quinto die, Antoniam obsessam per biduum capiunt, militesque Romanos omnes interficiunt, et arcem incendunt. Regiam paulo post impetunt atque invadunt, duce Manahemo Judæ Galilæi filio (qui capto Massada castello, et Herodis armamentario isthic direpto, sicarios suos armatos Hierosolymam adduxerat) eaque expugnata et incensa tyrannidem occupat Manahemus, sed mox ab Eleazaro templi præfecto, in ipso templo adorans interficitur, ejusque stipatores disjiciuntur, et Massadam repetunt duce Eleazaro Jairi filio, qui genere Manahemo propinquus erat. Romanos, qui regia expugnata receperant se in turres Hippicon, Phasaelum et Mariammem, obsessos, tandemque se dedentes, seditiosi Hierosolymitani, ipso die Sabbathi, contra fidem datam omnes inermes interficiunt.

Eadem die Cæsareæ Judæi omnes, illic habitantes, ab Ethnicis Cæsariensibus instigante Floro interfecti sunt, numero viginti millia. Hinc exacerbati per universam regionem Judæi Syrorum vicos, et civitates finitimas, depopulati sunt, Philadelphiam, Gerasam, Pellam, Scythopolim, Gedaram, Hipponem, Gaulanitidem, Ptolemaidem, Sebasten, Ascalona, Anthedona, et Gazam. Inde per universam Syriam Judæorum in civitatibus commorantium a Syris cædes promiscuæ, partim ex veteri in Judæos, et eorum religionem, odio, partim rapinarum amore, partim vindictæ cupiditate. Soli Antiocheni, Apameni et Sidonii Judæis incolis suis pepercerunt. Alexandriæ autem Ægypti metropoli excitata seditione quinquaginta millia Judæorum uno die interfecta sunt, immissis in eos duabus legionibus Romanis.

Cestius Gallus Syriæ præses, his motibus excitatus, Antiochia cum legione duodecima et auxiliis regiis Agrippæ, aliisque copiis, venit in Judæam, et Ptolemaide invadit Joppen atque incendit, Cæsennium Gallum mittit in

Galilæam, quam Sepphori receptus pacat, et Cæsaream venit.

Petrus et Paulus de appropinquante vitæ exitu per revelationem a Domino sunt admoniti[f].

Petrus ad Hebræos, per Pontum, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Asiam et Bithyniam dispersos, secundam scripsit epistolam[g].

Paulus Ephesum, ubi familia Onesiphori erat, per Tychicum secundam ad Timotheum misit epistolam: postquam Aquila et Priscilla, relicta Roma, eo denuo sunt reversi[h]. In ea Timotheum rogat, ut ante hyemem ad ipsum veniat; secumque Marcum adducat, ut ipsi perutilem ad ministerium[i]. Salutemque illi dicit ab Eubulo, Pudente, Lino et Claudia[k].

4070. Cestius Gallus festo tabernaculorum incensa Lydda, Hierosolymam tendit, cui ad sexagesimum stadium occurrunt Hierosolymitani, et dubia pugna decertatum est prope Bethoron: sed mox majoribus copiis eos aggressus Cestius compulit in urbem, in quam et ipse irrupit quarto Octobris, inferioremque tenuit (ut et Bezetham et Cænopolim) per aliquot dies civitatem, indeque templum et superiorem oppugnavit civitatem, facileque cepisset, si fortius in oppugnatione perseverasset, populo Romanis tum favente, solis seditiosis repugnantibus.

Verum Cestius mox cum prope esset ut templum caperet, sine ulla justa causa obsidionem solvit, atque Antipatrida se recepit, multis Romanorum et auxiliarium in itinere amissis, et cæsis a Judæis qui eos insecuti sunt, cum impedimentorum majore parte, adeoque et machinarum, ballistarum, et armorum (quæ fugientes Romani abjecerant) magna copia, quibus postea in Hierosolymorum adversus Titi obsidionem propugnatione usi sunt Judæi. Idque factum octavo die Novembris, anno Neronis duodecimo[l].

[f] 2 Petr. cap. 1. ver. 14. 2 Timoth. cap. 4. ver. 6, 7.

[g] 2 Petr. cap. 3. ver. 1. cum 1 Petr. cap. 1. ver. 1.

[h] 2 Timoth. cap. 4. ver. 12. 19. [i] Ibid. ver. 9. 11. 21.

[k] 2 Timoth. cap. 4. ver. 21.

[l] Absoluto sc. siquidem 13. Neronis annus a 13. die præcedentis Octobris inceperat.

Hac victoria elati Judæi Hierosolymam reversi, urbis præfectos creant Josephum Gorionis filium, et Ananum pontificem, bellique duces varios et multos in singulas provincias, sive toparchias, dimittunt, atque inter eos Josephum (belli hujus Judaici scriptorem) in Galilæam amandant: in qua multis oppidis communitis et muro cinctis, rebusque omnibus ad sustinendum bellum ordinatis, Romanorum impetum exspectabat.

Interim multi adversus eum motus, multæ et frequentes urbium rebelliones excitantur arte et fraude Johannis cujusdam Leviæ filii, invidia nonnullorum ex principibus Hierosolymitanis, qui Galilææ præfecturam ei ereptam volebant. Sed eorum omnes conatus, artes et consilia fregit, atque elusit prudentia et patientia sua Josephus: qui Johannem illum coegit Hierosolymam cum suis ex Giscala Galilææ oppido quod munierat, confugere. Hierosolymis autem Ananus urbis præfectus omnia ad sustinendum bellum necessaria parat, mœnia instaurat, bellica instrumenta, tela et arma curat fabricari per totam urbem. Zelotas conatur ad sanam mentem revocare; sed frustra. Simonem Gioræ filium latrocinia exercentem, et tyrannidem affectantem, misso milite, conatur comprehendere: at is cum suis ad latrones, qui Massadam tenebant, effugit, unde illi totam Judæam et Idumæam latrociniis infestabant.

Porro Cestius missis ad Neronem (qui tum in Achaia erat) legatis statum Judææ turbatum renuntiat. Nero conturbatus Vespasianum eo mandat; Vespasianus autem, hoc accepto mandato, Titum filium Alexandriam mittit, ut inde quintam, et decimam legiones in Judæam adduceret: ipse pedestri itinere ex Achaia in Asiam transmittit, atque inde in Syriam et Antiochiam venit.

Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædixerunt futurum, ut post breve tempus immitteret Deus regem qui expugnaret Judæos, et civitates eorum solo æquaret, ipsos autem fame sitique confectos obsideret. Tum fore, ut corporibus suorum vescerentur, et consumerent se invicem; postremo capti venirent in manus hostium, et in conspectu suo acerbissime conjuges suas vexari cernerent, violari et prostitui

virgines, diripi pueros, allidi parvulos, omnia denique ferro ignique vastari, captivos in perpetuum terris suis exterminari: eo quod exultaverant super amantissimum et probatissimum Filium Dei[m].

Vespasianus Antiochiæ Romanas copias et regum auxilia cogit, inde venit Ptolemaida, Sepphorimque Romanis faventem recepit.

Alexandria Titus cum duabus legionibus Ptolemaidem ad patrem pervenit, citius quam per hyemem sperabatur. Copiæ omnes cum regum auxiliis eo conveniunt, numero sexaginta millia, tam peditum quam equitum; præter calones et impedimenta.

Vespasianus Galilæam invadens, Gadarensium urbem primo impetu captam incendit et vastavit. Inde Jotapatam die vigesimo primo Maii veniens, eam oppugnavit.

Junii die vigesimo nono (qui mensis illius dies postremus in Neronis occurrit imperio) Petrus et Paulus celebri martyrio vitam finierant: ut tam orientalis quam occidentalis ecclesiæ tabulæ confirmant. Unde diem mortis Pauli notiorem quam ipsius Alexandri esse, asserere non dubitat Chrysostomus[n]. Eodem tempore utrumque Romæ subiisse martyrium, affirmat in epistola ad Romanos Dionysius Corinthiorum episcopus[o]; et Petrum quidem, capite (ut expetierat) deorsum statuto, crucifixum fuisse, tomo tertio commentariorum in Genesim refert Origenes[p]; impleta Christi prædictione ad eum facta: "Quum[q] senueris, extendes manus tuas, et alius te cinget et transferet quo noles." Paulum autem gladio percussum, historiarum monumenta confirmant[r]. Quo referenda sunt etiam, quæ de Neronis persecutione scribit P. Orosius. "Primus (scilicet Nero) Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus persecutus est; beatissimos Christi apostolos, Petrum cruce, et Paulum

[m] Lactantius, lib. 4. cap. 21.

[n] In 2 Corinth. homil. 26.

[o] Apud Euseb. lib. 2. histor. ecclesiast. cap. 24. κεφ. κε.

[p] Apud Euseb. lib. 3. histor. cap. 1.

[q] Johan. cap. 21. ver. 18, 19.

[r] Euseb. histor. ecclesiast. lib. 2. cap. 24.

[s] Lib. 7. cap. 7.

gladio occidi imperavit: ipsumque nomen Christianorum extirpare conatus est:" et Sulpitius Severus in historiæ libro secundo "Datis legibus, religio vetabatur; palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus, et Petrus capitis damnati, quorum uni cervix gladio dissecta, Petrus in cruce sublatus est." In Hispania vero hanc persecutionem sævisse colligunt ex lapide ibi defosso et inscripto, NERONI. CL. CAIS AUG. PONT. MAX. OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM GENERI. HUM. SUPERSTITION. INCULCAB PURGATAM[t].

Vespasianus Jotapatam, fortiter a Josepho, qui isthic erat cum imperio, defensam, tandem post quadraginta dierum obsidionem, vi capit, evertit et incendit Kalendis Juliis, anno Neronis decimo tertio, Josephum in specu latitantem capit, et vita donat, sed captivum tenet.

Jotapata excisa Vespasianus exercitum Cæsaream reducit, atque isthic duas legiones collocat, ut se ab obsidionis labore reficerent, tertiam eodem consilio et fine mittit Scythopolim: ipse autem Cæsaream Philippi proficiscitur, ubi ab Agrippa rege cum exercitu per viginti dies convivio exceptus est. Tum ad Tiberiadis et Tarichææ obsidionem se parat. Et Tiberienses quidem statim se dediderunt, ac precibus Agrippæ regis data est civitas, ne exscinderetur. Tarichæa autem cum passa esset se obsideri, vi capta excisa est.

His urbibus receptis, vel excisis, tota Galilæa ferme ad Romanos inclinabat, præter Gamalam in Gaulanitide, et Giscalam atque Itaburium montem in Galilæa.

4071. Gamala obsessa per mensem unum, capta est vigesimo tertio die Octobris atque excisa, et paulo ante mons Itaburius fuerat etiam a Romanis captus. Mox Titus Giscalam aggreditur, quæ a Johanne cum suis seditiosis tenebatur. A Tito oblatas pacis conditiones Johannes simulat se accipere; sed nocte sequente cum suis clam urbe effugit, et Hierosolymam se recepit: Titus urbi parcit, imposito ei præsidio. Inde Cæsaream venit. Ves-

[t] In inscriptionibus Gruteri, pag. 238.

pasianus autem Cæsarea Jamniam et Azotum profectus, utramque subegit, Cæsareamque rediit.

Interim per totam Judæam dissensio oritur: aliis bellum cupientibus, aliis vero in Romanorum fide manere voventibus. Inde latronum globi et cunei per universam Judæam excitantur, qui prædas ex iis agebant qui pacis studio tenebantur, deinde prædis onusti Hierosolymis recipiuntur; atque isthic omnia cædibus, dissensionibus, discordiis, et rapinis complent. Ac primo quidem Antipam, et non paucos alios nobilissimos et potentissimos civitatis viros, in vincula conjiciunt, moxque indicta causa necant: calumniantes voluisse eos urbem Romanis prodere. Cumque populus in eos esset insurrecturus, illi templum occupant, eoque tanquam arce adversus populum utuntur: atque isthic sorte summum creant pontificem Phanniam quendam (alias Phanazum) hominem rudem plane et imperitum, neque sacerdotalis ordinis.

Adversus hos Zelotas (sic enim ipsi se vocabant) Ananus et nobiliores pontifices populum excitant atque armant, et in templo ipso oppugnant, adeoque et in interiorem templi ambitum compellunt. Sed isti literis ad Idumæorum duces clam missis, quibus Ananum proditionis insimulabant, se vero pro libertate patriæ pugnantes in templo obsideri conquerebantur, advocant in suum auxilium Idumæos. Hi statim cum viginti millibus hominum advolant: quibus clam per noctem in urbem et templum admissis a Zelotis, magna fit Hierosolymitanorum ab utrisque cædes, rapinæ, et incendia. Nam octo millia ea nocte cæsa sunt, et sequentibus diebus Ananum aliosque ad duodecim millia ex nobilioribus interfecerunt, præter infinitam promiscuam plebeculam. Sed paulo post Idumæos facti sui pœnitentia subiit, cum Zelotarum scelera viderent, nec proditionis (cujus optimates accusabantur) indicium ullum deprehendissent. Itaque solutis, ad duo millia, iis qui vincti tenebantur in custodia, domum Hierosolyma relicta redeunt. His abeuntibus Zelotæ rursus in cives nobiliores sævire incipiunt crudelius quam antea, et nobilissimos quosque ac fortissimos necatos ne sepeliri quidem patiebantur, maxime vero eos quos ad Romanos

transfugere volentes diligenter observabant, necatosque insepultos projiciebant.

Interim inter ipsos Zelotas oritur dissensio, Johanne illo qui ex Giscalis Hierosolymam profugerat, tyrannidem inter eos affectante, aliis vero, qui eum antea parem habuerant, superiorem ferre recusantibus. Verum illi sic inter se dissentientes, adversus plebem, ad eam diripiendam, concordes erant. Quin et tota Judæa metropoleos suæ, Hierosolymorum nempe, exemplum veluti secuta, tota ubique latrociniis repletur, misereque vexatur.

His discordiis, quibus se invicem conficiebant Judæi, et transfugarum vocibus excitatus Vespasianus, quibus eum ad servandam et seditione illa levandam patriam hortabantur, accingit se ad Hierosolymorum obsidionem, et ne quid hostile post se (dum in obsidione occuparetur) relinqueret, ad reliquias belli et tumultus in transamnana regione extinguendas Gadaram cum exercitu venit, eo accitus a moderatioribus civibus, qui pacem bello præferebant: atque inde diffugientibus seditiosis urbem capit, missoque Placido cum equitatu ad persequendos fugientes, obtruncat omnes, totamque transamnanam regionem ad lacum usque Asphaltitem, præter Machærunta castellum, occupat; constitutoque per vicos et præsidia in hybernis milite, Cæsaream venit, isthicque hyemem agit.

Vespasianus Cæsareæ nuncio accepto de motibus in Gallia a Vindice excitatis, qui adversus Romanos Gallos armaverat, ad conficiendum propere bellum Judaicum accenditur. Itaque instante vere milite Cæsarea educto Judæam pervadit totam atque Idumæam, eaque vastata, copias reducit, ac per Samariam Jerichunta ducit, unde incolæ in oppositam Hierosolymis montanam regionem diffugiunt: sed eos persecutus, iisque disjectis, Jerichunte atque alibi castris constitutis Judæos undique cingit.

Spoponderunt quidam destituto Neroni dominationem orientis, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinæ fortunæ restitutionem[u]. Postquam

[u] Sucton. in Nerone, cap. 40.

vero Galbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, actum de se Nero pronuntiavit[x]. Tandemque nono die Junii mortem ipse sibi conscivit; quum imperasset annos tredecim et menses octo.

4072. Kalendis Januarii in Germania projectis Galbæ imaginibus, die tertio Vitellius ab exercitu imperator salutatus est: et die ejusdem mensis decimo quinto Galba interemptus est, exactis a Neronis morte septem mensibus[y].

Sublato Galba, imperator a militibus creatus est Otho, suscepti a Vitellio imperii nescius: quem die imperii nonagesimo interfectum Dio, nonagesimo quinto funeratum fuisse scribit Suetonius.

Tiberius Alexander præfectus Ægypti primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kalendis Julii: qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est. Judaicus deinde exercitus quinto Idus Julii apud ipsum juravit[z]. Inter mortem vero Neronis et initium Vespasiani annum unum et dies viginti duos intercessisse notat Dio.

Quum Vespasianus Cæsaream reversus pararet cum toto exercitu ad Hierosolymam obsidendam proficisci, nunciatur illi Neronis mors, quo nuntio accepto bellum in Judæos distulit, Titumque filium ad Galbam, qui Neroni successerat, mittit, ut ab eo mandata de bello Judaico acciperet. Titus in Achaiam navi delatus audit isthic Galbam interfectum, itaque statim ad patrem redit Cæsaream. Suspensi ergo, quasi nutante imperio Romano, Judaicum bellum differebant, patriæque metuentes alienigenas aggredi non existimabant opportunum.

Interim Simon Gioræ filius (de quo jam aliquid supra dictum est) juvenis audax viribusque præstans, Massada, quo ad sicarios confugerat, profectus in Judææ loca montana, servis ad libertatem vocatis, liberisque præmium pollicitus, brevi comparata latronum manu, paulatimque auctis copiis, non vicos modo populabatur, sed et urbes

x Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 42. y Tacit. histor. lib. 1.
z Sueton. in Vespasiano, cap. 6. cum Tacito, lib. 2. histor. cap. 79.

aggrediebatur, eoque brevi potentiæ provectus est, ut totam Idumæam sibi subjiceret, Judæamque vastaret, moxque Hierosolymam ostenderet, atque isthic prope urbem castris positis, terrori esset tum Hierosolymitanis, tum ipsis Zelotis. Atque sic utrimque premebantur cives Hierosolymitani, intus nempe a Zelotis quibus Johannes præerat, foris vero a Simone homine sævissimo. Interim Idumæi qui a partibus Johannis stabant, et inter copias ejus erant, ab eo dissidentes et cum eo congressi multos Zelotarum perimunt, et Johannis aula capta et incensa eum cum suis in templum compellunt. Veriti autem una cum civibus, ne noctu in civitatem excurreret, eamque vastaret, ut se ab eo tuerentur, consilio capto, Simonem accersunt, atque intra urbem admittunt: quo recepto templum oppugnant, sed fortiter pugnantibus Zelotis, frustra expugnare tentant.

Vespasianus, relicta Cæsarea, Berytum venit et Antiochiam, unde Mutianum in Italiam cum copiis mittit, ipse vero Alexandriam proficiscitur.

4073. In Mœsia autem Antonius primus Vespasiani partes secutus legionem tertiam in Italiam adversus Vitellium duxit; commissoque ad Cremonam adversus Vitellianos prælio eos fugat et cædit: tum Romam veniens et Mutiano junctus in media urbe Vitellii exercitum fundit, et Vitellium ipsum per medium forum tractum jugulat. Mutianus Domitianum Vespasiani filium, interim dum pater ex Syria advenit, principem constituit.

Vespasianus, his Alexandriæ auditis, Titum filium in Judæam cum copiis mittit, ad conficiendas belli Judaici reliquias, ipse autem in Italiam navigat.

Porro interim dum Titus Alexandriæ adhuc hæret, Hierosolymitana factio trifariam dividitur. Nam Simon quem Hierosolymitani adversus Johannem accersiverant et admiserant, superiorem tenebat civitatem, et inferioris partem aliquam; Johannes autem cum Zelotis templum et inferioris civitatis partem aliam occupabat. Hujus autem factio in duas rursum scinditur. Nam Eleazarus, qui primus fuerat Zelotarum in initio dux atque rector, ægre ferens Johannem audacia et artibus suis imperium ad se traxisse, omniaque jam pro arbitrio agere

atque administrare, ab eo, adscitis secum nonnullis aliis, secedit, et cum suis interius templi septum occupat, atque inde adversus Johannem depugnat, numero quidem sequacium longe illi inferior, sed loci situ et qualitate superior. Ita Johanni, qui templi exteriorem ambitum porticusque tenebat, duplex incumbebat bellum: alterum adversus Eleazarum, alterum vero adversus Simonem. Et sic quidem alii adversus alios pugnantes pleraque quæ circa templum erant incenderunt; frumentum, aliaque ad victum necessaria corruperunt, quæ illis in multum tempus sufficere potuissent; quibus corruptis et absumptis, fame postea, cum a Romanis obsiderentur, oppressi sunt.

Titus autem Alexandria Cæsaream profectus, atque isthic coactis copiis, quatuor nempe legionibus, cum auxiliaribus regum vicinorum, Hierosolymam contendit, contraque eam sexto, septimoque stadio castra ponit paulo ante Azymorum diem festum; eoque infinitam hominum multitudinem, quæ ad festum de more ascenderat, in civitate concludit, a qua alimenta, et victui necessaria brevi consumpta sunt omnia. Unde statim fames sævissima civitatem oppressit: cujus exemplum horrendum et memorandum, matris filiolum devorantis, per id tempus isthic contigit. Ipso autem die festo Azymorum, decimo quarto Aprilis, cum Eleazarus, qui templum interius occupaverat, populo sacrificare volenti portas templi aperuisset, Johannes temporis opportunitate usus submittit cum populo de suis non paucos, qui sub veste gladiis occulte armati, et cum promiscua multitudine admissi Eleazarum cum suis invadunt, interiusque templi septum cum multa Zelotarum cæde occupant. Atque sic factio, quæ prius tripartita fuerat, ad duas rediit: Johannis nimirum unam, qui numero fuerunt octo millia quadringenti; Simonis vero alteram, quo cum erant decem millia hominum, et præterea Idumæorum quinque millia.

Titus autem propius ad mœnia accedens, juxta turrem Psephinam castra ponit, et aggere propere jacto, ariete murum quatit, vique dejicit, et in urbem perrupto priore muro, cedentibus intro Judæis, irrumpit quinto Nonas Maias, atque totam septentrionalem urbis regionem, usque

ad Antoniam arcem et vallem Cedron, occupat. Quinto post die turri quadam secundi muri a plaga septentrionali ariete concussa atque dejecta, urbe nova inferiore potitur; a qua statim repulsus a Judæis, quarto tamen post die eam rursus occupat, seque ad tertii muri oppugnationem accingit. Atque duodecimo die Maii quatuor aggeres jaci jussit, duos ad Antoniam, qua templum, totidem ad Johannis pontificis monumentum, qua superiorem civitatem capere se posse sperabat. Et ad Antoniam quidem Johannes, ad Johannis autem monumentum Simon Romanis resistebat. Aggeribus illis vigesimo nono die Maii perfectis per septemdecim dies, et murum jam quatere incipientibus Romanis, Johannes acto ex Antonia cuniculo, alterum dejicit, et succendit: Simon autem biduo post, irruptione ex urbe facta, duos aggeres sibi oppositos incendit, cum arietibus et machinis multis; adeoque et in ipsis castris Romanos Judæi aggrediuntur, sed a Tito ab Antonia adveniente in urbem compelluntur.

Aggeribus sic corruptis et incensis, visum est Tito novos erigere, quibus oppugnaret civitatem, et muro urbem circumdare, ne quis ex ea effugere posset, neve quid in eam inferri. Itaque tridui spatio urbem muro circumvallavit, ambitu triginta novem stadiorum additis per circuitum tredecim castellis ambitum decem stadiorum complectentibus. Unde fames in urbe invaluit, sævissimeque grassata est, ita ut ea non plebs duntaxat et populus passim occumberent, sed ipsi etiam seditiosi premerentur: tantusque fuit fame et lue pereuntium in urbe numerus, ut a decimo quarto die Aprilis (quo cœpta est obsidio) ad Kalendas Julii, per unam portam (referente quodam Mannæo transfuga, qui isti rei præerat) elata sint pauperum 115800. cadavera, quæ sumptu publico mercede numerata humabantur; præter eos qui a propinquis et familiaribus efferebantur. Paulo post ab aliis transfugis cognitum est, sexcenta millia funerum portis esse elata: denique cum efferendis pauperibus sufficere amplius non possent, collatis et congestis in ingentes cumulos, (in vacuis domibus) cadaveribus, ædes claudebant. Sepultura autem eorum qui efferebantur alia non erat, nisi quod de muris in

subjectas valles ea projiciebant, quibus valles sic compleverunt.

Interim Simon intus cædibus et rapinis non abstinebat; nam Matthiam pontificem, cujus opera in urbem admissus fuerat, proditionis insimulatum, quasi ad Romanos vellet transfugere, cum tribus filiis, aliisque sexdecim ex nobilioribus populi indemnatos necavit: tantaque sævitia grassatus est, ut Judas quidam unus ex ipsius præfectis, crudelitatem ejus pertæsus agitaverit de tradenda Romanis turri quadam, cujus custodiæ præpositus erat; sed a Simone occupatus cum decem ejusdem consilii sociis interfectus est. Johannes autem in templo necessitate adactus res sacras, vasa aurea, argentea, templique sacram pecuniam, in proprium et profanum usum convertit: quin et sacrum oleum et vinum, sacrificiorum libaminibus dicata, militibus suis coactus est distribuere.

Titus autem conquisita undique materia, et excisis ad nonagesimum usque stadium lucis et arboribus omnibus, aggeres novos magno labore intra dies viginti unum exstrui curavit: et circa Antoniam quidem quatuor, singulos a singulis Antoniæ arcis lateribus erexit; quos cum Johannes timide, perturbate et frustra aggressus esset, a Romanis repulsus, Kalendis Julii arietem admovere cœperunt muro Antoniæ Romani, eoque concusso mox quinto die Julii in Antoniam, frustra repugnantibus Judæis, irrumpunt, indeque in templum refugientes Judæos insequuntur. Sed aliquandiu repulsi Romani tandem post multam pugnam, decimo septimo die Julii (qua die in templo juge sacrificium, ἐνδελεχισμὸς, virorum qui illud curarent penuria, defecerat) frustra seditiosos per Josephum Titus adhortatus ad deditionem faciendam, septimo post die admotis aggeribus, quorum materia a centesimo stadio comportabatur, et eversis Antoniæ fundamentis, ad templum usque facilem efficiens ascensum, et per Antoniam irrumpens, porticus septentrionalem et occidentalem exterioris septi templi occupat: quarum pars, quæ Antoniæ jungebatur, a Judæis immisso igne incensa fuerat et diruta, pars altera biduo post a Romanis incenditur vigesimo quarto die Julii, Judæis incendium non restinguentibus

sed serpere sinentibus, ut sic porticus ab Antonia omnino dirimerentur.

Vicesimo septimo autem die, Judæi rursus occidentalem porticum ad pontem usque qui in Xystum ducebat, exurunt, unaque Romanos plurimos qui in eam, refugientibus ultro Judæis, ascenderant. Postera vero die Romani septentrionalem totam ad orientalem usque incendunt.

Octavo autem die Augusti, cum nec arietibus pulsando interioris septi murum quicquam promoveret Titus, neque portarum fundamenta suffodiendo, propter lapidum magnitudinem et validam juncturam, neque scalis in porticus ascendere potuissent Romani, Judæis desuper fortiter repugnantibus; quod distulerat loci reverentia motus, tandem necessitate coactus interioris septi templi portis ignem admoveri jussit: quibus incensis simul junctæ illis porticus inflammantur, spectantibus et stupentibus Judæis, nec incendium præ stupore prohibentibus, aut restinguere conantibus; totaque illa die, et sequenti nocte, arserunt porticus. Cumque cum ducibus decrevisset Titus templum ab incendio servare, obtinere tamen id non potuit. Die enim decimo Augusti, cum Romani, qui in exteriore templi septo excubabant, a Judæis lacessiti impetum in eos fecissent qui ignem interioris septi exstinguebant, eosque in ipsum templum compulissent; Romanus miles, rapto ex incendio titione, a socio sublatus in humerum per fenestram auream ignem in domos seu cellas circa templum constructas a septentrionali parte rejicit, quas corripiens statim ignis templum ipsum illis junctum, (frustra Tito incendium restinguere militibus jubente) simul inflammat anno Vespasiani secundo, eodem mense, eodemque mensis die, quo prius a Nebuchadnesare fuerat incensum.

Titus expilato et incenso templo, signisque in orientali templi porta constitutis, peractoque isthic sacrificio, imperator ab exercitu proclamatur; moxque seditiosos qui in superiorem civitatem confugerant, de ponte, quo templum civitati conjungitur super Xystum, per interpretem ad deditionem cohortatus, cum recusarent se illius fidei committere, licet vitam illis indulgeret, postularentque ut sibi

cum liberis et uxoribus urbe in desertum exire liceret, indignatus Titus extremum illis denuntiat interitum, totamque inferiorem urbem et Acram, quam occupaverat, jussit incendi. Superiorem autem civitatem in prærupto undique loco sitam oppugnare cœpit, aggeribus vigesimo die Augusti jaci cœptis, perfectisque septimo die Septembris, machinas mœnibus admovet, perruptoque muro, et diffugientibus præ metu et consternatione tyrannis cum suis satellitibus, Romani octavo die Septembris irrumpunt, omniaque ferro et flamma vastant.

Die Saturni, quem Judæi præcipua religione colunt, Hierosolyma concidisse, notavit Dio: sive ad diem captæ urbis respiciens (nam et octavus Septembris dies in Sabbathum hoc anno incidit) sive excisæ potius. Urbem enim totam et templum funditus everti et complanari jussit Titus, eique de more induci aratrum: excepta occidentali duntaxat muri parte, turribusque tribus, Hippico, Phasaelo et Mariamme; quas, ob elegantiam et fortitudinem insignem, voluit posteris relinqui documentum magnificentiæ urbis illius.

Quum ita Titus captis Hierosolymis omnia circum loca cadaveribus complevisset; finitimæ gentes ob victoriam coronare eum voluerunt. Ille vero tali honore indignum se esse respondit: non enim se fuisse talium operum authorem, sed Deo iracundiam contra Judæos demonstranti suas manus præbuisse[a]. Habentur tamen Titi numismata, trophæo et quadriga triumphali insignita: ut et Vespasiani, cum mulieris effigie mœstæ sedentis sub palma, et inscriptione: JUDÆA CAPTA S. C. ut et nummus, sub finem anni vigesimi primi Agrippæ regis cusus; cum Græca hac inscriptione: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ. ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ. ΕΑΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ. ΕΤΕΙ. ΚΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ.

4074. Titus, omnibus belli partibus administratis, militibus præmia distribuit; Hierosolymæ custodiam decimæ legioni credidit: duodecimam vero, quæ infeliciter sub Cestio pugnaverat, tota Syria expulit, et ad Euphratem in Armeniæ et Cappadociæ confinio ablegavit. Ipse cum

[a] Philostrat. in vita Apollonii, lib. 6. cap. 14.

quinta et decimaquinta legione Cæsaream maritimam venit: quo omnem prædam et manubias, captivosque coegit; quod ad Italiam navigare tempus hyemis prohiberet.

Capti sunt in cloacis Hierosolymæ latitantes tyranni duo, Johannes et Simon: quorum ille perpetuis vinculis damnatus, hic triumpho servatus est. In iisdem cloacis inventa sunt duo millia hominum, qui vel fame contabuerant, vel mutuis vulneribus occubuerant, ne se Romanis dederent.

Cæsareæ Titus moratus, natalem fratris sui (Domitiani; qui in trigesimum Decembris diem incurrit) clarissime celebravit: ubi numerus Judæorum qui cum bestiis depugnarunt, quique ignibus cremati sunt, et inter se digladiatores periere, viginti quinque millia excessit.

Postea Titus Berytum in Phœnicia venit: ubi diutius demoratus, patris diem natalem (imperii scilicet quem Kalendis Juliis observari solitum, ex Suetonio et Tacito docuimus) majore magnificentia celebravit: ubi captivorum etiam multitudo eodem quo antea modo periit.

Antiochiam deinde et alias Syriæ urbes invisens Titus, inde per Judæam et Hierosolymam, quinta et decimaquinta legione comitatus, in Ægyptum Alexandriam contendit; atque inde Romam navigavit. Ubi omnium votis exceptus, una cum patre de Judæa subacta triumphavit.

In eo triumpho ducti sunt Johannes et Simon Gioræ seditiosorum duces, cum septingentis Judæis robore et forma præstantibus: ex quibus solus Simon (Barpores a Dione cognominatus) capitis supplicium pertulit. In eo quoque portabatur lex Judæorum, novissima spoliorum: quæ una cum penetralium velis purpureis in palatio est reposita.

Ab hac victoria uterque, et pater et filius, imperatoris nomen obtinuit: neuter tamen Judaicus cognominatus est; licet alia multa, atque imprimis arcus triumphales, eis decreti sint[b]. Extatque adhuc Romæ ad radices montis Palatini arcus triumphalis marmoreus, in honorem Titi

[b] Xiphilin. ex Dione.

erectus: ex quo instrumentorum templi, in eo triumpho traductorum, ectypon a Villalpando habetur expressum[c].

4075. In Judæam legatus missus Lucilius Bassus, suscepto a Cereali Vitelliano exercitu, castellum Herodion cum præsidio deditione accepit: moxque Machæruntem fortissimum castellum ultra Jordanem oppugnans, illud tandem cepit.

" Ut in duodecim (al. quindecim) diebus utrumque sidus quæreretur, et nostro ævo accidit; imperatoribus Vespasianis, patre III. (forte IV.) filio iterum consulibus: inquit Plinius[d]; quod prædictum quidam fuisse existimant a Servatore nostro[e].

Cæsar ad Liberium Maximum Judææ procuratorem scripsit, ut totam Judæorum terram venderet. Stipendium vero Judæis ubicunque degerent indixit: et didrachmum singulis annis deferre in capitolium jussit, ut ante hæc Hierosolymorum templo pendere solebant.

Anno quarto Vespasiani, Cæsennius Pætus Syriæ præses Antiochum regem Commagenes regno expulit: qui ipse in Ciliciam, filius vero ad Parthos fugit. Reconciliatus vero uterque postea Vespasiano, regno restitutus est[f].

Alani in Mediam irrumpunt eamque longe lateque vastant, fugiente Pacoro rege. Postea transeunt in Armeniam: quibus Tiridates rex occurrens, pene in ipso prælio captus est[g].

4076. Apud Judæos mortuo Basso successit in administratione Judææ Publius Silva. Ille inexpugnabilem arcem Massadam, ab Eleazaro Judæ Galilæi nepote sicariorum duce occupatum, tandem vi expugnat Aprilis decimo quinto die: omnibus qui in ea erant arce sicariis, numero noningentis et sexaginta, cum uxoribus et liberis, Eleazari hortatu sese mutuis vulneribus ad unum conficientibus, incensa prius cum omni supellectile arce, ne in Romanorum potestatem venirent. Atque ita omnes belli Judaici reliquiæ sublatæ sunt, totaque Judæa est pacata.

Sicariorum multi e Judæa dilapsi, et in Ægyptum pro-

[c] Tom. 2. explanat. in Ezechiel. lib. 5. cap. 7. pag. 587.

[d] Lib. 2. cap. 13.

[e] Matth. cap. 24. ver. 29.

[f] Joseph.

[g] Id.

fugi Alexandriam veniunt, ubi Judæos ad defectionem sollicitant. Sed plebs a primariis persuasa in sicarios illos irruit, sexcentos eorum capit, quos Romanis tradit supplicio afficiendos: reliqui per Ægyptum et Thebas dilapsi capiuntur etiam. Qua de re monitus Cæsar, jubet Lupo, Alexandriæ tum rectori, ut templum Judæorum (quod in Ægypto olim ab Onia, summi pontificis fratre, exstructum fuerat) dirueret. Sed Lupus ablatis tantum quibusdam donariis templum claudere contentus fuit. At Paulinus, ejus in administratione successor, ablatis omnibus donariis, foribus occlusis ita inaccessum fecit, ut ne vestigium quidem religionis isthic remaneret.

Elapsus ad Cyrenem Judæus quidam textor, Jonathas nomine, tumultu ibi excitato, Judæorum duo millia in solitudines perduxit: quos Catullus (sive Catulus) Pentapolitanæ Libyæ rector, equitibus ac peditibus missis, facile oppressit. Ad eum adductus Jonathas, locupletissimos Judæorum authores sibi hujus consilii fuisse falso affirmabat. Cujus criminationibus libenter auscultans Catullus, tria simul eorum millia trucidavit: idque eo securius, quod eorum patrimonia reditibus Cæsaris adjungeret. Vinctus vero Jonathas cum comprehensorum aliis Romam ad Vespasianum ab eo missus est, ut probatissimos Judæorum, apud Alexandriam Romamque degentium, novarum rerum accusaret. Qui inter alios Josephum quoque, Judaicæ scriptorem historiæ, arma sibi et pecunias subministrasse affirmabat. Sed Vespasianus, cognito non jure hominibus accusationem illatam, illos quidem Titi studio criminibus solvit, merito vero pœnam in Jonatham statuit: prius enim verberatus vivus exustus est. Catullo autem tunc quidem ob lenitatem principum obtigit, nequid amplius castigationis experiretur: non multo autem post, multiplici morbo et insanabili correptus, et animi terroribus (eorum quos peremerat umbras crebro sibi obversari existimans) tanquam tormentis sibi et flammis adhibitis excruciatus, extis demum defluentibus, ac intestinis exhaustis, mortuus est[h].

[h] Joseph. lib. 7. belli, cap. ult. et in lib. de vita sua.

Hic Judaici excidii historiam terminat Josephus: qui in hoc bello captus, et a Flavio Vespasiano imperatore libertate donatus, a patrono suo Flavii prænomen accepit.

Sexcenta millia Judæorum eo bello interfecta, Cornelius et Suetonius referunt. Josephus vero Judæus, qui ei tunc bello præfuit, et apud Vespasianum propter prædictum imperium veniam gratiamque meruerat, scribit undecies centena millia gladio et fame perisse: reliquias vero Judæorum diversis actas conditionibus toto orbe dispersas; quarum numerus ad nonaginta millia hominum fuisse narratur. Ita Orosius[i]. Verum in Suetonio numerum illum interfectorum sexcenta millia nusquam invenio. Apud Josephum[k] captivorum numerus est 97000. alter vero ille 1100000. numerus eorum tantum est qui in ipso semestri obsidionis Hierosolymitanæ perierunt; unde subducto sexcentorum millium interfectorum numero, a Cornelio Tacito, et Eusebio commemorato, reliqui erant quingenta millia, quos pestis et fames absumpserit. At eorum qui extra illam obsidionem per totum septennium interierunt hunc ex Josepho indicem, in libro secundo de Constantia, capite vigesimo primo exhibuit Justus Lipsius.

Hierosolymis primum interfecti, jussu Flori,	sexcenti triginta.
Cæsareæ ab incolis, odio gentis et religionis, uno tempore,	viginti millia.
Scythopoli, (Cœlæ-Syriæ urbs est)	tredecim millia.
Ascalone in Palæstina, item ab incolis,	duo millia quingenti.
Ptolemaide pariter,	duo millia.
Alexandriæ in Ægypto, sub Tiberio Alexandro Præside,	quinquaginta millia.
Damasci,	decem millia.
Joppe capta a Gessio Floro cæsi,	octo millia et quadringenti.
In monte quodam Cabulone,	duo millia.
In pugna ad Ascalonem,	decem millia.
Per insidias iterum,	octo millia.
Aphacæ, cum capta esset,	quindecim millia.
In monte Garizim cæsi,	undecim millia et sexcenti.
Jotapæ, in quo ipse Josephus,	circiter triginta millia.

[i] Lib. 7. cap. 9.

[k] Lib. 7. belli, cap. 17. vel λογ. ϛ. κεφ. με.

Joppe iterum capta submersi	quatuor millia ducenti.
In Tarichæis cæsi	sex millia et quingenti.
Gamalæ, tam interfecti, quam sponte præcipitati, nec quisquam homo natus ex ea urbe salvus, præter duas mulieres, sorores.	novem millia.
Giscala deserta, in fuga trucidati	bis mille.
Gadarensium cæsi præter eos qui in flumen desiliere infiniti.	tredecim millia.
In Idumææ vicis cæsi	decem millia.
Gerasii	mille.
Machærunte	mille septingenti.
In silva Iardes	tria millia.
In Massada castello, sua manu perempti,	nongenti et sexaginta.
In Cyrene a Catulo præside cæsi	tria millia.

Qui vita functorum numerus illis 1100000. qui in urbis Hierosolymitanæ obsidione desiderati sunt additus, summam 1337490. conficit: innumeris præterea aliis omissis, qui in tota regione fame, exsilio, miseriis perierunt.

Agrippam, regum Herodiadarum ultimum, regni sui incrementum a Vespasiano accepisse, in Judæorum regum chronico Justus Tiberiensis significat[l]. Prætoriis quoque honoribus auctum eum fuisse, docet Dio. Cum eo soror Berenice regina Romam veniens, habitavit in palatio. Ita enim amore ejus flagrabat Titus, ut nuptiarum etiam spem ei fecerit: jamque omnia, ac si uxor esset, ea gesserit. Sed Titus, quum intelligeret populum Romanum id moleste ferre, eam dimisit[m]. De reliqua Herodis progenie, memoratu dignissima est illa Josephi observatio[n]: eam fere totam, licet admodum numerosam, intra centum annos interiisse. Atque iste rerum Judaicarum fuit exitus.

[l] Apud Photium, in bibliothec. cod. 33.
[m] Sueton. in Tito, cap. 7. et Xiphilin. ex Dione.
[n] Lib. 18. antiquit. cap. 7.

TABULA

IN QUA

ANNI MUNDI CUM ANNIS PERIODI JULIANÆ,
ANNIS ANTE ÆRAM CHRISTIANAM, ANNIS OLYMPICIS ET ANNIS
AB URBE CONDITA COMPONUNTUR

JUXTA

COMPUTUM USSERIANUM.

Ut sequentis tabulæ ratio pateat, notandum est quod Usserius non ab eodem anni solaris puncto orditur annos diversos. Initium annorum mundi semper sumit ab autumno, die nempe vigesimo secundo Octobris: initium annorum periodi Julianæ et annorum ante æram Christianam a Kalendis Januariis: annos Olympicos semper orditur a solstitio æstivo circa finem Junii: et annos ab urbe condita a Palilibus Varronianis seu die Aprilis vigesimo primo.

COLLATIO ANNORUM,

&c. &c.

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
1	710	4004	25	734	3980
2	711	4003	26	735	3979
3	712	4002	27	736	3978
4	713	4001	28	737	3977
5	714	4000	29	738	3976
6	715	3999	30	739	3975
7	716	3998	31	740	3974
8	717	3997	32	741	3973
9	718	3996	33	742	3972
10	719	3995	34	743	3971
11	720	3994	35	744	3970
12	721	3993	36	745	3969
13	722	3992	37	746	3968
14	723	3991	38	747	3967
15	724	3990	39	748	3966
16	725	3989	40	749	3965
17	726	3988	41	750	3964
18	727	3987	42	751	3963
19	728	3986	43	752	3962
20	729	3985	44	753	3961
21	730	3984	45	754	3960
22	731	3983	46	755	3959
23	732	3982	47	756	3958
24	733	3981	48	757	3957

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
49	758	3956	94	803	3911
50	759	3955	95	804	3910
51	760	3954	96	805	3909
52	761	3953	97	806	3908
53	762	3952	98	807	3907
54	763	3951	99	808	3906
55	764	3950	100	809	3905
56	765	3949	101	810	3904
57	766	3948	102	811	3903
58	767	3947	103	812	3902
59	768	3946	104	813	3901
60	769	3945	105	814	3900
61	770	3944	106	815	3899
62	771	3943	107	816	3898
63	772	3942	108	817	3897
64	773	3941	109	818	3896
65	774	3940	110	819	3895
66	775	3939	111	820	3894
67	776	3938	112	821	3893
68	777	3937	113	822	3892
69	778	3936	114	823	3891
70	779	3935	115	824	3890
71	780	3934	116	825	3889
72	781	3933	117	826	3888
73	782	3932	118	827	3887
74	783	3931	119	828	3886
75	784	3930	120	829	3885
76	785	3929	121	830	3884
77	786	3928	122	831	3883
78	787	3927	123	832	3882
79	788	3926	124	833	3881
80	789	3925	125	834	3880
81	790	3924	126	835	3879
82	791	3923	127	836	3878
83	792	3922	128	837	3877
84	793	3921	129	838	3876
85	794	3920	130	839	3875
86	795	3919	131	840	3874
87	796	3918	132	841	3873
88	797	3917	133	842	3872
89	798	3916	134	843	3871
90	799	3915	135	844	3870
91	800	3914	136	845	3869
92	801	3913	137	846	3868
93	802	3912	138	847	3867

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
139	848	3866
140	849	3865
141	850	3864
142	851	3863
143	852	3862
144	853	3861
145	854	3860
146	855	3859
147	856	3858
148	857	3857
149	858	3856
150	859	3855
151	860	3854
152	861	3853
153	862	3852
154	863	3851
155	864	3850
156	865	3849
157	866	3848
158	867	3847
159	868	3846
160	869	3845
161	870	3844
162	871	3843
163	872	3842
164	873	3841
165	874	3840
166	875	3839
167	876	3838
168	877	3837
169	878	3836
170	879	3835
171	880	3834
172	881	3833
173	882	3832
174	883	3831
175	884	3830
176	885	3829
177	886	3828
178	887	3827
179	888	3826
180	889	3825
181	890	3824
182	891	3823
183	892	3822
184	893	3821
185	894	3820
186	895	3819
187	896	3818
188	897	3817
189	898	3816
190	899	3815
191	900	3814
192	901	3813
193	902	3812
194	903	3811
195	904	3810
196	905	3809
197	906	3808
198	907	3807
199	908	3806
200	909	3805
201	910	3804
202	911	3803
203	912	3802
204	913	3801
205	914	3800
206	915	3799
207	916	3798
208	917	3797
209	918	3796
210	919	3795
211	920	3794
212	921	3793
213	922	3792
214	923	3791
215	924	3790
216	925	3789
217	926	3788
218	927	3787
219	928	3786
220	929	3785
221	930	3783
222	931	3784
223	932	3782
224	933	3781
225	934	3780
226	935	3779
227	936	3778
228	937	3777

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
229	938	3776	274	983	3731
230	939	3775	275	984	3730
231	940	3774	276	985	3729
232	941	3773	277	986	3728
233	942	3772	278	987	3727
234	943	3771	279	988	3726
235	944	3770	280	989	3725
236	945	3769	281	990	3724
237	946	3768	282	991	3723
238	947	3767	283	992	3722
239	948	3766	284	993	3721
240	949	3765	285	994	3720
241	950	3764	286	995	3719
242	951	3763	287	996	3718
243	952	3762	288	997	3717
244	953	3761	289	998	3716
245	954	3760	290	999	3715
246	955	3759	291	1000	3714
247	956	3758	292	1001	3713
248	957	3757	293	1002	3712
249	958	3756	294	1003	3711
250	959	3755	295	1004	3710
251	960	3754	296	1005	3709
252	961	3753	297	1006	3708
253	962	3752	298	1007	3707
254	963	3751	299	1008	3706
255	964	3750	300	1009	3705
256	965	3749	301	1010	3704
257	966	3748	302	1011	3703
258	967	3747	303	1012	3702
259	968	3746	304	1013	3701
260	969	3745	305	1014	3700
261	970	3744	306	1015	3699
262	971	3743	307	1016	3698
263	972	3742	308	1017	3697
264	973	3741	309	1018	3696
265	974	3740	310	1019	3695
266	975	3739	311	1020	3694
267	976	3738	312	1021	3693
268	977	3737	313	1022	3692
269	978	3736	314	1023	3691
270	979	3735	315	1024	3690
271	980	3734	316	1025	3689
272	981	3733	317	1026	3688
273	982	3732	318	1027	3687

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
319	1028	3686	364	1073	3641
320	1029	3685	365	1074	3640
321	1030	3684	366	1075	3639
322	1031	3683	367	1076	3638
323	1032	3682	368	1077	3637
324	1033	3681	369	1078	3636
325	1034	3680	370	1079	3635
326	1035	3679	371	1080	3631
327	1036	3678	372	1081	3633
328	1037	3677	373	1082	3632
329	1038	3676	374	1083	3631
330	1039	3675	375	1084	3630
331	1040	3674	376	1085	3629
332	1041	3673	377	1086	3628
333	1042	3672	378	1087	3627
334	1043	3671	379	1088	3626
335	1044	3670	380	1089	3625
336	1045	3669	381	1090	3624
337	1046	3668	382	1091	3623
338	1047	3667	383	1092	3622
339	1048	3666	384	1093	3621
340	1049	3665	385	1094	3620
341	1050	3664	386	1095	3619
342	1051	3663	387	1096	3618
343	1052	3662	388	1097	3617
344	1053	3661	389	1098	3616
345	1054	3660	390	1099	3615
346	1055	3659	391	1100	3614
347	1056	3658	392	1101	3613
348	1057	3657	393	1102	3612
349	1058	3656	394	1103	3611
350	1059	3655	395	1104	3610
351	1060	3654	396	1105	3609
352	1061	3653	397	1106	3608
353	1062	3652	398	1107	3607
354	1063	3651	399	1108	3606
355	1064	3650	400	1109	3605
356	1065	3649	401	1110	3601
357	1066	3648	402	1111	3603
358	1067	3647	403	1112	3602
359	1068	3646	404	1113	3601
360	1069	3645	405	1114	3600
361	1070	3644	406	1115	3599
362	1071	3643	407	1116	3598
363	1072	3642	408	1117	3597

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian
409	1118	3596	454	1163	3551
410	1119	3595	455	1164	3550
411	1120	3594	456	1165	3549
412	1121	3593	457	1166	3548
413	1122	3592	458	1167	3547
414	1123	3591	459	1168	3546
415	1124	3590	460	1169	3545
416	1125	3589	461	1170	3544
417	1126	3588	462	1171	3543
418	1127	3587	463	1172	3542
419	1128	3586	464	1173	3541
420	1129	3585	465	1174	3540
421	1130	3584	466	1175	3539
422	1131	3583	467	1176	3538
423	1132	3582	468	1177	3537
424	1133	3581	469	1178	3536
425	1134	3580	470	1179	3535
426	1135	3579	471	1180	3534
427	1136	3578	472	1181	3533
428	1137	3577	473	1182	3532
429	1138	3576	474	1183	3531
430	1139	3575	475	1184	3530
431	1140	3574	476	1185	3529
432	1141	3573	477	1186	3528
433	1142	3572	478	1187	3527
434	1143	3571	479	1188	3526
435	1144	3570	480	1189	3525
436	1145	3569	481	1190	3524
437	1146	3568	482	1191	3523
438	1147	3567	483	1192	3522
439	1148	3566	484	1193	3521
440	1149	3565	485	1194	3520
441	1150	3564	486	1195	3519
442	1151	3563	487	1196	3518
443	1152	3562	488	1197	3517
444	1153	3561	489	1198	3516
445	1154	3560	490	1199	3515
446	1155	3559	491	1200	3514
447	1156	3558	492	1201	3513
448	1157	3557	493	1202	3512
449	1158	3556	494	1203	3511
450	1159	3555	495	1204	3510
451	1160	3554	496	1205	3509
452	1161	3553	497	1206	3508
453	1162	3552	498	1207	3507

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
499	1208	3506	544	1253	3461
500	1209	3505	545	1254	3460
501	1210	3504	546	1255	3459
502	1211	3503	547	1256	3458
503	1212	3502	548	1257	3457
504	1213	3501	549	1258	3456
505	1214	3500	550	1259	3455
506	1215	3499	551	1260	3454
507	1216	3498	552	1261	3453
508	1217	3497	553	1262	3452
509	1218	3496	554	1263	3451
510	1219	3495	555	1264	3450
511	1220	3494	556	1265	3449
512	1221	3493	557	1266	3448
513	1222	3492	558	1267	3447
514	1223	3491	559	1268	3446
515	1224	3490	560	1269	3445
516	1225	3489	561	1270	3444
517	1226	3488	562	1271	3443
518	1227	3487	563	1272	3442
519	1228	3486	564	1273	3441
520	1229	3485	565	1274	3440
521	1230	3484	566	1375	3439
522	1231	3483	567	1276	3438
523	1232	3482	568	1277	3437
524	1233	3481	569	1278	3436
525	1234	3480	570	1279	3435
526	1235	3479	571	1280	3434
527	1236	3478	572	1281	3433
528	1237	3477	573	1282	3432
529	1238	3476	574	1283	3431
530	1239	3475	575	1284	3430
531	1240	3474	576	1285	3429
532	1241	3473	577	1286	3428
533	1242	3472	578	1287	3427
534	1243	3471	579	1288	3426
535	1244	3470	580	1289	3425
536	1245	3469	581	1290	3424
537	1246	3468	582	1291	3423
538	1247	3467	583	1292	3422
539	1248	3466	584	1293	3421
540	1249	3465	585	1294	3420
541	1250	3464	586	1295	3419
542	1251	3463	587	1296	3418
543	1252	3462	588	1297	3417

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
589	1298	3416	634	1343	3371
590	1299	3415	635	1344	3370
591	1300	3414	636	1345	3369
592	1301	3413	637	1346	3368
593	1302	3412	638	1347	3367
594	1303	3411	639	1348	3366
595	1304	3410	640	1349	3365
596	1305	3409	641	1350	3364
597	1306	3408	642	1351	3363
598	1307	3407	643	1352	3362
599	1308	3406	644	1353	3361
600	1309	3405	645	1354	3360
601	1310	3404	646	1355	3359
602	1311	3403	647	1356	3358
603	1312	3402	648	1357	3357
604	1313	3401	649	1358	3356
605	1314	3400	650	1359	3355
606	1315	3399	651	1360	3354
607	1316	3398	652	1361	3353
608	1317	3397	653	1362	3352
609	1318	3396	654	1363	3351
610	1319	3395	655	1364	3350
611	1320	3394	656	1365	3349
612	1321	3393	657	1366	3348
613	1322	3392	658	1367	3347
614	1323	3391	659	1368	3346
615	1324	3390	660	1369	3345
616	1325	3389	661	1370	3344
617	1326	3388	662	1371	3343
618	1327	3387	663	1372	3342
619	1328	3386	664	1373	3341
620	1329	3385	665	1374	3340
621	1330	3384	666	1375	3339
622	1331	3383	667	1376	3338
623	1332	3382	668	1377	3337
624	1333	3381	669	1378	3336
625	1334	3380	670	1379	3335
626	1335	3379	671	1380	3334
627	1336	3378	672	1381	3333
628	1337	3377	673	1382	3332
629	1338	3376	674	1383	3331
630	1339	3375	675	1384	3330
631	1340	3374	676	1385	3329
632	1341	3373	677	1386	3328
633	1342	3372	678	1387	3327

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
679	1388	3326	724	1433	3281
680	1389	3325	725	1434	3480
681	1390	3324	726	1435	3279
682	1391	3323	727	1436	3278
683	1392	3322	728	1437	3277
684	1393	3321	729	1438	3276
685	1394	3320	730	1439	3275
686	1395	3319	731	1440	3274
687	1396	3318	732	1441	3273
688	1397	3317	733	1442	3272
689	1398	3316	734	1443	3271
690	1399	3315	735	1444	3270
691	1400	3314	736	1445	3269
692	1401	3313	737	1446	3268
693	1402	3312	738	1447	3267
694	1403	3311	739	1448	3266
695	1404	3310	740	1449	3265
696	1405	3309	741	1450	3264
697	1406	3308	742	1451	3263
698	1407	3307	743	1452	3262
699	1408	3306	744	1453	3261
700	1409	3305	745	1454	3260
701	1410	3304	746	1455	3259
702	1411	3303	747	1456	3258
703	1412	3302	748	1457	3257
704	1413	3301	749	1458	3256
705	1414	3300	750	1459	3255
706	1415	3299	751	1460	3254
707	1416	3298	752	1461	3253
708	1417	3297	753	1462	3252
709	1418	3296	754	1463	3251
710	1419	3295	755	1464	3250
711	1420	3294	756	1465	3249
712	1421	3293	757	1466	3248
713	1422	3292	758	1467	3247
714	1423	3291	759	1468	3246
715	1424	3290	760	1469	3245
716	1425	3289	761	1470	3244
717	1426	3288	762	1471	3243
718	1427	3287	763	1472	3242
719	1428	3286	764	1473	3241
720	1429	3285	765	1474	3240
721	1430	3284	766	1475	3239
722	1431	3283	767	1476	3238
723	1432	3282	768	1477	3237

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
769	1478	3236	814	1523	3191
770	1479	3235	815	1524	3190
771	1480	3234	816	1525	3189
772	1481	3233	817	1526	3188
773	1482	3232	818	1527	3187
774	1483	3231	819	1528	3186
775	1484	3230	820	1529	3185
776	1485	3229	821	1530	3184
777	1486	3228	822	1531	3183
778	1487	3227	823	1532	3182
779	1488	3226	824	1533	3181
780	1489	3225	825	1534	3180
781	1490	3224	826	1535	3179
782	1491	3223	827	1536	3178
783	1492	3222	828	1537	3177
784	1493	3221	829	1538	3176
785	1494	3220	830	1539	3175
786	1495	3219	831	1540	3174
787	1496	3218	832	1541	3173
788	1497	3217	833	1542	3172
789	1498	3216	834	1543	3171
790	1499	3215	835	1544	3170
791	1500	3214	836	1545	3169
792	1501	3213	837	1546	3168
793	1502	3212	838	1547	3167
794	1503	3211	839	1548	3166
795	1504	3210	840	1549	3165
796	1505	3209	841	1550	3164
797	1506	3208	842	1551	3163
798	1507	3207	843	1552	3162
799	1508	3206	844	1553	3161
800	1509	3205	845	1554	3160
801	1510	3204	846	1555	2159
802	1511	3203	847	1556	3158
803	1512	3202	848	1557	3157
804	1513	3201	849	1558	3156
805	1514	3200	850	1559	3155
806	1515	3199	851	1560	3154
807	1516	3198	852	1561	3153
808	1517	3197	853	1562	3152
809	1518	3196	854	1563	3151
810	1519	3195	855	1564	3150
811	1520	3194	856	1565	3149
812	1521	3193	857	1566	3148
813	1522	3192	858	1567	3147

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
859	1568	3144	904	1613	3101
860	1569	3145	905	1614	3100
861	1570	3144	906	1615	3099
862	1571	3143	907	1616	3098
863	1572	3142	908	1617	3097
864	1573	3141	909	1618	3096
865	1574	3140	910	1619	3095
866	1575	3139	911	1620	3094
867	1576	3138	912	1621	3093
868	1577	3137	913	1622	3092
869	1578	3136	914	1623	3091
870	1579	3135	915	1624	3090
871	1580	3134	916	1625	3089
872	1581	3133	917	1626	3088
873	1582	3132	918	1627	3087
874	1583	3131	919	1628	3086
875	1584	3130	920	1629	3085
876	1585	3129	921	1630	3084
877	1586	3128	922	1631	3083
878	1587	3127	923	1632	3082
879	1588	3126	924	1633	3081
880	1589	3125	925	1634	3080
881	1590	3124	926	1635	3079
882	1591	3123	927	1636	3078
883	1592	3122	928	1637	3077
884	1593	3121	929	1638	3076
885	1594	3120	930	1639	3075
886	1595	3119	931	1640	3074
887	1596	3118	932	1641	3073
888	1597	3117	933	1642	3072
889	1598	3116	934	1643	3071
890	1599	3115	935	1644	3070
891	1600	3114	936	1645	3069
892	1601	3113	937	1646	3068
893	1602	3112	938	1647	3067
894	1603	3111	939	1648	3066
895	1604	3110	940	1649	3065
896	1605	3109	941	1650	3064
897	1606	3108	942	1651	3063
898	1607	3107	943	1652	3062
899	1608	3106	944	1653	3061
900	1609	3105	945	1654	3060
901	1610	3104	946	1655	3059
902	1611	3103	947	1656	3058
903	1612	3102	948	1657	3057

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
949	1658	3056	994	1703	3011
950	1659	3055	995	1704	3010
951	1660	3054	996	1705	3009
952	1661	3053	997	1706	3008
953	1662	3052	998	1707	3007
954	1663	3051	999	1708	3006
955	1664	3050	1000	1709	3005
956	1665	3049	1001	1710	3004
957	1666	3048	1002	1711	3003
958	1667	3047	1003	1712	3002
959	1668	3046	1004	1713	3001
960	1669	3045	1005	1714	3000
961	1670	3044	1006	1715	2999
962	1671	3043	1007	1716	2998
963	1672	3042	1008	1717	2997
964	1673	3041	1009	1718	2996
965	1674	3040	1010	1719	2995
966	1675	3039	1011	1720	2994
967	1676	3038	1012	1721	2993
968	1677	3037	1013	1722	2992
969	1678	3036	1014	1723	2991
970	1679	3035	1015	1724	2990
971	1680	3034	1016	1725	2989
972	1681	3033	1017	1726	2988
973	1682	3032	1018	1727	2987
974	1683	3031	1019	1728	2986
975	1684	3030	1020	1729	2985
976	1685	3029	1021	1730	2984
977	1686	3028	1022	1731	2983
978	1687	3027	1023	1732	2982
979	1688	3026	1024	1733	2981
980	1689	3025	1025	1734	2980
981	1690	3024	1026	1735	2979
982	1691	3023	1027	1736	2978
983	1692	3022	1028	1737	2977
984	1693	3021	1029	1738	2976
985	1694	3020	1030	1739	2975
986	1695	3019	1031	1740	2974
987	1696	3018	1032	1741	2973
988	1697	3017	1033	1742	2972
989	1698	3016	1034	1743	2971
990	1699	3015	1035	1744	2970
991	1700	3014	1036	1745	2969
992	1701	3013	1037	1746	2968
993	1702	3012	1038	1747	2967

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1039	1748	2966	1084	1793	2921
1040	1749	2965	1085	1794	2920
1041	1750	2964	1086	1795	2919
1042	1751	2963	1087	1796	2918
1043	1752	2962	1088	1797	2917
1044	1753	2961	1089	1798	2916
1045	1754	2960	1090	1799	2915
1046	1755	2959	1091	1800	2914
1047	1756	2958	1092	1801	2913
1048	1757	2957	1093	1802	2912
1049	1758	2956	1094	1803	2911
1050	1759	2955	1095	1804	2910
1051	1760	2954	1096	1805	2909
1052	1761	2953	1097	1806	2908
1053	1762	2952	1098	1807	2907
1054	1763	2951	1099	1808	2906
1055	1764	2950	1100	1809	2905
1056	1765	2949	1101	1810	2904
1057	1766	2948	1102	1811	2903
1058	1767	2947	1103	1812	2902
1059	1768	2946	1104	1813	2901
1060	1769	2945	1105	1814	2900
1061	1770	2944	1106	1815	2899
1062	1771	2943	1107	1816	2898
1063	1772	2942	1108	1817	2897
1064	1773	2941	1109	1818	2896
1065	1774	2940	1110	1819	2895
1066	1775	2939	1111	1820	2894
1067	1776	2938	1112	1821	2893
1068	1777	2937	1113	1822	2892
1069	1778	2936	1114	1823	2891
1070	1779	2935	1115	1824	2890
1071	1780	2934	1116	1825	2889
1072	1781	2933	1117	1826	2888
1073	1782	2932	1118	1827	2887
1074	1783	2931	1119	1828	2886
1075	1784	2930	1120	1829	2885
1076	1785	2929	1121	1830	2881
1077	1786	2928	1122	1831	2883
1078	1787	2927	1123	1832	2882
1079	1788	2926	1124	1833	2881
1080	1789	2925	1125	1834	2880
1081	1790	2924	1126	1835	2879
1082	1791	2923	1127	1836	2878
1083	1792	2922	1128	1837	2877

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1129	1838	2876	1174	1883	2831
1130	1839	2875	1175	1884	2830
1131	1840	2874	1176	1885	2829
1132	1841	2873	1177	1886	2828
1133	1842	2872	1178	1887	2827
1134	1843	2871	1179	1888	2826
1135	1844	2870	1180	1889	2825
1136	1845	2869	1181	1890	2824
1137	1846	2868	1182	1891	2823
1138	1847	2867	1183	1892	2822
1139	1848	2866	1184	1893	2821
1140	1849	2865	1185	1894	2820
1141	1850	2864	1186	1895	2819
1142	1851	2863	1187	1896	2818
1143	1852	2862	1188	1897	2817
1144	1853	2861	1189	1898	2816
1145	1854	2860	1190	1899	2815
1146	1855	2859	1191	1900	2814
1147	1856	2858	1192	1901	2813
1148	1857	2857	1193	1902	2812
1149	1858	2856	1194	1903	2811
1150	1859	2855	1195	1904	2810
1151	1860	2854	1196	1905	2809
1152	1861	2853	1197	1906	2808
1153	1862	2852	1198	1907	2807
1154	1863	2851	1199	1908	2806
1155	1864	2850	1200	1909	2805
1156	1865	2849	1201	1910	2804
1157	1866	2848	1202	1911	2803
1158	1867	2847	1203	1912	2802
1159	1868	2846	1204	1913	2801
1160	1869	2845	1205	1914	2800
1161	1870	2844	1206	1915	2799
1162	1871	2843	1207	1916	2798
1163	1872	2842	1208	1917	2797
1164	1873	2841	1209	1918	2796
1165	1874	2840	1210	1919	2795
1166	1875	2839	1211	1920	2794
1167	1876	2838	1212	1921	2793
1168	1877	2837	1213	1922	2792
1169	1878	2836	1214	1923	2791
1170	1879	2835	1215	1924	2790
1171	1880	2834	1216	1925	2789
1172	1881	2833	1217	1926	2788
1173	1882	2832	1218	1927	2787

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1219	1928	2786	1264	1973	2741
1220	1929	2785	1265	1974	2740
1221	1930	2784	1266	1975	2739
1222	1931	2783	1267	1976	2738
1223	1932	2782	1268	1977	2737
1224	1933	2781	1269	1978	2736
1225	1934	2780	1270	1979	2735
1226	1935	2779	1271	1980	2734
1227	1936	2778	1272	1981	2733
1228	1937	2777	1273	1982	2732
1229	1938	2776	1274	1983	2731
1230	1939	2775	1275	1984	2730
1231	1940	2774	1276	1985	2729
1232	1941	2773	1277	1986	2728
1233	1942	2772	1278	1987	2727
1234	1943	2771	1279	1988	2726
1235	1944	2770	1280	1989	2725
1236	1945	2769	1281	1990	2724
1237	1946	2768	1282	1991	2723
1238	1947	2767	1283	1992	2722
1239	1948	2766	1284	1993	2721
1240	1949	2765	1285	1994	2720
1241	1950	2764	1286	1995	2719
1242	1951	2763	1287	1996	2718
1243	1952	2762	1288	1997	2717
1244	1953	2761	1289	1998	2716
1245	1954	2760	1290	1999	2715
1246	1955	2759	1291	2000	2714
1247	1956	2758	1292	2001	2713
1248	1957	2757	1293	2002	2712
1249	1958	2756	1294	2003	2711
1250	1959	2755	1295	2004	2710
1251	1960	2754	1296	2005	2709
1252	1961	2753	1297	2006	2708
1253	1962	2752	1298	2007	2707
1254	1963	2751	1299	2008	2706
1255	1964	2750	1300	2009	2705
1256	1965	2749	1301	2010	2704
1257	1966	2748	1302	2011	2703
1258	1967	2747	1303	2012	2702
1259	1968	2746	1304	2013	2701
1260	1969	2745	1305	2014	2700
1261	1970	2744	1306	2015	2699
1262	1971	2743	1307	2016	2698
1263	1972	2742	1308	2017	2697

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1309	2018	2696	1354	2063	2651
1310	2019	2695	1355	2064	2650
1311	2020	2694	1356	2065	2649
1312	2021	2693	1357	2066	2648
1313	2022	2692	1358	2067	2647
1314	2023	2691	1359	2068	2646
1315	2024	2690	1360	2069	2645
1316	2025	2689	1361	2070	2644
1317	2026	2688	1362	2071	2643
1318	2027	2687	1363	2072	2642
1319	2028	2686	1364	2073	2641
1320	2029	2685	1365	2074	2640
1321	2030	2684	1366	2075	2639
1322	2031	2683	1367	2076	2638
1323	2032	2682	1368	2077	2637
1324	2033	2681	1369	2078	2636
1325	2034	2680	1370	2079	2635
1326	2035	2679	1371	2080	2634
1327	2036	2678	1372	2081	2633
1328	2037	2677	1373	2082	2632
1329	2038	2676	1374	2083	2631
1330	2039	2675	1375	2084	2630
1331	2040	2674	1376	2085	2629
1332	2041	2673	1377	2086	2628
1333	2042	2672	1378	2087	2627
1334	2043	2671	1379	2088	2626
1335	2044	2670	1380	2089	2625
1336	2045	2669	1381	2090	2624
1337	2046	2668	1382	2091	2623
1338	2047	2667	1383	2092	2622
1339	2048	2666	1384	2093	2621
1340	2049	2665	1385	2094	2620
1341	2050	2664	1386	2095	2619
1342	2051	2663	1387	2096	2618
1343	2052	2662	1388	2097	2617
1344	2053	2661	1389	2098	2616
1345	2054	2660	1390	2099	2615
1346	2055	2659	1391	2100	2614
1347	2056	2658	1392	2101	2613
1348	2057	2657	1393	2102	2612
1349	2058	2656	1394	2103	2611
1350	2059	2655	1395	2104	2610
1351	2060	2654	1396	2105	2609
1352	2061	2653	1397	2106	2608
1353	2062	2652	1398	2107	2607

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1399	2108	2606
1400	2109	2605
1401	2110	2604
1402	2111	2603
1403	2112	2602
1404	2113	2601
1405	2114	2600
1406	2115	2599
1407	2116	2598
1408	2117	2597
1409	2118	2596
1410	2119	2595
1411	2120	2594
1412	2121	2593
1413	2122	2592
1414	2123	2591
1415	2124	2590
1416	2125	2589
1417	2126	2588
1418	2137	2587
1419	2128	2586
1420	2129	2585
1421	2130	2584
1422	2131	2583
1423	2132	2582
1424	2133	2581
1425	2134	2580
1426	2135	2579
1427	2136	2578
1428	2137	2577
1429	2138	2576
1430	2139	2575
1431	2140	2574
1432	2141	2573
1433	2142	2572
1434	2143	2571
1435	2144	2570
1436	2145	2569
1437	2146	2568
1438	2147	2567
1439	2148	2566
1440	2149	2565
1441	2150	2564
1442	2151	2563
1443	2152	2562

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1444	2153	2561
1445	2154	2560
1446	2155	2559
1447	2156	2558
1448	2157	2557
1449	2158	2556
1450	2159	2555
1451	2160	2554
1452	2161	2553
1453	2162	2552
1454	2163	2551
1455	2164	2550
1456	2165	2549
1457	2166	2548
1458	2167	2547
1459	2168	2546
1460	2169	2545
1461	2170	2544
1462	2171	2543
1463	2172	2542
1464	2173	2541
1465	2174	2540
1466	2175	2539
1467	2176	2538
1468	2177	2537
1469	2178	2536
1470	2179	2535
1471	2180	2534
1472	2181	2533
1473	2182	2532
1474	2183	2531
1475	2184	2530
1476	2185	2529
1477	2186	2528
1478	2187	2527
1479	2188	2526
1480	2189	2525
1481	2190	2524
1482	2191	2523
1483	2192	2522
1484	2193	2521
1485	2194	2520
1486	2195	2519
1487	2196	2518
1488	2197	2517

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christi.
1489	2198	2516
1490	2199	2515
1491	2200	2514
1492	2201	2513
1493	2202	2512
1494	2203	2511
1495	2204	2510
1496	2205	2509
1497	2206	2508
1498	2207	2507
1499	2208	2506
1500	2209	2505
1501	2210	2504
1502	2211	2503
1503	2212	2502
1504	2213	2501
1505	2214	2500
1506	2215	2499
1507	2216	2498
1508	2217	2497
1509	2218	2496
1510	2219	2495
1511	2220	2494
1512	2221	2493
1513	2222	2492
1514	2223	2491
1515	2224	2490
1516	2225	2489
1517	2226	2488
1518	2227	2487
1519	2228	2486
1520	2229	2485
1521	2230	2484
1522	2231	2483
1523	2232	2482
1524	2233	2481
1525	2234	2480
1526	2235	2479
1527	2236	2478
1528	2237	2477
1529	2238	2476
1530	2239	2475
1531	2240	2474
1532	2241	2473
1533	2242	2472
1534	2243	2471
1535	2244	2470
1536	2245	2469
1537	2246	2468
1538	2247	2467
1539	2248	3466
1540	2249	2465
1541	2250	2464
1542	2251	2463
1543	2252	2462
1544	2253	2461
1545	2254	2460
1546	2255	2459
1547	2256	2458
1548	2257	2457
1549	2258	2456
1550	2259	2455
1551	2260	2454
1552	2261	2453
1553	2262	2452
1554	2263	2451
1555	2264	2450
1556	2265	2449
1557	2266	2448
1558	2267	2447
1559	2268	2446
1560	2269	2445
1561	2270	2444
1562	2271	2443
1563	2272	2442
1564	2273	2441
1565	2274	2440
1566	2275	2439
1567	2276	2438
1568	2277	2437
1569	2278	2436
1570	2279	2435
1571	2280	2434
1572	2281	2433
1573	2282	2432
1574	2283	2431
1575	2284	2430
1576	2285	2429
1577	2286	2428
1578	2287	2427

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
1579	2288	2426	1624	2333	2381
1580	2289	2425	1625	2334	2380
1581	2290	2424	1626	2335	2379
1582	2291	2423	1627	2336	2378
1583	2292	2422	1628	2337	2377
1584	2293	2421	1629	2338	2376
1585	2294	2420	1630	2339	2375
1586	2295	2419	1631	2340	2374
1587	2296	2418	1632	2341	2373
1588	2297	2417	1633	2342	2372
1589	2298	2416	1634	2343	2371
1590	2299	2415	1635	2344	2370
1591	2300	2414	1636	2345	2369
1592	2301	2413	1637	2346	2368
1593	2302	2412	1638	2347	2367
1594	2303	2411	1639	2348	2366
1595	2304	2410	1640	2349	2365
1596	2305	2409	1641	2350	2364
1597	2306	2408	1642	2351	2363
1598	2307	2407	1643	2352	2362
1599	2308	2406	1644	2353	2361
1600	2309	2405	1645	2354	2360
1601	2310	2404	1646	2355	2359
1602	2311	2403	1647	2356	2358
1603	2312	2402	1648	2357	2357
1604	2313	2401	1649	2358	2356
1605	2314	2400	1650	2359	2355
1606	2315	2399	1651	2360	2354
1607	2316	2398	1652	2361	2353
1608	2317	3397	1653	2362	2352
1609	2318	2396	1654	2363	2351
1610	2319	2395	1655	2364	2350
1611	2320	2394	1656	2365	2349
1612	2321	2393	1657	2366	2348
1613	2322	2392	1658	2367	2347
1614	2323	2391	1659	2368	2346
1615	2324	2390	1660	2369	2345
1616	2325	2389	1661	2370	2344
1617	2326	2388	1662	2371	2343
1618	2327	2387	1663	2372	2342
1619	2328	2386	1664	2373	2341
1620	2329	2385	1665	2374	2340
1621	2330	2384	1666	2375	2339
1622	2331	2383	1667	2376	2338
1623	2332	2382	1668	2377	2337

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
1669	2378	2336	1714	2423	2291
1670	2379	2335	1715	2424	2290
1671	2380	2334	1716	2425	2289
1672	2381	2333	1717	2426	2288
1673	2382	2332	1718	2427	2287
1674	2383	2331	1719	2428	2286
1675	2384	2330	1720	2429	2285
1676	2385	2329	1721	2430	2284
1677	2386	2328	1722	2431	2283
1678	2387	2327	1723	2432	2282
1679	2388	2326	1724	2433	2281
1680	2389	2325	1725	2434	2280
1681	2390	2324	1726	2435	2279
1682	2391	2323	1727	2436	2278
1683	2392	2322	1728	2437	2277
1684	2393	2321	1729	2438	2276
1685	2394	2320	1730	2439	2275
1686	2395	2319	1731	2440	2274
1687	2396	2318	1732	2441	2273
1688	2397	2317	1733	2442	2272
1689	2398	2316	1734	2443	2271
1690	2399	2315	1735	2444	2270
1691	2400	2314	1736	2445	2269
1692	2401	2313	1737	2446	2268
1693	2402	2312	1738	2447	2267
1694	2403	2311	1739	2448	2266
1695	2404	2310	1740	2449	2265
1696	2405	2309	1741	2450	2264
1697	2406	2308	1742	2451	2263
1698	2407	2307	1743	2452	2262
1699	2408	2306	1744	2453	2261
1700	2409	2305	1745	2454	2260
1701	2410	2304	1746	2455	2259
1702	2411	2303	1747	2456	2258
1703	2412	2302	1748	2457	2257
1704	2413	2301	1749	2458	2256
1705	2414	2300	1750	2459	2255
1706	2415	2299	1751	2460	2254
1707	2416	2298	1752	2461	2253
1708	2417	2297	1753	2462	2252
1709	2418	2296	1754	2463	2251
1710	2419	2295	1755	2464	2250
1711	2420	2294	1756	2465	2249
1712	2421	2293	1757	2466	2248
1713	2422	2292	1758	2467	2247

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
1759	2468	2246	1804	2513	2201
1760	2469	2245	1805	2514	2200
1761	2470	2244	1806	2515	2199
1762	2471	2243	1807	2516	2198
1763	2472	2242	1808	2517	2197
1764	2473	2241	1809	2518	2196
1765	2474	2240	1810	2519	2195
1766	2475	2239	1811	2520	2194
1767	2476	2238	1812	2521	2193
1768	2477	2237	1813	2522	2192
1769	2478	2236	1814	2523	2191
1770	2479	2235	1815	2524	2190
1771	2480	2234	1816	2525	2189
1772	2481	2233	1817	2526	2188
1773	2482	2232	1818	2527	2187
1774	2483	2231	1819	2528	2186
1775	2484	2230	1820	2529	2185
1776	2485	2229	1821	2530	2184
1777	2486	2228	1822	2531	2183
1778	2487	2227	1823	2532	2182
1779	2488	2226	1824	2533	2181
1780	2489	2225	1825	2534	2180
1781	2490	2224	1826	2535	2179
1782	2491	2223	1827	2536	2178
1783	2492	2222	1828	2537	2177
1784	2493	2221	1829	2538	2176
1785	2494	2220	1830	2539	2175
1786	2495	2219	1831	2540	2174
1787	2496	2218	1832	2541	2173
1788	2497	2217	1833	2542	2172
1789	2498	2216	1834	2543	2171
1790	2499	2215	1835	2544	2170
1791	2500	2214	1836	2545	2169
1792	2501	2213	1837	2546	2168
1793	2502	2212	1838	2547	2167
1794	2503	2211	1839	2548	2166
1795	2504	2210	1840	2549	2165
1796	2505	2209	1841	2550	2164
1797	2506	2208	1842	2551	2163
1798	2507	2207	1843	2552	2162
1799	2508	2206	1844	2553	2161
1800	2509	2205	1845	2554	2160
1801	2510	2204	1846	2555	2159
1802	2511	2203	1847	2556	2158
1803	2512	2202	1848	2557	2157

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
1849	2558	2156
1850	2559	2155
1851	2560	2154
1852	2561	2153
1853	2562	2152
1854	2563	2151
1855	2564	2150
1856	2565	2149
1857	2566	2148
1858	2567	2147
1859	2568	2146
1860	2569	2145
1861	2570	2144
1862	2571	2143
1863	2572	2142
1864	2573	2141
1865	2574	2140
1866	2575	2139
1867	2576	2138
1868	2577	2137
1869	2578	2136
1870	2579	2135
1871	2580	2134
1872	2581	2133
1873	2582	2132
1874	2583	2131
1875	2584	2130
1876	2585	2129
1877	2586	2128
1878	2587	2127
1879	2588	2126
1880	2589	2125
1881	2590	2124
1882	2591	2123
1883	2592	2122
1884	2593	2121
1885	2594	2120
1886	2595	2119
1887	2596	2118
1888	2597	2117
1889	2598	2116
1890	2599	2115
1891	2600	2114
1892	2601	2113
1893	2602	2112
1894	2603	2111
1895	2604	2110
1896	2605	2109
1897	2606	2108
1898	2607	2107
1899	2608	2106
1900	2609	2105
1901	2610	2104
1902	2611	2103
1903	2612	2102
1904	2613	2101
1905	2614	2100
1906	2615	2099
1907	2616	2098
1908	2617	2097
1909	2618	2096
1910	2619	2095
1911	2620	2094
1912	2621	2093
1913	2622	2092
1914	2623	2091
1915	2624	2090
1916	2625	2089
1917	2626	2088
1918	2627	2087
1919	2628	2086
1920	2629	2085
1921	2630	2084
1922	2631	2083
1923	2632	2082
1924	2633	2081
1925	2634	2080
1926	2635	2079
1927	2636	2078
1928	2637	2077
1929	2638	2076
1930	2639	2075
1931	2640	2074
1932	2641	2073
1933	2642	2072
1934	2643	2071
1935	2644	2070
1936	2645	2069
1937	2646	2068
1938	2647	2067

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
1939	2648	2066	1984	2693	2021
1940	2649	2065	1985	2694	2020
1941	2650	2064	1986	2695	2019
1942	2651	2063	1987	2696	2018
1943	2652	2062	1988	2697	2017
1944	2653	2061	1989	2698	2016
1945	2654	2060	1990	2699	2015
1946	2655	2059	1991	2700	2014
1947	2656	2058	1992	2701	2013
1948	2657	2057	1993	2702	2012
1949	2658	2056	1994	2703	2011
1950	2659	2055	1995	2704	2010
1951	2660	2054	1996	2705	2009
1952	2661	2053	1997	2706	2008
1953	2662	2052	1998	2707	2007
1954	2663	2051	1999	2708	2006
1955	2664	2050	2000	2709	2005
1956	2665	2049	2001	2710	2004
1957	2666	2048	2002	2711	2003
1958	2667	2047	2003	2712	2002
1959	2668	2046	2004	2713	2001
1960	2669	2045	2005	2714	2000
1861	2670	2044	2006	2715	1999
1962	2671	2043	2007	2716	1998
1963	2672	2042	2008	2717	1997
1964	2673	2041	2009	2718	1996
1965	2674	2040	2010	2719	1995
1966	2675	2039	2011	2720	1994
1967	2676	2038	2012	2721	1993
1968	2677	2037	2013	2722	1992
1969	2678	2036	2014	2723	1991
1970	2679	2035	2015	2724	1990
1971	2680	2034	2016	2725	1989
1972	2681	2033	2017	2726	1988
1973	2682	2032	2018	2727	1987
1974	2683	2031	2019	2728	1986
1975	2684	2030	2020	2729	1985
1976	2685	2029	2021	2730	1984
1977	2686	2028	2022	2731	1983
1978	2687	2027	2023	2732	1982
1979	2688	2026	2024	2733	1981
1980	2689	2025	2025	2734	1980
1981	2690	2024	2026	2735	1979
1982	2691	2023	2027	2736	1978
1983	2692	2022	2028	2737	1977

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2029	2738	1976	2074	2783	1931
2030	2739	1975	2075	2784	1930
2031	2740	1974	2076	2785	1929
2032	2741	1973	2077	2786	1928
2033	2742	1972	2078	2787	1927
2034	2743	1971	2079	2788	1926
2035	2744	1970	2080	2789	1925
2036	2745	1969	2081	2790	1924
2037	2746	1968	2082	2791	1923
2038	2747	1967	2083	2792	1922
2039	2748	1966	2084	2793	1921
2040	2749	1965	2085	2794	1920
2041	2750	1964	2086	2795	1919
2042	2751	1963	2087	2796	1918
2043	2752	1962	2088	2797	1917
2044	2753	1961	2089	2798	1916
2045	2754	1960	2090	2799	1915
2046	2755	1959	2091	2800	1914
2047	2756	1958	2092	2801	1913
2048	2757	1957	2093	2802	1912
2049	2758	1956	2094	2803	1911
2050	2759	1955	2095	2804	1910
2051	2760	1954	2096	2805	1909
2052	2761	1953	2097	2806	1908
2053	2762	1952	2098	2807	1907
2054	2763	1951	2099	2808	1906
2055	2764	1950	2100	2809	1905
2056	2765	1949	2101	2810	1904
2057	2766	1948	2102	2811	1903
2058	2767	1947	2103	2812	1902
2059	2768	1946	2104	2813	1901
2060	2769	1945	2105	2814	1900
2061	2770	1944	2106	2815	1899
2062	2771	1943	2107	2816	1898
2063	2772	1942	2108	2817	1897
2064	2773	1941	2109	2818	1896
2065	2774	1940	2110	2819	1895
2066	2775	1939	2111	2820	1894
2067	2776	1938	2112	2821	1893
2068	2777	1937	2113	2822	1892
2069	2778	1936	2114	2823	1891
2070	2779	1935	2115	2824	1890
2071	2780	1934	2116	2825	1889
2072	2781	1933	2117	2826	1888
2073	2782	1932	2118	2827	1887

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2119	2828	1886	2164	2873	1841
2120	2829	1885	2165	2874	1840
2121	2830	1884	2166	2875	1839
2122	2831	1883	2167	2876	1838
2123	2832	1882	2168	2877	1837
2124	2833	1881	2169	2878	1836
2125	2834	1880	2170	2879	1835
2126	2835	1879	2171	2880	1834
2127	2836	1878	2172	2881	1833
2128	2837	1877	2173	2882	1832
2129	2838	1876	2174	2883	1831
2130	2839	1875	2175	2884	1830
2131	2840	1874	2176	2885	1829
2132	2841	1873	2177	2886	1828
2133	2842	1872	2178	2887	1827
2134	2843	1871	2179	2888	1826
2135	2844	1870	2180	2889	1825
2136	2845	1869	2181	2890	1824
2137	2846	1868	2182	2891	1823
2138	2847	1867	2183	2892	1822
2139	2848	1866	2184	2893	1821
2140	2849	1865	2185	2894	1820
2141	2850	1864	2186	2895	1819
2142	2851	1863	2187	2896	1818
2143	2852	1862	2188	2897	1817
2144	2853	1861	2189	2898	1816
2145	2854	1860	2190	2899	1815
2146	2855	1859	2191	2900	1814
2147	2856	1858	2192	2901	1813
2148	2857	1857	2193	2902	1812
2149	2858	1856	2194	2903	1811
2150	2859	1855	2195	2904	1810
2151	2860	1854	2196	2905	1809
2152	2861	1853	2197	2906	1808
2153	2862	1852	2198	2907	1807
2154	2863	1851	2199	2908	1806
2155	2864	1850	2200	2909	1805
2156	2865	1849	2201	2910	1804
2157	2866	1848	2202	2911	1803
2158	2867	1847	2203	2912	1802
2159	2868	1846	2204	2913	1801
2160	2869	1845	2205	2914	1800
2161	2870	1844	2206	2915	1799
2162	2871	1843	2207	2916	1798
2163	2872	1842	2208	2917	1797

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2209	2918	1796	2254	2963	1751
2210	2919	1795	2255	2964	1750
2211	2920	1794	2256	2965	1749
2212	2921	1793	2257	2966	1748
2213	2922	1792	2258	2967	1747
2214	2923	1791	2259	2968	1746
2215	2924	1790	2260	2969	1745
2216	2925	1789	2261	2970	1744
2217	2926	1788	2262	2971	1743
2218	2927	1787	2263	2972	1742
2219	2928	1786	2264	2973	1741
2220	2929	1785	2265	2974	1740
2221	2930	1784	2266	2975	1739
2222	2931	1783	2267	2976	1738
2223	2932	1782	2268	2977	1737
2224	2933	1781	2269	2978	1736
2225	2934	1780	2270	2979	1735
2226	2935	1779	2271	2980	1734
2227	2936	1778	2272	2981	1733
2228	2937	1777	2273	2982	1732
2229	2938	1776	2274	2983	1731
2230	2939	1775	2275	2984	1730
2231	2940	1774	2276	2985	1729
2232	2941	1773	2277	2986	1728
2233	2942	1772	2278	2987	1727
2234	2943	1771	2279	2988	1726
2235	2944	1770	2280	2989	1725
2236	2945	1769	2281	2990	1724
2237	2946	1768	2282	2991	1723
2238	2947	1767	2283	2992	1722
2239	2948	1766	2284	2993	1721
2240	2949	1765	2285	2994	1720
2241	2950	1764	2286	2995	1719
2242	2951	1763	2287	2996	1718
2243	2952	1762	2288	2997	1717
2244	2953	1761	2289	2998	1716
2245	2954	1760	2290	2999	1715
2246	2955	1759	2291	3000	1714
2247	2956	1758	2292	3001	1713
2248	2957	1757	2293	3002	1712
2249	2958	1756	2294	3003	1711
2250	2959	1755	2295	3004	1710
2251	2960	1754	2296	3005	1709
2252	2961	1753	2297	3006	1708
2253	2962	1752	2298	3007	1707

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2299	3008	1706	2344	3053	1661
2300	3009	1705	2345	3054	1660
2301	3010	1704	2346	3055	1659
2302	3011	1703	2347	3056	1658
2303	3012	1702	2348	3057	1657
2304	3013	1701	2349	3058	1656
2305	3014	1700	2350	3059	1655
2306	3015	1699	2351	3060	1654
2307	3016	1698	2352	3061	1653
2308	3017	1697	2353	3062	1652
2309	3018	1696	2354	3063	1651
2310	3019	1695	2355	3064	1650
2311	3020	1694	2356	3065	1649
2312	3021	1693	2357	3066	1648
2313	3022	1692	2358	3067	1647
2314	3023	1691	2359	3068	1646
2315	3024	1690	2360	3069	1645
2316	3025	1689	2361	3070	1644
2317	3026	1688	2362	3071	1643
2318	3027	1687	2363	3072	1642
2319	3028	1686	2364	3073	1641
2320	3029	1685	2365	3074	1640
2321	3030	1684	2366	3075	1639
2322	3031	1683	2367	3076	1638
2323	3032	1682	2368	3077	1637
2324	3033	1681	2369	3078	1636
2325	3034	1680	2370	3079	1635
2326	3035	1679	2371	3080	1634
2327	3036	1678	2372	3081	1633
2328	3037	1677	2373	3082	1632
2329	3038	1676	2374	3083	1631
2330	3039	1675	2375	3084	1630
2331	3040	1674	2376	3085	1629
2332	3041	1673	2377	3086	1628
2333	3042	1672	2378	3087	1627
2334	3043	1671	2379	3088	1626
2335	3044	1670	2380	3089	1625
2336	3045	1669	2381	3090	1624
2337	3046	1668	2382	3091	1623
2338	3047	1667	2383	3092	1622
2339	3048	1666	2384	3093	1621
2340	3049	1665	2385	3094	1620
2341	3050	1664	2386	3095	1619
2342	3051	1663	2387	3096	1618
2343	3052	1662	2388	3097	1617

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2389	3098	1616	2434	3143	1571
2390	3099	1615	2435	3144	1570
2391	3100	1614	2436	3145	1569
2392	3101	1613	2437	3146	1568
2393	3102	1612	2438	3147	1567
2394	3103	1611	2439	3148	1566
2395	3104	1610	2440	3149	1565
2396	3105	1609	3441	3150	1564
2397	3106	1608	2442	3151	1563
2398	3107	1607	2443	3152	1562
2399	3108	1606	2444	3153	1561
2400	3109	1605	2445	3154	1560
2401	3110	1604	2446	3155	1559
2402	3111	1603	2447	3156	1558
2403	3112	1602	2448	3157	1557
2404	3113	1601	2449	3158	1556
2405	3114	1600	2450	3159	1555
2406	3115	1599	2451	3160	1554
2407	3116	1598	2452	3161	1553
2408	3117	1597	2453	3162	1552
2409	3118	1596	2454	3163	1551
2410	3119	1595	2455	3164	1550
2411	3120	1594	2456	3165	1549
2412	3121	1593	2457	3166	1548
2413	3122	1592	2458	3167	1547
2414	3123	1591	2459	3168	1546
2415	3124	1590	2460	3169	1545
2416	3125	1589	2461	3170	1544
2417	3126	1588	2462	3171	1543
2418	3127	1587	2463	3172	1542
2419	3128	1586	2464	3173	1541
2420	3129	1585	2465	3174	1540
2421	3130	1584	2466	3175	1539
2422	3131	1583	2467	3176	1538
2423	3132	1582	2468	3177	1537
2424	3133	1581	2469	3178	1536
2425	3134	1580	2470	3179	1535
2426	3135	1579	2471	3180	1534
2427	3136	1578	2472	3181	1533
2428	3137	1577	2473	3182	1532
2429	3138	1576	2474	3183	1531
2430	3139	1575	2475	3184	1530
2431	3140	1574	2476	3185	1529
2432	3141	1573	2477	3186	1528
2433	3142	1572	2478	3187	1527

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2479	3188	1526
2480	3189	1525
2481	3190	1524
2482	3191	1523
2483	3192	1522
2484	3193	1521
2485	3194	1520
2486	3195	1519
2487	3196	1518
2488	3197	1517
2489	3198	1516
2490	3199	1515
2491	3200	1514
2492	3201	1513
2493	3202	1512
2494	3203	1511
2495	3204	1510
2496	3205	1509
2497	3206	1508
2498	3207	1507
2499	3208	1506
2500	3209	1505
2501	3210	1504
2502	3211	1503
2503	3212	1502
2504	3213	1501
2505	3214	1500
2506	3215	1499
2507	3216	1498
2508	3217	1497
2509	3218	1496
2510	3219	1495
2511	3220	1494
2512	3221	1493
2513	3222	1492
2514	3223	1491
2515	3224	1490
2516	3225	1489
2517	3226	1488
2518	3227	1487
2519	3228	1486
2520	3229	1485
2521	3230	1484
2522	3231	1483
2523	3232	1482
2524	3233	1481
2525	3234	1480
2526	3235	1479
2527	3236	1478
2528	3237	1477
2529	3238	1476
2530	3239	1475
2531	3240	1474
2532	3241	1473
2533	3242	1472
2534	3243	1471
2535	3244	1470
2536	3245	1469
2537	3246	1468
2538	3247	1467
2539	3248	1466
2540	3249	1465
2541	3250	1464
2542	3251	1463
2543	3252	1462
2544	3253	1461
2545	3254	1460
2546	3255	1459
2547	3256	1458
2548	3257	1457
3549	3258	1456
2550	3259	1455
2551	3260	1454
2552	3261	1453
2553	3262	1452
2554	3263	1451
2555	3264	1450
2556	3265	1449
2557	3266	1448
2558	3267	1447
2559	3268	1446
2560	3269	1445
2561	3270	1444
2562	3271	1443
2563	3272	1442
2564	3273	1441
2565	3274	1440
2566	3275	1439
2567	3276	1438
2568	3277	1437

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2569	3278	1436	2614	3323	1391
2570	3279	1435	2615	3324	1390
2571	3280	1434	2616	3325	1389
2572	3281	1433	2617	3326	1388
2573	3282	1432	2618	3327	1387
2574	3283	1431	2619	3328	1386
2575	3284	1430	2620	3329	1385
2576	3285	1429	2621	3330	1384
2577	3286	1428	2622	3331	1383
2578	3287	1427	2623	3332	1382
2579	3288	1426	2624	3333	1381
2580	3289	1425	2625	3334	1380
2581	3290	1424	2626	3335	1379
2582	3291	1423	2627	3336	1378
2583	3292	1422	2628	3337	1377
2584	3293	1421	2629	3338	1376
2585	3294	1420	2630	3339	1375
2586	3295	1419	2631	3340	1374
2587	3296	1418	2632	3341	1373
2588	3297	1417	2633	3342	1372
2589	3298	1416	2634	3343	1371
2590	3299	1415	2635	3344	1370
2591	3300	1414	2636	3345	1369
2592	3301	1413	2637	3346	13C8
2593	3302	1412	2638	3347	1367
2594	3303	1411	2639	3348	1366
2595	3304	1410	2640	3349	1365
2596	3305	1409	2641	3350	1364
2597	3306	1408	2642	3351	1363
2598	3307	1407	2643	3352	1362
2599	3308	1496	2644	3353	1361
2600	3309	1405	2645	3354	1360
2601	3310	1404	2646	3355	1359
2602	3311	1403	2647	3356	1358
2603	3312	1402	2648	3357	1357
2604	3313	1401	2649	3358	1356
2605	3314	1400	2650	3359	1355
2606	3315	1399	2651	3360	1354
2607	3316	1398	2652	3361	1353
2608	3317	1397	2653	3362	1352
2609	3318	1396	2654	3363	1351
2610	3319	1395	2655	3364	1350
2611	3320	1394	2656	3365	1349
2612	3321	1393	2657	3366	1348
2613	3322	1392	2658	3367	1347

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian
2659	3368	1346	2704	3413	1301
2660	3369	1345	2705	3414	1300
2661	3370	1344	2706	3415	1299
2662	3371	1343	2707	3416	1298
2663	3372	1342	2708	3417	1297
2664	3373	1341	2709	3418	1296
2665	3374	1340	2710	3419	1295
2666	3375	1339	2711	3420	1294
2667	3376	1338	2712	3421	1293
2668	3377	1337	2713	3422	1292
2669	3378	1336	2714	3423	1291
2670	3379	1335	2715	3424	1290
2671	3380	1334	2716	3425	1289
2672	3381	1333	2717	3426	1288
2673	3382	1332	2718	3427	1287
2674	3383	1331	2719	3428	1286
2675	3384	1330	2720	3429	1285
2676	3385	1329	2721	3430	1284
2677	3386	1328	2722	3431	1283
2678	3387	1327	2723	3432	1282
2679	3388	1326	2724	3433	1281
2680	3389	1325	2725	3434	1280
2681	3390	1324	2726	3435	1279
2682	3391	1323	2727	3436	1278
2683	3392	1322	2728	3437	1277
2684	3393	1321	2729	3438	1276
2685	3394	1320	2730	3439	1275
2686	3395	1319	2731	3440	1274
2687	3396	1318	2732	3441	1273
2688	3397	1317	2733	3442	1272
2689	3398	1316	2734	3443	1271
2690	3399	1315	2735	3444	1270
2691	3400	1314	2736	3445	1269
2692	3401	1313	2737	3446	1268
2693	3402	1312	2738	3447	1267
2694	3403	1311	2739	3448	1266
2695	3404	1310	2740	3449	1265
2696	3405	1309	2741	3450	1264
2697	3406	1308	2742	3451	1263
2698	3407	1307	2743	3452	1262
2699	3408	1306	2744	3453	1261
2700	3409	1305	2745	3454	1260
2701	3410	1304	2746	3455	1259
2702	3411	1303	2747	3456	1258
2703	3412	1302	2748	3457	1257

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2749	3458	1256	2794	3503	1211
2750	3459	1255	2795	3504	1210
2751	3460	1254	2796	3505	1209
2752	3461	1253	2797	3506	1208
2753	3462	1152	2798	3507	1207
2754	3463	1251	2799	3508	1206
2755	3464	1250	2800	3509	1205
2756	3465	1249	2801	3510	1204
2757	3466	1248	2802	3511	1203
2758	3467	1247	2803	3512	1202
2759	3468	1246	2804	3513	1201
2760	3469	1245	2805	3514	1200
2761	3470	1144	2806	3515	1199
2762	3471	1243	2807	3516	1198
2763	3472	1242	2808	3517	1197
2764	3473	1241	2809	3518	1196
2765	3474	1240	2810	3519	1195
2766	3475	1239	2811	3520	1194
2767	3476	1238	2812	3521	1193
2768	3477	1237	2813	3522	1192
2769	3478	1236	2814	3523	1191
2770	3479	1235	2815	3524	1190
2771	3480	1234	2816	3525	1189
2772	3481	1233	2817	3526	1188
2773	3482	1232	2818	3527	1187
2774	3483	1231	2819	3528	1186
2775	3484	1230	2820	3529	1185
2776	3485	1229	2821	3530	1184
2777	3486	1228	2822	3531	1183
2778	3487	1227	2823	3532	1182
2779	3488	1226	2824	3533	1181
2780	3489	1225	2825	2534	1180
2781	3490	1224	2826	3535	1179
2782	3491	1223	2827	3536	1178
2783	3492	1222	2828	3537	1177
2784	3493	1221	2829	3538	1176
2785	3494	1220	2830	3539	1175
2786	3495	1219	2831	3540	1174
2787	3496	1218	2832	3541	1173
2788	3497	1217	2833	3542	1172
2789	3498	1216	2834	3543	1171
2790	3499	1215	2835	3544	1170
2791	3500	1214	2836	3545	1169
2792	3501	1213	2837	3546	1168
2793	3502	1212	2838	3547	1167

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2839	3548	1166	2884	3593	1121
2840	3549	1165	2885	3594	1120
2841	2550	1164	2886	3595	1119
2842	3551	1163	2887	3596	1118
2843	3552	1162	2888	3597	1117
2844	3553	1161	2889	3598	1116
2845	3554	1160	2890	3599	1115
2846	3555	1159	2891	3600	1114
2847	3556	1158	2892	3601	1113
2848	3557	1157	2893	3602	1112
2849	3558	1156	2894	3603	1111
2850	3559	1155	2895	3604	1110
2851	3560	1154	2896	3605	1109
2852	3561	1153	2897	3606	1108
2853	3562	1152	2898	3607	1107
2854	3563	1151	2899	3608	1106
2855	3564	1150	2900	3609	1105
2856	3565	1149	2901	3610	1104
2857	3566	1148	2902	3611	1103
2858	3567	1147	2903	3612	1102
2859	3568	1146	2904	3613	1101
2860	3569	1145	2905	3614	1100
2861	3570	1144	2906	3615	1099
2862	3571	1143	2907	3616	1098
2863	3572	1142	2908	3617	1097
2864	3573	1141	2909	3618	1096
2865	3574	1140	2910	3619	1095
2866	3575	1139	2911	3620	1094
2867	3576	1138	2912	3621	1093
2868	3577	1137	2913	3622	1092
2869	3578	1136	2914	3623	1091
2870	3579	1135	2915	3624	1090
2871	3580	1134	2916	3625	1089
2872	3581	1133	2917	3626	1088
2873	3582	1132	2918	3627	1087
2874	3583	1131	2919	3628	1086
2875	3584	1130	2920	3629	1085
2876	3585	1129	2921	3630	1084
2877	3586	1128	2922	3631	1083
2878	3587	1127	2923	3632	1082
2879	3588	1126	2924	3633	1081
2880	3589	1125	2925	3634	1080
2881	3590	1124	2926	3635	1079
2882	3591	1123	2927	3636	1078
2883	3592	1122	2928	3637	1077

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
2929	3638	1076	2974	3683	1031
2930	3639	1075	2975	3684	1030
2931	3640	1074	2976	3685	1029
2932	3641	1073	2977	3686	1028
2933	3642	1072	2978	3687	1027
2934	3643	1071	2979	3688	1026
2935	3644	1070	2980	3689	1025
2936	3645	1069	2981	3690	1024
2937	3646	1068	2982	3691	1023
2938	3647	1067	2983	3692	1022
2939	3648	1066	2984	3693	1021
2940	3649	1065	2985	3694	1020
2941	3650	1064	2986	3695	1019
2942	3651	1063	2987	3696	1018
2943	3652	1062	2988	3697	1017
2944	3653	1061	2989	3698	1016
2945	3654	1060	2990	3699	1015
2946	3655	1059	2991	3700	1014
2947	3656	1058	2992	3701	1013
2948	3657	1057	2993	3702	1012
2949	3658	1056	2994	3703	1011
2950	3659	1155	2995	3704	1010
2951	3660	1054	2996	3705	1009
2952	3661	1053	2997	3706	1008
2953	3662	1052	2998	3707	1007
2954	3663	1051	2999	3708	1006
2955	3664	1050	3000	3709	1005
2956	3665	1049	3001	3710	1004
2957	3666	1048	3002	3711	1003
2958	3667	1047	3003	3712	1002
2959	3668	1046	3004	3713	1001
2960	3669	1045	3005	3714	1000
2961	3670	1044	3006	3715	999
2962	3671	1043	3007	3716	998
2963	3672	1042	3008	3717	997
2964	3673	1041	3009	3718	996
2965	3674	1040	3010	3719	995
2966	3675	1039	3011	3720	994
2967	3676	1038	3012	3721	993
2968	3677	1037	3013	3722	992
2969	3678	1036	3014	3723	991
2970	3679	1035	3015	3724	990
2971	3680	1034	3016	3725	989
2972	3681	1033	3017	3726	988
2973	3682	1032	3018	3727	987

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
3019	3728	986
3020	3729	985
3021	3730	984
3022	3731	983
3023	3732	982
3024	3733	981
3025	3734	980
3026	3735	979
3027	3736	978
3028	3737	977
3029	3738	976
3030	3739	975
3031	3740	974
3032	3741	973
3033	3742	972
3034	3743	971
3035	3744	970
3036	3745	969
3037	3746	968
3038	3747	967
3039	3748	966
3040	3749	965
3041	3750	964
3042	3751	963
3043	3752	962
3044	3753	961
3045	3754	960
3046	3755	959
3047	3756	958
3048	3757	957
3049	3758	956
3050	3759	955
3051	3760	954
3052	3761	953
3053	3762	952
3054	3763	951
3055	3764	950
3056	3765	949
3057	3766	948
3058	3767	947
3059	3768	946
3060	3769	945
3061	3770	944
3062	3771	943
3063	3772	942
3064	3773	941
3065	3774	940
3066	3775	939
3067	3776	938
3068	3777	937
3069	3778	936
3070	3779	935
3071	3780	934
3072	3781	933
3073	3782	932
3074	3783	931
3075	3784	930
3076	3785	929
3077	3786	928
3078	3787	927
3079	3788	926
3080	3789	925
3081	3790	924
3082	3791	923
3083	3792	922
3084	3793	921
3085	3794	920
3086	3795	919
3087	3796	918
3088	3797	917
3089	3798	916
3090	3799	915
3091	3800	914
3092	3801	913
3093	3802	912
3094	3803	911
3095	3804	910
3096	3805	909
3097	3806	908
3098	3807	907
3099	3808	906
3100	3809	905
3101	3810	904
3102	3811	903
3103	3812	902
3104	3813	901
3105	3814	900
3106	3815	899
3107	3816	898
3108	3817	897

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
3109	3818	896
3110	3819	895
3111	3820	894
3112	3821	893
3113	3822	892
3114	3823	891
3115	3824	890
3116	3825	889
3117	3826	888
3118	3827	887
3119	3828	886
3120	3829	885
3121	3830	884
3122	3831	883
3123	3832	882
3124	3833	881
3125	3834	880
3126	3835	879
3127	3836	878
3128	3837	877
3129	3838	876
3130	3839	875
3131	3840	874
3132	3841	873
3133	3842	872
3134	3843	871
3135	3844	870
3136	3845	869
3137	3846	868
3138	3847	867
3139	3848	866
3140	3849	865
3141	3850	864
3142	3851	863
3143	3852	862
3144	3853	861
4145	3854	860
3146	3855	859
3147	3856	858
3148	3857	857
3149	3858	856
3150	3859	855
3151	3860	854
3152	3861	853
3153	3862	852
3154	3863	851
3155	3864	850
3156	3865	849
3157	3866	848
3158	3867	847
3159	3868	846
3160	3869	845
3161	3870	844
3162	3871	843
3163	3872	842
3164	3873	841
3165	3874	840
3166	3875	839
3167	3876	838
3168	3877	837
3169	3878	836
3170	3879	835
3171	3880	834
3172	3881	833
3173	3882	832
3174	3883	831
3175	3884	830
3176	3885	829
3177	3886	828
3178	3887	827
3179	3888	826
3180	3889	825
3181	3890	824
3182	3891	823
3183	3892	822
3184	3893	821
3185	3894	820
3186	3895	819
3187	3896	818
3188	3897	817
3189	3898	816
3190	3899	815
3191	3900	814
3192	3901	813
3193	3902	812
3094	3903	811
3195	3904	810
3196	3905	809
3197	3906	808
3198	3907	807

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.	Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Ante Æram Christian.
3199	3908	806	3214	3923	791
3200	3909	805	3215	3924	790
3201	3910	804	3216	3925	789
3202	3911	803	3217	3926	788
3203	3912	802	3218	3927	787
3204	3913	801	3219	3928	786
3205	3914	800	3220	3929	785
3206	3915	799	3221	3930	784
3207	3916	798	3222	3931	783
3208	3917	797	3223	3932	782
3209	3918	796	3224	3933	781
3210	3919	795	3225	3934	780
3211	3920	794	3226	3935	779
3212	3921	793	3227	3936	778
3213	3922	792	3228	3937	777

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3229	3938	776		Ol. I.	1
3230	3939	775			2
3231	3940	774			3
3232	3941	773			4
3233	3942	772		Ol. II.	1
3234	3943	771			2
3235	3944	770			3
3236	3945	769			4
3237	3946	768		Ol. III.	1
3238	3947	767			2
3239	3948	766			3
3240	3949	765			4
3241	3950	764		Ol. IV.	1
3242	3951	763			2
3243	3952	762			3
3244	3953	761			4
3245	3954	760		Ol. V.	1
3246	3955	759			2
3247	3956	758			3
3248	3957	757			4
3249	3958	756		Ol. VI.	1
3250	3959	755			2
3251	3960	754			3
3252	3961	753	*		4
3253	3962	752		Ol. VII.	1
3254	3963	751			2
3255	3964	750			3
3256	3965	749			4
3257	3966	748	1	Ol. VIII.	1
3258	3967	747	2		2
3259	3968	746	3		3
3260	3969	745	4		4
3261	3970	744	5	Ol. IX.	1
3262	3971	743	6		2
3263	3972	742	7		3
3264	3973	741	8		4
3265	3974	740	9	Ol. X.	1
3266	3975	739	10		2
3267	3976	738	11		3
3268	3977	737	12		4
3269	3978	736	13	Ol. XI.	1
3270	3979	735	14		2
3271	3980	734	15		3
3272	3981	733	16		4

* Roma fundata juxta Varronem.

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3273	3982	732	17	Ol. XII.	1
3274	3983	731	18		2
3275	3984	730	19		3
3276	3985	729	20		4
3277	3986	728	21	Ol. XIII.	1
3278	3987	727	22		2
3279	3988	726	23		3
3280	3989	725	24		4
3281	3990	724	25	Ol. XIV.	1
3282	3991	723	26		2
3283	3992	722	27		3
3284	3993	721	28		4
3285	3994	720	29	Ol. XV.	1
3286	3995	719	30		2
3287	3996	718	31		3
3288	3997	717	32		4
3289	3998	716	33	Ol. XVI.	1
3290	3999	715	34		2
3291	4000	714	35		3
3292	4001	713	36		4
3293	4002	712	37	Ol. XVII.	1
3294	4003	711	38		2
3295	4004	710	39		3
3296	4005	709	40		4
3297	4006	708	41	Ol. XVIII.	1
3298	4007	707	42		2
3299	4008	706	43		3
3300	4009	705	44		1
3301	4010	704	45	Ol. XIX.	1
3302	4011	703	46		2
3303	4012	702	47		3
3304	4013	701	48		4
3305	4014	700	49	Ol. XX.	1
3306	4015	699	50		2
3307	4016	698	51		3
3308	4017	697	52		4
3309	4018	696	53	Ol. XXI.	1
3310	4019	695	54		2
3311	4020	694	55		3
3312	4021	693	56		4
3313	4022	692	57	Ol. XXII.	1
3314	4023	691	58		2
3315	4024	690	59		3
3316	4025	689	60		4
3317	4026	688	61	Ol. XXIII.	1

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3318	4027	687	62	Ol. XXIII.	2
3319	4028	686	63		3
3320	4029	685	64		4
3321	4030	684	65	Ol. XXIV.	1
3322	4031	683	66		2
3323	4032	682	67		3
3324	4033	681	68		4
3325	4034	680	69	Ol. XXV.	1
3326	4035	679	70		2
3327	4036	678	71		3
3328	4037	677	72		4
3329	4038	676	73	Ol. XXVI.	1
3330	4039	675	74		2
3331	4040	674	75		3
3332	4041	673	76		4
3333	4042	672	77	Ol. XXVII.	1
3334	4043	671	78		2
3335	4044	670	79		3
3336	4045	669	80		4
3337	4046	668	81	Ol. XXVIII.	1
3338	4047	667	82		2
3339	4048	666	83		3
3340	4049	665	84		4
3341	4050	664	85	Ol. XXIX.	1
3342	4051	663	86		2
3343	4052	662	87		3
3344	4953	661	88		4
3345	4054	660	89	Ol. XXX.	1
3346	4055	659	90		2
3347	4056	658	91		3
3348	4057	657	92		4
3349	4058	656	93	Ol. XXXI.	1
3350	4059	655	94		2
3351	4060	654	95		3
3352	4061	653	96		4
3353	4062	652	97	Ol. XXXII.	1
3354	4063	651	98		2
3355	4064	650	99		3
3356	4065	649	100		4
3357	4066	648	101	Ol. XXXIII.	1
3358	4067	647	102		2
3359	4068	646	103		3
3360	4069	645	104		4
3361	4070	644	105	Ol. XXXIV.	1
3362	4071	643	106		2

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbes Conditæ	Olymp.	
3363	4072	642	107	Ol. XXXIV.	3
3364	4073	641	108		4
3365	4074	640	109	Ol. XXXV.	1
3366	4075	639	110		2
3367	4076	638	111		3
3368	4077	637	112		4
3369	4078	636	113	Ol. XXXVI.	1
3370	4079	635	114		2
3371	4080	634	115		3
3372	4081	633	116		4
3373	4082	632	117	Ol. XXXVII.	1
3374	4083	631	118		2
3375	4084	630	119		3
3376	4085	629	120		4
3377	4086	628	121	Ol. XXXVIII.	1
3378	4087	627	122		2
3379	4088	626	123		3
3380	4089	625	124		4
3381	4090	624	125	Ol. XXXIX.	1
3382	4091	623	126		2
3383	4092	622	127		3
3384	4093	621	128		4
3385	4094	620	129	Ol. XL.	1
3386	4095	619	130		2
3387	4096	618	131		3
3388	4097	617	132		4
3389	4098	616	133	Ol. XLI.	1
3390	4099	615	134		2
3391	4100	614	135		3
3392	4101	613	136		4
3393	4102	612	137	Ol. XLII.	1
3394	4103	611	138		2
3395	4104	610	139		3
3396	4105	609	140		4
3397	4106	608	141	Ol. XLIII.	1
3398	4107	607	142		2
3399	4108	606	143		3
3400	4109	605	144		4
3401	4110	604	145	Ol. XLIV.	1
3402	4111	603	146		2
3403	4112	602	147		3
3404	4113	601	148		4
3405	4114	600	149	Ol. XLV.	1
3406	4115	599	150		2
3407	4116	598	151		3

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3408	4117	597	152	Ol. XLV.	4
3409	4118	596	153	Ol. XLVI.	1
3410	4119	595	154		2
3411	4120	594	155		3
3412	4121	593	156		4
3413	4122	592	157	Ol. XLVII.	1
3414	4123	591	158		2
3415	4124	590	159		3
3416	4125	589	160		4
3417	4126	588	161	Ol. XLVIII.	1
3418	4127	587	162		2
3419	4128	586	163		3
3420	4129	585	164		4
3421	4130	584	165	Ol. XLIX.	1
3422	4131	583	166		2
3423	4132	582	167		3
3424	4133	581	168		4
3425	4134	580	169	Ol. L.	1
3426	4135	579	170		2
3427	4136	578	171		3
3428	4137	577	172		4
3429	4138	576	173	Ol. LI.	1
3430	4139	575	174		2
3431	4140	574	175		3
3432	4141	573	176		4
3433	4142	572	177	Ol. LII.	1
3434	4143	571	178		2
3435	4144	570	179		3
3436	4145	569	180		4
3437	4146	568	181	Ol. LIII.	1
3438	4147	567	182		2
3439	4148	566	183		3
3440	4149	565	184		4
3441	4150	564	185	Ol. LIV.	1
3442	4151	563	186		2
3443	4152	562	187		3
3444	4153	561	188		4
3445	4154	560	189	Ol. LV.	1
3446	4155	559	190		2
3447	4156	558	191		3
3448	4157	557	192		4
3449	4158	556	193	Ol. LVI.	1
3450	4159	555	194		2
3451	4160	554	195		3
3452	4161	553	196		4

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3453	4162	552	197	Ol. LVII.	1
3454	4163	551	198		2
3455	4164	550	199		3
3456	4165	549	200		4
3457	4166	548	201	Ol. LVIII.	1
3458	4167	547	202		2
3459	4168	546	203		3
3460	4169	545	204		4
3461	4170	544	205	Ol. LIX.	1
3462	4171	543	206		2
3463	4172	542	207		3
3464	4173	541	208		4
3465	4174	540	209	Ol. LX.	1
3466	4175	539	210		2
3467	4176	538	211		3
3468	4177	537	212		4
3469	4178	536	213	Ol. LXI.	1
3470	4179	535	214		2
3471	4180	534	215		3
3472	4181	533	216		4
3473	4182	532	217	Ol. LXII.	1
3474	4183	531	218		2
3475	4184	530	219		3
3476	4185	529	220		4
3477	4186	528	221	Ol. LXIII.	1
3478	4187	527	222		2
3479	4188	526	223		3
3480	4189	525	224		4
3481	4190	524	225	Ol. LXIV.	1
3482	4191	523	226		2
3483	4192	522	227		3
3484	4193	521	228		4
3485	4194	520	229	Ol. LXV.	1
3486	4195	519	230		2
3487	4196	518	231		3
3488	4197	517	232		4
3489	4198	516	233	Ol. LXVI.	1
3490	4199	515	234		2
3491	4200	514	235		3
3492	4201	513	236		4
3493	4202	512	237	Ol. LXVII.	1
3494	4203	511	238		2
3495	4204	510	239		3
3496	4205	509	240		4
3497	4206	508	241	Ol. LXVIII.	1

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3498	4207	507	242	Ol. LXVIII.	2
3499	4208	506	243		3
3500	4209	505	244		4
3501	4210	504	245	Ol. LXIX.	1
3502	4211	503	246		2
3503	4212	502	247		3
3504	4213	501	248		4
3505	4214	500	249	Ol. LXX.	1
3506	4215	499	250		2
3507	4216	498	251		3
3508	4217	497	252		4
3509	4218	496	253	Ol. LXXI.	1
3510	4219	495	254		2
3511	4220	494	255		3
3512	4221	493	256		4
3513	4222	492	257	Ol. LXXII.	1
3514	4223	491	258		2
3515	4224	490	259		3
3516	4225	489	260		4
3517	4226	488	261	Ol. LXXIII.	1
3518	4227	487	262		2
3519	4228	486	263		3
3520	4229	485	264		4
3521	4230	484	265	Ol. LXXIV.	1
3522	4231	483	266		2
3523	4232	482	267		3
3524	4233	481	268		4
3525	4234	480	269	Ol. LXXV.	1
3526	4235	479	270		2
3527	4236	478	271		3
3528	4237	477	272		4
3529	4238	476	273	Ol. LXXVI.	1
3530	4239	475	274		2
3531	4240	474	275		3
3532	4241	473	276		4
3533	4242	472	277	Ol. LXXVII.	1
3534	4243	471	278		2
3535	4244	470	279		3
3536	4245	469	280		4
3537	4246	468	281	Ol. LXXVIII.	1
3538	4247	467	282		2
3539	4248	466	283		3
3540	4249	465	284		4
3541	4250	464	285	Ol. LXXIX.	1
3542	4251	463	286		2

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3543	4252	462	287	Ol. LXXIX.	3
3544	4253	461	288		4
3545	4254	460	289	Ol. LXXX.	1
3546	4255	459	290		2
3547	4256	458	291		3
3548	4257	457	292		4
3549	4258	456	293	Ol. LXXXI.	1
3550	4259	455	294		2
3551	4260	454	295		3
3552	4261	453	296		4
3553	4262	452	297	Ol. LXXXII.	1
3554	4263	451	298		2
3555	4264	450	299		3
3556	4265	449	300		4
3557	4266	448	301	Ol. LXXXIII.	1
3558	4267	447	302		2
3559	4268	446	303		3
3560	4269	445	304		4
3561	4270	444	305	Ol. LXXXIV.	1
3562	4271	443	306		2
3563	4272	442	307		3
3564	4273	441	308		4
3565	4274	440	309	Ol. LXXXV.	1
3566	4275	439	310		2
3567	4276	438	311		3
3568	4277	437	312		4
3569	4278	436	313	Ol. LXXXVI.	1
3570	4279	435	314		2
3571	4280	434	315		3
3572	4281	433	316		4
3573	4282	432	317	Ol. LXXXVII.	1
3574	4283	431	318		2
3575	4284	430	319		3
3576	4285	429	320		4
3577	4286	428	321	Ol. LXXXVIII.	1
3578	4287	427	322		2
3579	4288	426	323		3
3580	4289	425	324		4
3581	4290	424	325	Ol. LXXXIX.	1
3582	4291	423	326		2
3583	4292	422	327		3
3584	4293	421	328		4
3585	4294	420	329	Ol. XC.	1
3586	4295	419	330		2
3587	4296	418	331		3

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3588	4297	417	332	Ol. XC.	4
3589	4298	416	333	Ol. XCI.	1
3590	4299	415	334		2
3591	4300	414	335		3
3592	4301	413	336		4
3593	4302	412	337	Ol. XCII.	1
3594	4303	411	338		2
3595	4304	410	339		3
3596	4305	409	340		4
3597	4306	408	341	Ol. XCIII.	1
3598	4307	407	342		2
3599	4308	406	343		3
3600	4309	405	344		4
3601	4310	404	345	Ol. XCIV.	1
3602	4311	403	346		2
3603	4312	402	347		3
3604	4313	401	348		4
3605	4314	400	349	Ol. XCV.	1
3606	4315	399	350		2
3607	4316	398	351		3
3608	4317	397	352		4
3609	4318	396	353	Ol. XCVI.	1
3610	4319	395	354		2
3611	4320	394	355		3
3612	4321	393	356		4
3613	4322	392	357	Ol. XCVII.	1
3614	4323	391	358		2
3615	4324	390	359		3
3616	4325	389	360		4
3617	4326	388	361	Ol. XCVIII.	1
3618	4327	387	362		2
3619	4328	386	363		3
3620	4329	385	364		4
3621	4330	384	365	Ol. XCIX	1
3622	4331	383	366		2
3623	4332	382	367		3
3624	4333	381	368		4
3625	4334	380	369	Ol. C.	1
3626	4335	379	370		2
3627	4336	378	371		3
3628	4337	377	372		4
3629	4338	376	373	Ol. CI.	1
3630	4339	375	374		2
3631	4340	374	375		3
3632	4341	373	376		4

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3633	4342	372	377	Ol. CII.	1
3634	4343	371	378		2
3635	4344	370	379		3
3636	4345	369	380		4
3637	4346	368	381	Ol. CIII.	1
3638	4347	367	382		2
3639	4348	366	383		3
3640	4349	365	384		4
3641	4350	364	385	Ol. CIV.	1
3642	4351	363	386		2
3643	4352	362	387		3
3644	4353	361	388		4
3645	4354	360	389	Ol. CV.	1
3646	4355	359	390		2
3647	4356	358	391		3
3648	4357	357	392		4
3649	4358	356	393	Ol. CVI.	1
3650	4359	355	394		2
3651	4360	354	395		3
3652	4361	353	396		4
3653	4362	352	397	Ol. CVII.	1
3654	4363	351	398		2
3655	4364	350	399		3
3656	4365	349	400		4
3657	4366	348	401	Ol. CVIII.	1
3658	4367	347	402		2
3659	4368	346	403		3
3660	4369	345	404		4
3661	4370	344	405	Ol. CIX.	1
3662	4371	343	406		2
3663	4372	342	407		3
3664	4373	341	408		4
3665	4374	340	409	Ol. CX.	1
3666	4375	339	410		2
3667	4376	338	411		3
3668	4377	337	412		4
3669	4378	336	413	Ol. CXI.	1
3670	4379	335	414		2
3671	4380	334	415		3
3672	4381	333	416		4
3673	4382	332	417	Ol. CXII.	1
3674	4383	331	418		2
3675	4384	330	419		3
3676	4385	329	420		4
3677	4386	328	421	Ol. CXIII.	1

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3678	4387	327	422	Ol. CXIII.	2
3679	4388	326	423		3
3680	4389	325	424		4
3681	4390	324	425	Ol. CXIV.	1
3682	4391	323	426		2
3683	4392	322	427		3
3684	4393	321	428		4
3685	4394	320	429	Ol. CXV.	1
3686	4395	319	430		2
3687	4396	318	431		3
3688	4397	317	432		4
3689	4398	316	433	Ol. CXVI.	1
3690	4399	315	434		2
3691	4400	314	435		3
3692	4401	313	436		4
3693	4402	312	437	Ol. CXVII.	1
3694	4403	311	438		2
3695	4404	310	439		3
3696	4405	309	440		4
3697	4406	308	441	Ol. CXVIII.	1
3698	4407	307	442		2
3699	4408	306	443		3
3700	4409	305	444		4
3701	4410	304	445	Ol. CXIX.	1
3702	4411	303	446		2
3703	4412	302	447		3
3704	4413	301	448		4
3705	4414	300	449	Ol. CXX.	1
3706	4415	299	450		2
3707	4416	298	451		3
3708	4417	297	452		4
3709	4418	296	453	Ol. CXXI.	1
3710	4419	295	454		2
3711	4420	294	455		3
3712	4421	293	456		4
3713	4422	292	457	Ol. CXXII.	1
3714	4423	291	458		2
3715	4424	290	459		3
3716	4425	289	460		4
3717	4426	288	461	Ol. CXXIII.	1
3718	4427	287	462		2
3719	4428	286	463		3
3720	4429	285	464		4
3721	4430	284	465	Ol. CXXIV.	1
3722	4431	283	466		2

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3723	4432	282	467	Ol. CXXIV.	3
3724	4433	281	468		4
3725	4434	280	469	Ol. CXXV.	1
3726	4435	279	470		2
3727	4436	278	471		3
3728	4437	277	472		4
3729	4438	276	473	Ol. CXXVI.	1
3730	4439	275	474		2
3731	4440	274	475		3
3732	4441	273	476		4
3733	4442	272	477	Ol. CXXVII.	1
3734	4443	271	478		2
3735	4444	270	479		3
3736	4445	269	480		4
3737	4446	268	481	Ol. CXXVIII.	1
3738	4447	267	482		2
3739	4448	266	483		3
3740	4449	265	484		4
3741	4450	264	485	Ol. CXXIX.	1
3742	4451	263	486		2
3743	4452	262	487		3
3744	4453	261	488		4
3745	4454	260	489	Ol. CXXX.	1
3746	4455	259	490		2
3747	4456	258	491		3
3748	4457	357	492		4
3749	4458	256	493	Ol. CXXXI.	1
3750	4459	255	494		2
3751	4460	254	495		3
3752	4461	253	496		4
3753	4462	252	497	Ol. CXXXII.	1
3754	4463	251	498		2
3755	4464	250	499		3
3756	4465	249	500		4
3757	4466	248	501	Ol. CXXXIII.	1
3758	4467	247	502		2
3759	4468	246	503		3
3760	4469	245	504		4
3761	4470	244	505	Ol. CXXXIV.	1
3762	4471	243	506		2
3763	4472	242	507		3
3764	4473	241	508		4
3765	4474	240	509	Ol. CXXXV.	1
3766	4475	239	510		2
3767	4476	238	511		3

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3768	4477	237	512	Ol. CXXXV.	4
3769	4478	236	513	Ol. CXXXVI.	1
3770	4479	235	514		2
3771	4480	234	515		3
3772	4481	233	516		4
3773	4482	232	517	Ol. CXXXVII.	1
3774	4483	231	518		2
3775	4484	230	519		3
3776	4485	229	520		4
3777	4486	228	521	Ol. CXXXVIII.	1
3778	4487	227	522		2
3779	4488	226	523		3
3780	4489	225	524		4
3781	4490	224	525	Ol. CXXXIX.	1
3782	4491	223	526		2
3783	4492	222	527		3
3784	4493	221	528		4
3785	4494	220	529	Ol. CXL.	1
3786	4495	219	530		2
3787	4496	218	531		3
3788	4497	217	532		4
3789	4498	216	533	Ol. CXLI.	1
3790	4499	215	534		2
3791	4500	214	535		3
3792	4501	213	536		4
3793	4502	212	537	Ol. CXLII.	1
3794	4503	211	538		2
3795	4504	210	539		3
3796	4505	209	540		4
3797	4506	208	541	Ol. CXLIII.	1
3798	4507	207	542		2
3799	4508	206	543		3
3800	4509	205	544		4
3801	4510	204	545	Ol. CXLIV.	1
3802	4511	203	546		2
3803	4512	202	547		3
3804	4513	201	548		4
3805	4514	200	549	Ol. CXLV.	1
3806	4515	199	550		2
3807	4516	198	551		3
3808	4517	197	552		4
3809	4518	196	553	Ol. CXLVI.	1
3810	4519	195	554		2
3811	4520	194	555		3
3812	4521	193	556		4

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3813	4522	192	557	Ol. CXLVII.	1
3814	4523	191	558		2
3815	4524	190	559		3
3816	4525	189	560		4
3817	4526	188	561	Ol. CXLVIII.	1
3818	4527	187	562		2
3819	4528	186	563		3
3820	4529	185	564		4
3821	4530	184	565	Ol. CXLIX.	1
3822	4531	183	566		2
3823	4532	182	567		3
3824	4533	181	568		4
3825	4534	180	569	Ol. CL.	1
3826	4535	179	570		2
3827	4536	178	571		3
3828	4537	177	572		4
3829	4538	176	573	Ol. CLI.	1
3830	4539	175	574		2
3831	4540	174	575		3
3832	4541	173	576		4
3833	4542	172	577	Ol. CLII.	1
3834	4543	171	578		2
3835	4544	170	579		3
3836	4515	169	580		4
3837	4546	168	581	Ol. CLIII.	1
3833	4547	167	582		2
3839	4548	166	583		3
3840	4549	165	584		4
3841	4550	164	585	Ol. CLIV.	1
3842	4551	163	586		2
3843	4552	162	587		3
3844	4553	161	588		4
3845	4554	160	589	Ol. CLV.	1
3846	4555	159	590		2
3847	4556	158	591		3
3848	4557	157	592		4
3849	4558	156	593	Ol. CLVI.	1
3850	4559	155	594		2
3851	4560	154	595		3
3852	4561	153	596		4
3853	4562	152	597	Ol. CLVII.	1
3854	4563	151	598		2
3855	4564	150	599		3
3856	4565	149	600		4
3857	4566	148	601	Ol. CLVIII.	1

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3858	4567	147	602	Ol. CLVIII.	2
3859	4568	146	603		3
3860	4569	145	604		4
3861	4570	144	605	Ol. CLIX.	1
3862	4571	143	606		2
3863	4572	142	607		3
3864	4573	141	608		4
3865	4574	140	609	Ol. CLX.	1
3866	4575	139	610		2
3867	4576	138	611		3
3868	4577	137	612		4
3869	4578	136	613	Ol. CLXI.	1
3870	4579	135	614		2
3871	4580	134	615		3
3872	4581	133	616		4
3873	4582	132	617	Ol. CLXII.	1
3874	4583	131	618		2
3875	4584	130	619		3
3876	4585	129	620		4
3877	4586	128	621	Ol. CLXIII.	1
3878	4587	127	622		2
3879	4588	126	623		3
3880	4589	125	624		4
3881	4590	124	625	Ol. CLXIV.	1
3882	4591	123	626		2
3883	4592	122	627		3
3884	4593	121	628		4
3885	4594	120	629	Ol. CLXV.	1
3886	4595	119	630		2
3887	4596	118	631		3
3888	4597	117	632		4
3889	4598	116	633	Ol. CLXVI.	1
3890	4599	115	634		2
3891	4600	114	635		3
3892	4601	113	636		4
3893	4602	112	637	Ol. CLXVII.	1
3894	4603	111	638		2
3895	4604	110	639		3
3896	4605	109	640		4
3897	4606	108	641	Ol. CLXVIII.	1
3898	4607	107	642		2
3899	4608	106	643		3
3900	4609	105	644		4
3901	4610	104	645	Ol. CLXIX.	1
3902	4611	103	646		2

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3903	4612	102	647	Ol. CLXIX.	3
3904	4613	101	648		4
3905	4614	100	649	Ol. CLXX.	1
3906	4615	99	650		2
3907	4616	98	651		3
3908	4617	97	652		4
3909	4618	96	653	Ol. CLXXI.	1
3910	4619	95	654		2
3911	4620	94	655		3
3912	4621	93	656		4
3913	4622	92	657	Ol. CLXXII.	1
3914	4623	91	658		2
3915	4624	90	659		3
3916	4625	89	660		4
3917	4626	88	661	Ol. CLXXIII.	1
3918	4627	87	662		2
3919	4628	86	663		3
3920	4629	85	664		4
3921	4630	84	665	Ol. CLXXIV.	1
3922	4631	83	666		2
3923	4632	82	667		3
3924	4633	81	668		4
3925	4634	80	669	Ol. CLXXV.	1
3926	4635	79	670		2
3927	4636	78	671		3
3928	4637	77	672		4
3929	4638	76	673	Ol. CLXXVI.	1
3930	4639	75	674		2
3931	4640	74	675		3
3932	4641	73	676		4
3933	4642	72	677	Ol. CLXXVII.	1
3934	4643	71	678		2
3935	4644	70	679		3
3936	4645	69	680		4
3937	4646	68	681	Ol. CLXXVIII.	1
3938	4647	67	682		2
3939	4648	66	683		3
3940	4649	65	684		4
3941	4650	64	685	Ol. CLXXIX.	1
3942	4651	63	686		2
3943	4652	62	687		3
3944	4653	61	688		4
3945	4654	60	689	Ol. CLXXX.	1
3946	4655	59	690		2
3947	4656	58	691		3

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3948	4657	57	692	Ol. CLXXX.	4
3949	4658	56	693	Ol. CLXXXI.	1
3950	4659	55	694		2
3951	4660	54	695		3
3952	4661	53	696		4
3953	4662	52	697	Ol. CLXXXII.	1
3954	4663	51	698		2
3955	4664	50	699		3
3956	4665	49	700		4
3957	4666	48	701	Ol. CLXXXIII.	1
3958	4667	47	702		2
3959	4668	46	703		3
3960	4669	45	704		4
3961	4670	44	705	Ol. CLXXXIV.	1
3962	4671	43	706		2
3963	4672	42	707		3
3964	4673	41	708		4
3965	4674	40	709	Ol. CLXXXV.	1
3966	4675	39	710		2
3967	4676	38	711		3
3968	4677	37	712		4
3969	4678	36	713	Ol. CLXXXVI.	1
3970	4679	35	714		2
3971	4680	34	715		3
3972	4681	33	716		4
3973	4682	32	717	Ol. CLXXXVII.	1
3974	4683	31	718		2
3975	4684	30	719		3
3976	5685	29	720		4
3977	4686	28	721	Ol. CLXXXVIII.	1
3978	4687	27	722		2
3979	4688	26	723		3
3980	4689	25	724		4
3981	4690	24	725	Ol. CLXXXIX.	1
3982	4691	23	726		2
3983	4692	22	727		3
3984	4693	21	728		4
3985	4694	20	729	Ol. CXC.	1
3986	4695	19	730		2
3987	4696	18	731		3
3988	4697	17	732		4
3989	4698	16	733	Ol. CXCI.	1
3990	4699	15	734		2
3991	4700	14	735		3
3992	4701	13	736		4

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Anni ante Æram Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
3993	4702	12	737	Ol. CXCII.	1
3994	4703	11	738		2
3995	4704	10	739		3
3996	4705	9	740		4
3997	4706	8	741	Ol. CXCIII.	1
3998	4707	7	742		2
3999	4708	6	743		3
4000	4709	5	744		4
4001	4710	4	745	Ol. CXCIV.	1
4002	4711	3	746		2
4003	4712	2	747		3
4004	4713	1	748		4

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Annus Æræ Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
4005	4714	1	749	Ol. CXCV.	1
4006	4715	2	750		2
4007	4716	3	751		3
4008	4717	4	752		4
4009	4718	5	753	Ol. CXCVI.	1
4010	4719	6	754		2
4011	4720	7	755		3
4012	4721	8	756		4
4013	4722	9	757	Ol. CXCVII.	1
4014	4723	10	758		2
4015	4724	11	759		3
4016	4725	12	760		4
4017	4726	13	761	Ol. CXCVIII.	1
4018	4727	14	762		2
4019	4728	15	763		3
4020	4729	16	764		4
4021	4730	17	765	Ol. CXCIX.	1
4022	4731	18	766		2
4023	4732	19	767		3
4024	4733	20	768		4
4025	4734	21	769	Ol. CC.	1
4026	4735	22	770		2
4027	4736	23	771		3
4028	4737	24	772		4
4029	4738	25	773	Ol. CCI.	1
4030	4739	26	774		2
4031	4740	27	775		3
4032	4741	28	776		4
4033	4742	29	777	Ol. CCII.	1
4034	4743	30	778		2
4035	4744	31	779		3
4036	4745	32	780		4
4037	4746	33	781	Ol. CCIII.	1
4038	4747	34	782		2
4039	4748	35	783		3
4040	4749	36	784		4
4041	4750	37	785	Ol. CCIV.	1
4042	4751	38	786		2
4043	4752	39	787		3
4044	4753	40	788		4
4045	4754	41	789	Ol. CCV.	1
4046	4755	42	790		2
4047	4756	43	791		3
4048	4757	44	792		4
4049	4758	45	793	Ol. CCVI.	1

Anni Mundi.	Anni Periodi Julianæ.	Annus Æræ Christian.	Anni Urbis Conditæ.	Olymp.	
4050	4759	46	794	Ol. CCVI.	2
4051	4760	47	795		3
4052	4761	48	796		4
4053	4762	49	797	Ol. CCVII.	1
4054	4763	50	798		2
4055	4764	51	799		3
4056	4765	52	800		4
4057	4766	53	801	Ol. CCVIII.	1
4058	4767	54	802		2
4059	4768	55	803		3
4060	4769	56	804		4
4061	4770	57	805	Ol. CCIX.	1
4062	4771	58	806		2
4063	4772	59	807		3
4064	4773	60	808		4
4065	4774	61	809	Ol. CCX.	1
4066	4775	62	810		2
4067	4776	63	811		3
4068	4777	64	812		4
4069	4778	65	813	Ol. CCXI.	1
4070	4779	66	814		2
4071	4780	67	815		3
4072	4781	68	816		4
4073	4782	69	817	Ol. CCXII.	1
4074	4783	70	818		2
4075	4784	71	819		3
4076	4785	72	820		4

THE PRINCIPLES

OF

CHRISTIAN RELIGION;

WITH A

BRIEF METHOD

OF

THE DOCTRINE THEREOF.

---

2 TIM. VER. 1. CHAP. 13.

Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1654.

TO

THE READER.

WHEN I was about the age of two or three and twenty years, I drew up these two short summaries of the Heads of Christian Religion: the one containing the more necessary and plainer principles thereof, fit to be known of all: the other, the methodical and more full declaration of some chief points thereof, framed to the capacity of such as had made a further progress in the knowledge of these Heavenly truths. I little then imagined, that such rude draughts as these were, should ever have been presented unto the public view of the world. But seeing, contrary to my mind, they have by many impressions been divulged, and that in a very faulty manner: I have been persuaded at last, upon some revisal of them, to let them now go abroad in some more tolerable

condition than they did before. Hoping, that as at the first I had the favour from God, that none did despise my youth ; so now these first-fruits of mine will not altogether be contemned, being by me again presented unto thee when my head is grey.

JAMES ARMAGH.

THE PRINCIPLES

OF

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Question. What sure ground have we to build our Religion upon?

Answer. The Word of God[a], contained in the Scriptures.

Q. What are those Scriptures?

A. Holy writings[b], indited by God himself for the perfect instruction of his Church.

Q. What gather you of this, that God is the author of these writings?

A. That therefore they are of most certain credit[c], and highest authority.

Q. How serve they for the perfect instruction of the Church?

A. In that they are able to instruct us sufficiently[d], in all points of faith that we are bound to believe, and all good duties that we are bound to practise.

Q. What gather you of this?

A. That[e] it is our duty to acquaint ourselves with these

[a] 2 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 19. 1 Tim. chap. 3. ver. 15. Ephes. chap. 2. ver. 20.

[b] 2 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 21. 2 Tim. chap. 3. ver. 15, 16.

[c] Luke, chap. 16. ver. 29. Gal. chap. 1. ver. 8.

[d] 2 Tim. chap. 3. ver. 15, 16, 17.

[e] Deut. chap. 31. ver. 11, 12, 13. John, chap. 8. ver. 35. and chap. 5. ver. 39.

holy writings, and[f] not to receive any doctrine that hath not warrant from thence.

Q. What is the first point of religion, you are to learn out of God's Word?

A. The nature of God.

Q. What is God?

A. God is a Spirit[g], most perfect[h], most wise[i], almighty and most holy.

Q. What mean you by calling God a Spirit?

A. That God[k] hath no body at all; and therefore must not be thought to be like unto any thing which may be seen by the eyes of man.

Q. Are there any more Gods than one?

A. No: there is[l] only one God: though in that one Godhead there be[m] three persons.

Q. Which is the first of these persons?

A. The[n] Father who begetteth the Son.

Q. Which is the second?

A. The Son[o], begotten of the Father.

Q. Which is the third?

A. The Holy[p] Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son.

Q. What did God determine concerning his creatures?

A. He[q] did before all time, by his unchangeable counsel, ordain whatsoever afterwards should come to pass.

[f] Acts, chap. 17. ver. 11. 1 Cor. chap. 4. ver. 6.

[g] John, chap. 4. ver. 24.

[h] Rev. chap. 1. ver. 8. Acts, chap. 17. ver. 24, 25. Prov. chap. 8. ver. 14.

[i] 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 17. Job. chap. 9. ver. 4. 11, 12, 13. Jer. chap. 10. ver. 12. Exod. chap. 34. ver. 6, 7. Psalm, 145. ver. 17.

[k] 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 17. Col. chap. 1. ver. 15. Rom. chap. 1. ver. 23. Deut. chap. 4. ver. 12. 15, 16.

[l] Eph. chap. 4. ver. 5, 6. 1 Cor. chap. 8. ver. 4. Deut. chap. 4. ver. 35. 39.

[m] Matt. chap. 28. ver. 19. 1 John, chap. 5. ver. 7.

[n] Heb. chap. 1. ver. 3. 5.

[o] Heb. chap. 1. ver. 1. 4. John, chap. 1. ver. 18.

[p] John, chap. 15. ver. 26. Gal. chap. 4. ver. 6.

[q] Acts, chap. 2. ver. 23. et chap. 15. ver. 18. Eph. chap. 1. ver. 4. 11. Psal. 33. ver. 11.

Q. In what manner had all things their beginning?

A. In[r] the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his Word alone, in the space of six days created all things.

Q. Which are the principal creatures?

A. Angels and men.

Q. What is the nature of angels?

A. They[s] are wholly spiritual, having no body at all.

Q. What is the nature of man?

A. Man[t] consisteth of two divers parts; a body, and a soul.

Q. What is the body?

A. The[u] outward and earthly part of man: made at the beginning of the dust of the earth.

Q. What is the soul?

A. The[x] inward and spiritual part of man; which is immortal, and never can die.

Q. How did God make man at the beginning?

A. According[y] to his own likeness and image.

Q. Wherein was the image of God principally seen?

A. In[z] the perfection of the understanding; and the freedom, and holiness of the will.

Q. How many of mankind were created at the beginning?

A. Two; Adam[a] the man, and Eve the woman: from both whom all mankind did afterwards proceed.

Q. What doth God after the creation?

A. By[b] his providence he preserveth and governeth his creatures, with all things belonging unto them.

[r] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 1. Heb. chap. 11. ver. 3. Exod. chap. 20. ver. 11. Rev. chap. 4. ver. 11.

[s] Col. chap. 1. ver. 16. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 7. 14.

[t] Gen. chap. 2. ver. 7. Heb. chap. 12. ver. 9.

[u] Gen. chap. 2. ver. 7. and chap. 3. ver. 19.

[x] Eccles. chap. 12. ver. 7. Matt. chap. 10. ver. 28. Rev. chap. 6. ver. 29. 2 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 8.

[y] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 26. et chap. 5. ver. 1.

[z] Col. chap. 3. ver. 10. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 24. Eccl. chap. 7. ver. 31.

[a] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 37, 38. and chap. 5. ver. 2. 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 13. Acts, chap. 17, ver. 26.

[b] John, chap. 5. ver. 17. Neh. chap. 9. ver. 6. Psal. 119. ver. 91. Heb. chap.

Q. What befel unto the angels after their creation?

A. Some[c] continued in that holy estate wherein they were created; some of them fell, and became devils.

Q. May the good angels fall hereafter?

A. No[d]: but they shall always continue in their holiness and happiness.

Q. Shall the wicked angels ever recover their first estate.

A. They[e] shall not: but be tormented in Hell world without end.

Q. How did God deal with man after he made him?

A. He[f] made a covenant with Adam, and in him with all mankind.

Q. What was man bound to do by his covenant?

A. To[g] continue as holy as God at the first made him, to keep all God's commandments, and never to break any of them.

Q. What did God promise unto man, if he did thus keep his commandments?

A. The[h] continuance of his favour and everlasting life.

Q. What did God threaten unto man, if he did sin and break his commandments?

A. His[i] dreadful curse and everlasting death.

Q. Did man continue in that obedience which he did owe unto God?

1. ver. 3. Acts, chap. 17. ver. 26. 28. Matt. chap. 10. ver. 29, 30. Prov. chap. 16. ver. 33.

c Matt. chap. 25. ver. 31. 41. Jude, ver. 6. John, chap. 8. ver. 44. 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 3. 8.

d 1 Tim. chap. 5. ver. 21. Matt. chap. 18. ver. 10. Luke, chap. 20. ver. 36.

e 2 Peter, chap. 2. ver. 4. Jude, ver. 6. Matt. chap. 25. ver. 41. Rev. chap. 20. ver. 10.

f Mal. chap. 2. ver. 10. Gen. chap. 2. ver. 17. Rom. chap. 2. ver. 15.

g Luke, chap. 10. ver. 26, 27. Rom. chap. 7. ver. 7. 12. 14. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 10. 12. 1 Tim. chap. 15.

h Rom. chap. 7. ver. 10. and chap. 10. ver. 5. Luke, chap. 10. ver. 25. 28. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 22.

i Gen. chap. 2. ver. 17. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 10. Lev. chap. 26. ver. 14, 15. Deut. chap. 28. ver. 15, 16. and chap. 29. ver. 19, 20.

A. No. For[k] Adam and Eve obeying rather the persuasion of the Devil than the commandments of God, did eat of the forbidden fruit, and so fell away from God.

Q. Was this the sin of Adam and Eve alone; or are we also guilty of the same?

A. All[l] we, that are their children, are guilty of the same sin: for we all sinned in them.

Q. What followed upon this sin?

A. The[m] loss of the perfection of the image of God, and the corruption of nature in man, called Original sin.

Q. Wherein standeth the corruption of man's nature?

A. In six things principally.

Q. What is the first?

A. The[n] blindness of the understanding; which is not able to conceive the things of God.

Q. What is the second?

A. The[o] forgetfulness of the memory; unfit to remember good things.

Q. What is the third?

A. The[p] rebellion of the will; which is wholly bent to sin, and altogether disobedient unto the will of God.

Q. What is the fourth?

A. Disorder[q] of the affections, of joy, heaviness, love, anger, fear, and such like.

Q. What is the fifth?

A. Fear[r] and confusion in the conscience; condemning where it should not, and excusing where it should condemn.

[k] Eccles. chap. 7. ver. 29. Gen. chap. 3. John, chap. 8. ver. 44. Rom. chap. 5. ver. 14, 15.

[l] Rom. chap. 5. ver. 12. 14, 15, 16, &c.

[m] Rom. chap. 5. ver. 12. 14. Gen. chap. 5. ver. 1. 3. and chap. 8. ver. 21. Psal. 51. ver. 5. Rom. chap. 7. ver. 14. 17, 18. 23.

[n] 1 Cor. chap. 2. ver. 14. Jer. chap. 24. ver. 7. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 5. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 17, 18.

[o] Deut. chap. 32. ver. 18. Prov. chap. 3. ver. 1. Psal. 119. ver. 6.

[p] Rom. chap. 5. ver. 6. and chap. 8. ver. 7. Philipp. chap. 2. ver. 13. Ephes. chap. 4. ver. 19.

[q] Rom. chap. 1. ver. 26. and chap. 3. ver. 12, 13. Gal. chap. 5. ver. 24.

[r] Tit. chap. 1. ver. 15. Heb. chap. 10. ver. 22. Rom. chap. 7. ver. 9. John, chap. 16. ver. 2.

Q. What is the sixth?

A. Every[s] member of the body is become a ready instrument to put sin in execution.

Q. What are the fruits that proceed from this natural corruption?

A. Actual[t] sins: whereby we break the commandments of God in the whole course of our life.

Q. How do we thus break God's commandments?

A. In[u] thought, word and deed: not doing that which we ought to do, and doing that which we ought not to do.

Q. What punishment is mankind subject unto, by reason of original and actual sin?

A. He[x] is subject to all the plagues of God in this life, and endless torments in Hell after this life.

Q. Did God leave man in this woful estate?

A. No: but[y] of his free and undeserved mercy entered into a new covenant with mankind.

Q. What is offered unto man in this new covenant?

A. Grace[z] and life everlasting is freely offered by God unto all that be made partakers of his Son Jesus Christ; who alone is Mediator betwixt God and man.

Q. What are you to consider in Christ the Mediator of this covenant?

A. Two things: his nature, and his office.

Q. How many natures be there in Christ?

A. Two[a]: the Godhead, and the Manhood, joined

[s] Rom. chap. 6. ver. 19. Job, chap. 31. ver. 1. 2 Peter, chap. 2. ver. 14. Psalm 119. ver. 37. Rom. chap. 3. ver. 13, 14, 15.

[t] Rom. chap. 6. ver. 16, 17. and chap. 7. ver. 5. Gal. chap. 5. ver. 19, 20, 21. Matt. chap. 12. ver. 34, 35, 36. and chap. 15. ver. 19.

[u] Acts, chap. 8. ver. 22. James, chap. 3. ver. 2. Matt. chap. 25. ver. 42, 43. Isaiah, chap. 1. ver. 16, 17.

[x] Deut. chap. 1. ver. 28. 45. Luke, chap. 16. ver. 23. Matt. chap. 25. ver. 41.

[y] Ezek. chap. 76. ver. 6. 60. Zach. chap. 9. ver. 11.

[z] Rom. chap. 1. ver. 24, 25, 26. and chap. 5. ver. 15, 16, 17. 19, 20, 21. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 7, 8. 9. John, chap. 1. ver. 12. Rom. chap. 5. ver. 17. Heb. chap. 3. ver. 14. 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 5.

[a] 1 Tim. chap. 3. ver. 16. John, chap. 1. ver. 1. 14. Luke, chap. 1. ver. 35. Rom. chap. 1. ver. 3, 4. and chap. 9. ver. 5.

together in one person; which is no other but the second person of the Trinity.

Q. Why must Christ be God?

A. That[b] his obedience and suffering might be of infinite worth and value, as proceeding from such a person, as was God equal to the Father: that he might be able to overcome the sharpness of death (which himself was to undergo) and to raise[c] us up from the death of sin, by sending his holy Spirit into our hearts.

Q. Why must Christ be man?

A. Because the Godhead could not suffer: and it was further requisite, that the same nature which had offended should suffer for the offence; and that our nature, which was corrupted in the first Adam, should be restored to his integrity in the second Adam, Christ Jesus our Lord.

Q. What is the office of Christ?

A. To[d] be a mediator betwixt God and man.

Q. What was required of Christ for making peace and reconciliation betwixt God and man?

A. That[e] he should satisfy the first covenant whereunto man was tied.

Q. Wherein was Christ to make satisfaction to the first covenant.

A. In[f] performing that righteousness which the law of God did require of man; and in bearing the punishment which was due unto man for breaking of the same law.

Q. How did Christ perform that righteousness which God's law requireth of man?

A. In[g] that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, with-

[b] Gal. chap. 4. ver. 4. Heb. chap. 9. ver. 14. Acts, chap. 20. ver. 28. Rom. chap. 1. ver. 4. and chap. 4. ver. 4. 25. and chap. 8. ver. 34. 1 Cor. chap. 15. 17. 1 Peter, chap. 3. ver. 18. John, chap. 2. ver. 16. 21.

[c] Eph. chap. 2. ver. 1. Col. chap. 2. ver. 13. John, chap. 5. ver. 25. and chap. 6. ver. 63. Rom. chap. 8. ver. 9. 1 John, chap. 4. ver. 13.

[d] Heb. chap. 12. ver. 24. 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 5. 1 John, chap. 2. ver. 1.

[e] Rom. chap. 8. ver. 3, 4. and chap. 10. ver. 4. Gal. chap. 4. ver. 4, 5.

[f] Matt. chap. 5. ver. 17. Heb. chap. 5. ver. 8, 9, 10. and chap. 7. ver. 7. 9. 10. Philipp. chap. 2. ver. 7, 8. John, chap. 4. ver. 34. 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 22, 23, 24. Isaiah, chap. 53. ver. 9, 10.

[g] Luke, chap. 1. ver. 35. 1 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 19. and chap. 2. ver. 22. and

out all spot of original corruption; and lived most holy all the days of his life, without all actual sin.

Q. How did he bear the punishment which was due unto man for breaking God's law?

A. In[h] that he willingly for man's sake made himself subject to the curse of the law, both in body and soul: and humbling himself even unto the death, offered up unto his Father a perfect sacrifice for the sins of the world:

Q. What is required of man for obtaining the benefits of the Gospel?

A. That[i] he receive Christ Jesus whom God doth freely offer unto him.

Q. By what means are you to receive Christ?

A. By faith[k], whereby I believe the gracious promises of the Gospel.

Q. How do you receive Christ by faith?

A. By[l] laying hold of him, and applying him with all his benefits to the comfort of mine own soul.

Q. What is the first main benefit which we do get by thus receiving Christ?

A. Justification[m]: whereby, in Christ, we receive the forgiveness of our sins, and are accounted righteous: being by that means freed from the guilt of sin and condemnation, and estated in a new interest unto everlasting life.

chap. 3. ver. 18. 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 5. Isaiah, chap. 53. ver. 9. John, chap. 8. ver. 29. 46. and chap. 15. ver. 10.

[h] Gal. chap. 3. ver. 13. 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 23, 24. Isaiah, chap. 53. ver. 10, 11. Matt. chap. 26. ver. 37, 38, 39. Luke, chap. 22. ver. 43, 44. Heb. chap. 5. ver. 7. Philipp. chap. 2. ver. 8. Heb. chap. 9. ver. 14, 15. 26. 28. and chap. 10. ver. 10. 12. 14. John, chap. 1. ver. 29. and chap. 3. ver. 16, 17.

[i] John, chap. 1. ver. 11, 12. Rom. chap. 5. ver. 17. Heb. chap. 3. ver. 6, 14. Col. chap. 2. ver. 6, 7.

[k] John, chap. 1. ver. 12. and chap. 6. ver. 29. 35. 40. 47. and chap. 7. ver. 37, 38. Rom. chap. 9. ver. 30. Eph. chap. 1. ver. 13.

[l] John, chap. 6. ver. 35. 54, 55, 56, 57. Gal. chap. 2. ver. 20. and chap. 3. ver. 27. Eph. chap. 3. ver. 17. 2 Cor. chap. 13 ver. 5.

[m] 1 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 30. 2 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 19. 21. Rom. chap. 4. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. and chap. 5. ver. 11. 16, 17, 18, 19. and chap. 8. ver. 1, 2. 33, 34. 1 John, chap. 1. ver. 7.

Q. Whereby then must we look to be justified in the sight of God?

A. Only[n] by the merits of Christ Jesus, received of us by faith.

Q. What other main benefit do we get by receiving Christ?

A. Sanctification[n]; whereby we are freed from the dominion of sin, and the image of God is renewed in us.

Q. Wherein is this sanctification seen?

A. In repentance[o] and new obedience springing from thence.

Q. What is repentance?

A. Repentance is a gift of God[p], whereby a godly sorrow is wrought in the heart of the faithful, for offending God their merciful Father, by their former transgressions; together with a resolution for the time to come, to forsake their former courses and to lead a new life.

Q. What call you new obedience?

A. A careful[q] endeavour which the faithful have to give unfeigned obedience unto all God's commandments, according to that measure of strength wherewith God doth enable them.

Q. What rule have we for the direction of our obedience?

A. The moral[r] law of God: the sum[s] whereof is contained in the ten commandments.

Q. What are the chief parts of this law?

[n] Philipp. chap. 3. ver. 9. Rom. chap. 3. ver. 26, 27, 28. Gal. chap. 2. ver. 16. and chap. 3. ver. 8. 1 Cor. chap. 6. ver. 11. 1 Thess. chap. 5. ver. 23. Rom. chap. 6. ver. 6, 7. 14. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 22, 23, 24. Col. chap. 5. ver. 9, 10.

[o] Acts, chap. 26. ver. 20. Matt. chap. 3. ver. 8.

[p] 2 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 25. Jer. chap. 31. ver. 18, 19. 2 Cor. chap. 7. ver. 10, 11. Act. chap. 11. ver. 23. and chap. 26. ver. 20. Psalm 119. ver. 106. 112.

[q] Luke, chap. 1. ver. 6. 74, 75. Psalm 119. ver. 6. 1 Peter, chap. 4. ver. 1. 2, 3. 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 3.

[r] Ezek. chap. 20. ver. 18. 19. Matt. chap. 15. ver. 6. 9. Psalm 119. ver. 105, 106. Deut. chap. 5. ver. 32. and chap. 12. ver. 32. Num. chap. 15. ver. 29. Jer. chap. 19. ver. 5.

[s] Exod. chap. 34. ver. 27, 28. Matt. chap. 22. ver. 40.

A. The duties[t] which we owe unto God, set down in the first table: and that which we owe unto man in the second.

Q. What is the sum of the first table?

A. That we[u] love the Lord our God, with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind.

Q. How many commandments belong to this table?

A. Four[x].

Q. Which is the first commandment?

A. I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

Q. What duty is enjoined in this commandment?

A. That in all the inward powers and faculties of our souls, the true eternal God be entertained, and he only.

Q. Which is the second commandment?

A. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, &c.

Q. What duty is enjoined in this commandment?

A. That all outward means of religious and solemn worship be given unto the same God alone: and not so much as the least degree thereof (even the bowing of the body) be communicated to any image or representation either of God, or of any thing else whatsoever.

Q. Which is the third commandment?

A. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that takes his name in vain.

Q. What is enjoined in this commandment?

A. That in the ordinary course of our lives, we use the name of God, (that is, his titles, words, works, judgments, and whatsoever he would have himself known by) with reverence and all holy respect; that in all things he may have his due glory given unto him.

Q. Which is the fourth commandment?

A. Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy, &c.

[t] Matt. chap. 22. ver. 37, 38, 39, 40. Ibid. chap. 12. ver. 30, 31. 33. Luke, chap. 1. ver. 75. and chap. 10. ver. 27. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 24. 1 Tim. chap. 22.

[u] Matt. chap. 22. ver. 37, 38. Luke, chap. 10. ver. 27. Deut. chap. 6. ver. 5.

[x] Exod. chap. 20.

Q. What doth this commandment require?

A. That we keep holy the Sabbath day; by resting from the ordinary businesses of this life, and bestowing that leisure upon the exercises of religion, both public and private.

Q. What is the sum of the second table?

A. That we[y] love our neighbours as ourselves.

Q. What commandments belong to this table?

A. The six last.

Q. Which is the fifth commandment?

A. Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Q. What kind of duties are prescribed in this commandment, which is the first of the second table?

A. Such duties as are to be performed with a special respect of superiors, inferiors, and equals: as namely, reverence to all superiors, obedience to such of them as are in authority; and whatsoever special duties concern the husband and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, magistrate and people: pastors and flock, and such like.

Q. Which is the sixth commandment?

A. Thou shalt not kill.

Q. What doth this commandment enjoin?

A. The preservation of the safety of mens persons, with all means tending to the same.

Q. Which is the seventh commandment?

A. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Q. What is required in this commandment?

A. The preservation of the chastity of men's persons: for the keeping whereof, wedlock is commanded unto them that stand in need thereof.

Q. Which is the eighth commandment?

A. Thou shalt not steal.

Q. What things are ordered in this commandment?

[y] Matt. chap. 22. ver. 39. Rom. chap. 13. ver. 9. James, chap. 2. ver. 8. Gal. chap. 5. ver. 14. Lev. chap. 19. ver. 18.

A. Whatsoever concerneth the goods of this life; in regard either of ourselves, or of our neighbours.

Q. How in regard of ourselves?

A. That we labour diligently in an honest and profitable calling; content ourselves with the goods well gotten, and with liberality employ them to good uses.

Q. How in regard of our neighbours?

A. That we use just dealing unto them in this respect, and use all good means that may tend to the furtherance of their estate.

Q. Which is the ninth commandment?

A. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

Q. What doth this commandment require?

A. The using of truth in our dealing one with another; especially to the preservation of the good name of our neighbours.

Q. Which is the tenth and last commandment?

A. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

Q. What doth this commandment contain?

A. It condemneth[z] all wandering thoughts, that disagree from the love which we owe unto our neighbours; although we never yield consent thereunto.

Q. What means doth God use to offer the benefit of the Gospel unto men, and to work and encrease his graces in them.

A. The outward[a] ministry of the Gospel.

Q. Where is this ministry executed?

A. In the[b] visible churches of Christ.

Q. What do you call a visible church?

[z] Exod. chap. 20. ver. 17. with Matt. chap. 5. ver. 28. and Rom. chap. 7. ver. 7.

[a] Rom. chap. 11. ver. 15, 16, and chap. 10. ver. 14. 16, 17. 1 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 21. and chap. 12. ver. 28. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 3. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 11, 12.

[b] Matt. chap. 18. ver. 17, 18. Acts, chap. 11. ver. 26. and chap. 14. ver. 23.

A. A company[c] of men that live under the outward means of salvation.

Q. What are the principal parts of this ministry?

A. The administration[d] of the Word and Sacraments.

Q. What is the Word?

A. That part[e] of the outward ministry, which consisteth in the delivery of doctrine.

Q. What is a sacrament?

A. A sacrament[f] is a visible sign, ordained by God to be a seal for confirmation of the promises of the Gospel unto the due receivers thereof.

Q. Which are the sacraments ordained by Christ in the New Testament?

A. Baptism[g] and the Lord's Supper.

Q. What is Baptism?

A. The sacrament[h] of our admission into the Church; sealing unto us our new birth, by the communion which we have with Christ Jesus.

Q. What doth the element of water in Baptism represent unto us?

A. The blood[i] and spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Q. What doth the cleansing of the body represent?

and chap. 15. ver. 22. and chap. 20. ver. 17. 28. 1 Cor. chap. 4. ver. 17. and chap. 14. ver. 23. 28. 33, 34.

[c] Acts, chap. 2. ver. 47. and chap. 20. ver. 17. 20, 21. 32. 1 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 2. 18. 21. 24.

[d] Matt. chap. 28. ver. 19. Acts, chap. 2. ver. 41, 42. and chap. 20. ver. 7.

[e] Tit. chap. 1. ver. 9. 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 3, 4. 11, 12. and chap. 5. ver. 17. 2 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 15. and chap. 4. ver. 2. Rom. chap. 10. ver. 14. 16, 17. 1 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 18. 21. 23, 24. Acts, chap. 14. ver. 21. and chap. 20. ver. 20, 21. 27. 31, 32.

[f] Gen. chap. 17. ver. 10, 11. Rom. chap. 4. ver. 11, 12. and chap. 2. ver. 28, 29. 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4. 16.

[g] 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4. and chap. 12. ver. 13. Acts, chap. 2. ver. 41, 42. and chap. 20. ver. 7.

[h] Matt. chap. 3. ver. 6. 11. and chap. 28. ver. 10. Acts, chap. 2. ver. 38. 41. and chap. 8. ver. 36, 37. Tit. chap. 3. ver. 5. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 27. 1 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 13. 15. and chap. 12. ver. 13.

[i] 1 John, chap. 1. ver. 7. Heb. chap. 9. ver. 14. 1 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 19. Rev. chap. 1. ver. 5. Matt. chap. 3. ver. 11.

A. The cleansing[k] of the soul by the forgiveness of sins and imputation of righteousness.

Q. What doth the being under the water, and the freeing from it again represent?

A. Our dying[l] unto sin, by the force of Christ's death; and living again unto righteousness, through his resurrection.

Q. What is the Lord's Supper?

A. The sacrament[m] of our preservation in the Church; sealing unto us our spiritual nourishment and continual increase in Christ.

Q. What do the elements of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper represent unto us?

A. The body[n] and blood of Christ.

Q. What doth the breaking of the bread and pouring out of the wine represent?

A. The sufferings[o] whereby our Saviour was broken for our iniquities; the shedding of his precious blood, and pouring out of his soul unto death.

Q. What doth the receiving of the bread and wine represent?

A. The receiving[p] of Christ by faith.

Q. What doth the nourishment which our body receiveth by virtue of this outward meat and drink seal unto us?

A. The perfect[q] nourishment and continual increase of strength, which the inward man enjoyeth by virtue of the communion with Jesus Christ.

[k] Acts, chap. 2. ver. 38. and chap. 22. ver. 16. 1 Cor. chap. 6. ver. 11. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 26, 27. 1 Peter, chap. 3. ver. 21.

[l] Rom. chap. 6. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6. Col. chap. 2. ver. 11, 12.

[m] Matt. chap. 26. ver. 26. 28. 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 16. and chap. 11. ver. 24, 25, 26, &c. Matt. chap. 26. ver. 26. 28.

[n] 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 16. and chap. 11. ver. 24, 25. &c.

[o] Matt. chap. 26. ver. 26. 28. 1 Cor. chap. 11. ver. 24, 25, 26. Isaiah, chap. 53. ver. 5. 10. 12.

[p] 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 16, 17. and chap. 12. ver. 13. John, chap. 1. ver. 12. and chap. 6. ver. 27. 29. 35, 36. 40. 47, 48. 63, 64. and chap. 7. ver. 37, 38. 2 Cor. chap. 13. ver. 5. Eph. chap. 3. ver. 17. Heb. chap. 3. ver. 14.

[q] John, chap. 6. ver. 35. 50, 51. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 16.

Q. After the course of this life is ended; what shall be the state of man in the world to come?

A. Every one[r] is to be judged, and rewarded according to the life which he hath led.

Q. How many kinds be there of this judgment?

A. Two; the one particular, the other general.

Q. What call you the particular judgment?

A. That which[s] is given upon the soul of every man, as soon as it is departed from the body.

Q. What is the state of the soul of man, as soon as he departeth out of this life?

A. The souls[t] of God's children be presently received into heaven, there to enjoy unspeakable comforts: the souls of the wicked are sent into hell, there to endure endless torments.

Q. What call you the general judgment?

A. That which[u] Christ shall in a solemn manner give upon all men at once; when he shall come at the last day with the glory of his Father, and all men that ever have been from the beginning of the world until that day, shall appear together before him, both in body and soul, whether they be quick or dead.

Q. How shall the dead appear before the judgment seat of Christ?

A. The bodies[x] which they had in their life time, shall by the almighty power of God be restored again, and

[r] Heb. chap. 9. ver. 27. Rom. chap. 14. ver. 10. 12. 2 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 8, 9, 10.

[s] Eccles. chap. 12. ver. 14. and chap. 21. ver. 7. Heb. chap. 9. ver. 27. Luke, chap. 16. ver. 2. 23, 24, 25.

[t] Luke, chap. 16. ver. 22. 25. and chap. 23. ver. 43. Rev. chap. 14. ver. 13. Isaiah, chap. 57. ver. 1, 2. 2 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 6. 8. John, chap. 5. ver. 24. Luke, chap. 16. ver. 23, 24, 25, 26. 1 Peter, chap. 3. ver. 19. Isaiah. chap. 22. ver. 41. John, chap. 8. ver. 24.

[u] Matt. chap. 13. ver. 40, 41, 42, 43. 49, 50. and chap. 19. ver. 28. and chap. 24. ver. 30, 31. and chap. 25. ver. 31, 32, 33. 46. Acts, chap. 1. ver. 11. and chap. 3. ver. 19. 21. and chap. 17. ver. 31.

[x] Job, chap. 19. ver. 25, 26, 27. Daniel, chap. 12. ver. 2, 3. Matt. chap. 23. ver. 30, 31, 32. John, chap. 5. ver. 28, 29. and chap. 11. ver. 24. 1 Cor. chap. 15. ver. 12, 13. 15. 1 Thess. chap. 4. ver. 13, 14, 15, 16. Rev. chap. 20. ver. 12, 13.

quickened with their souls: and so there shall be a general resurrection from the dead.

Q. How shall the quick appear?

A. Such as[y] then remain alive, shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye: which shall be to them instead of death.

Q. What sentence shall Christ pronounce upon the righteous?

A. Come[z], ye blessed of my Father; inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

Q. What sentence shall he pronounce upon the wicked?

A. Depart[a] from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

Q. What shall follow this?

A. Christ[b] shall deliver up the kingdom to his Father, and God shall be all in all.

[y] 2 Tim. chap. 4. ver. 1. 1 Thess. chap. 4. ver. 15, 16, 17. I Cor. chap. 15. ver. 51, 52, 53. 2 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 4.

[z] Matt. chap. 5. ver. 34.

[a] Ibid. chap. 25. ver. 41.

[b] 1 Cor. chap. 15. ver. 24. 28.

THE METHOD

OF THE

DOCTRINE

OF

CHRISTIAN RELIGION;

SHEWING

THE CONJUNCTION OF THE CHIEF POINTS THEREOF, WITH A MORE PARTICULAR
DECLARATION OF SOME PARTICULAR HEADS,
WHICH WERE BUT SHORTLY TOUCHED IN THE FORMER SUM.

THE METHOD

OF THE

DOCTRINE

OF

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

QUESTION. What certain rule have we left us, for our direction in the knowledge of the true religion, whereby we must be saved?

ANSWER. The holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: which God delivered unto us by the ministry of his servants the prophets and apostles; to inform us perfectly in all things that are needful for us to know in matters of religion.

Q. What be the general heads of religion, which in these holy writings are delivered unto us?

A. The[a] knowledge of God's nature and kingdom.

Q. What are we to consider in God's nature?

A. First[b], his essence or being, which is but one; and then, the persons which are three in number.

Q. What do you consider in God's essence or being?

A. His perfection and life.

Q. How are we to conceive of God, in regard of his perfection?

[a] Psalm 103. ver. 8. 19. and Psalm 145. ver. 3, 4. 11, 12. 1 Chron. chap. 29. ver. 11. Matt. chap. 6. ver. 3.

[b] Col. chap. 2. ver. 9. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 3. 1 John, chap. 5. ver. 7.

A. That[c] he is a spirit, most single and infinite; having his being from himself, and having need of nothing which is without himself.

Q. Why do you call God a spirit?

A. To declare his being to be such, as hath no body, and is not subject to our outward senses: that we admit not any base conceit of his glorious majesty, in thinking him to be like unto any thing which can be seen by the eye of man.

Q. What understand you by the singleness or simplicity of God's nature?

A. That[d] he hath no parts nor qualities in him; but whatsoever is in him is God, and God's whole essence.

Q. What gather you of this, that God hath no parts nor qualities?

A. That[e] he neither can be divided, nor changed; but remaineth always in the same state without any alteration at all.

Q. In what respect do you call God's essence infinite?

A. In that it is free from all measure both of time and place.

Q. How is God free from all measure of time?

A. In[f] that he is eternal, without beginning and without ending, never elder nor younger; and hath all things present unto him, nothing former or latter, past or to come.

Q. How is God infinite in regard of place?

A. In[g] that he filleth all things and places, both within and without the world; present every where, and contained no where.

Q. How is he present every where? Hath he one part of himself here, and another there?

[c] Job, chap. 11. ver. 7, 8. 1 Tim. chap. 6. ver. 16. Isai. chap. 145. ver. 3. Rev. chap. 1. ver. 8. Rom. chap. 11. ver. 36. Acts, chap. 17. ver. 24.

[d] Rom. chap. 1. ver. 23. James, chap. 1. ver. 17. 1 John, chap. 1. ver. 5. 7. Isaiah, chap. 43. ver. 25. Prov. chap. 8. ver. 14.

[e] Mal. chap. 3. ver. 6. James, chap. 1. ver. 17.

[f] Rev. chap. 1. ver. 8. Psalm 90. ver. 2. 4. 2 Pet. chap. 3. ver. 8. John, chap. 8. ver. 58.

[g] 1 Kings, chap. 8. ver. 27. Psalm 115. ver. 3. Jer. chap. 23. ver. 24.

A. No, for he hath no parts at all whereby he might be divided; and therefore must be wholly wheresoever he is.

Q. What do you call the life of God?

A. That[h] by which the divine nature is in perpetual action, most simply and infinitely moving in itself; in respect whereof the Scripture calleth him the Living God.

Q. What gather you from the comparing of this infiniteness and simplicity, or singleness, of God's nature with his life and motion?

A. That when strength, justice, mercy, and such like, are attributed unto God, we must conceive that they are in him without all measure: and further also, that they be not[i] divers virtues whereby his nature is qualified, but that all they and every one of them is nothing else but God himself, and his entire essence.

Q. Wherein doth the life of God shew itself?

A. In[l] his allsufficiency, and in his holy will.

Q. Wherein standeth his allsufficiency?

A. In his all-knowing wisdom, and his almighty power.

Q. Wherein doth his wisdom consist?

A. In perfect knowledge[m] of all things, that either are or might be.

Q. In what sort doth God know all things? Doth he, as we do, see one thing after another?

A. No[n]: but with one sight he continually beholdeth all things distinctly, whether they be past, present, or to come.

Q. How is God said to be Almighty?

[h] Rev. chap. 10. ver. 6. Deut. chap. 32. ver. 40. Joshua, chap. 3. ver. 10. Heb. chap. 10. ver. 31. and chap. 6. ver. 17.

[i] Prov. chap. 8. ver. 14. 1 John, chap. 4. ver. 17. Isaiah, chap. 43. ver. 25.

[k] Deut. chap. 32. ver. 4. Exod. chap. 34. ver. 6, 7. Psalm 89. ver. 13, 14. and Psalm 145. ver. 7. 17. Jer. chap. 32. ver. 17, 18, 19. Nah. chap. 1. ver. 3.

[l] Psalm 147. ver. 5. Prov. chap. 8. ver. 14. Jer. chap. 10. ver. 12. 14 and chap. 32. ver. 19.

[m] Psalm 147. ver. 5. Prov. chap. 8. ver. 14. Jer. chap. 10. ver. 12. 14. and chap. 32. ver. 19.

[n] Heb. chap. 4. ver. 13.

A. Because[n] he hath power to bring to pass all things that can be; howsoever to us they may seem impossible.

Q. Wherein is the holiness of his will seen?

A. In[p] his goodness, and in his justice.

Q. Wherein doth he shew his goodness?

A. In[q] being beneficial unto his creatures, and shewing mercy unto them in their miseries.

Q. Wherein sheweth he his justice?

A. Both[r] in his word, and in his deeds.

Q. How sheweth he justice in his word?

A. Because[s] the truth thereof is most certain.

Q. How sheweth he justice in his deeds?

A. By[t] ordering and disposing of all things rightly; and rendering to his creatures according to their works.

Q. What do you call persons in the Godhead?

A. Such as having one essence (or being) equally common, are distinguished (not divided) one from another by some incommunicable property.

Q. How cometh it to pass that there should be this diversity of persons in the Godhead?

A. Though the essence or being of the Godhead be the same, and most simple (as hath been declared:) yet the manner of having this being is not the same, and hence ariseth the distinction of persons: in that beside the being, which is common to all and the self-same in all, they have every one some special property which cannot be common to the rest.

Q. Which are these persons, and what are their personal properties?

[n] Rev. chap. 1. ver. 8. Matt. chap. 19. ver. 26. Mark, chap. 14. ver. 36. Luke, chap. 1. ver. 37.

[p] Matt. chap. 19. ver. 17. Rom. chap. 9. ver. 18. Exod. chap. 34. ver. 6, 7. Nehem. chap. 9. ver. 32, 33.

[q] 1 John, chap. 4. ver. 16. Psalm 33. ver. 5. 1 Tim. chap. 4. ver. 10. Psalm 145. ver. 7, 8, 9. 17. Nehem. chap. 9. ver. 17. 31. Psalm 103. ver. 8, 9. &c. Lam. chap. 3. ver. 22.

[r] Deut. chap. 32. ver. 4. Neh. chap. 9. ver. 32, 33.

[s] Deut. chap. 32. ver. 4. Neh. chap. 9. ver. 32, 33. Num. chap. 23. ver. 19. Rom. chap. 3. ver. 4. Neh. chap. 9. ver. 8.

[t] Deut. chap. 32. ver. 4. Psalm 145. ver. 17. Rom. chap. 2. ver. 2. 5, 6. Rev. chap. 22. ver. 12. 1 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 17.

A. The first person in order is the Father, who begetteth the Son. The second is the Son, begotten of the Father. The third is the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son.

Q. Doth the Godhead of the Father beget the Godhead of the Son?

A. No; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Son.

Q. Thus much of God's nature: what are we to consider in his kingdom?

A. First[u], the decree made from all eternity: and then the execution thereof accomplished in time.

Q. How was the decree made?

A. All things whatsoever should in time come to pass, with every small circumstance appertaining thereunto, was ordained to be so from all eternity, by God's certain and unchangeable counsel.

Q. Did God then before he made man, determine to save some and reject others?

A. Yes surely[x]: before they had done either good or evil, God in his eternal counsel set some apart, upon whom he would in time shew the riches of his mercy: and determine to withhold the same from others, upon whom he would shew the severity of his justice.

Q. What should move God to make this difference between man and man?

A. Only[y] his own good pleasure: whereby having purposed to create man for his own glory, forasmuch as he was not bound to shew mercy unto any, and his glory should appear as well in executing of justice, as in shewing mercy; it seemed good unto his heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeserved mercy, leaving the rest to be spectacles of his justice.

[u] Eph. chap. 1. ver. 11. Acts, chap. 4. ver. 28.

[x] Rom. chap. 9. ver. 11. 21, 22, 23. Matt. chap. 25. ver. 34. 2 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 20. Rev. chap. 17. ver. 8. 1 Thess. chap. 5. ver. 9.

[y] Rom. chap. 9. ver. 15, 16. 21, 22, 23. Prov. chap. 16. ver. 4. Matt. chap. 11. ver. 25, 26. Ephes. chap. 1. ver. 1. 11. Jude, ver. 4.

Q. Wherein doth the execution of God's decree consist?

A. In[z] the works of the creation and providence.

Q. What was the manner of the creation?

A. In[a] the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word[b] alone, did in the space of six[c] days create all things, both visible[d] and invisible, making[e] every one of them exceeding good in their kind.

Q. What are the principal creatures which were ordained unto an everlasting condition?

A. Angels, altogether spiritual and void of bodies: and man consisting of two parts, the body which is earthly, and the soul, which is spiritual, and therefore not subject to mortality.

Q. In what regard is man said to be according to the likeness and image of God?

A. In regard especially of the perfections of the powers of the soul; namely, the wisdom of the mind, and the true holiness of his free will.

Q. How are you to consider of God's providence?

A. Both as it is common unto all the creatures, which are thereby sustained in their being, and ordered according to the Lord's will: and as it properly concerneth the everlasting condition of the principal creatures, to wit, angels and men.

Q. What is that which concerneth angels?

A. Some of them remained in that blessed condition wherein they were created, and are by God's grace for ever established therein. Others kept it not, but wilfully left the same; and therefore are condemned to everlasting torment in hell, without all hope of recovery.

Q. How is the state of mankind ordered?

[z] Neh. chap. 9. ver. 6. Psalm 146. ver. 6, 7. and Psalm. 148. ver. 5, 6.
[a] Gen. chap. 11. Matt. chap. 10. ver. 6. John, chap. 1. ver. 1, 2, 3.
[b] Heb. chap. 11. ver. 3. Psalm 33. ver. 6. and Psalm 148. ver. 5.
[c] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 31. Exod. chap. 20. ver. 11.
[d] Col. chap. 1. ver. 1. 6.
[e] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 31. Eccles. chap. 12. ver. 7.

A. In this life by the tenor of a twofold[f] covenant; and in the world to come, by the sentence of a twofold judgment[g].

Q. What is the first of these covenants?

A. The law, or the covenant of works: whereby God promiseth everlasting life unto man, upon condition that he perform entire and perfect obedience unto his law, according to that strength wherewith he was endued by virtue of his creation; and in like sort threateneth death unto him, if he do not perform the same.

Q. What seal did God use for the strengthening of this covenant?

A. The two trees[h] which he planted in the middle of paradise: the one of life, the other of knowledge of good and evil.

Q. What did the tree of life signify?

A. That man should have assurance of everlasting life, if he continued in obedience.

Q. What did the tree of knowledge of good and evil signify?

A. That if man did fall from obedience, he should be surely punished with everlasting death; and so know by experience in himself, what evil was, as before he knew by experience that only which was good.

Q. What was the event of this covenant?

A. By[i] one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death went over all men, for as much as all have sinned.

Q. How did sin enter?

A. Whereas[k] God had threatened unto our first parents, that whatsoever day they did eat of the forbidden fruit they should certainly die: they believing rather the

[f] Gal. chap. 3. ver. 10, 11, 12, 13. and chap. 4. ver. 24. Rom. chap. 3. ver. 27. and chap. 10. ver. 5, 6.

[g] Heb. chap. 9. ver. 27. Luke, chap. 16. ver. 22, 23. Rom. chap. 14. ver. 10. 12. Matt. chap. 25. ver. 31, 32.

[h] Gen. chap. 2. ver. 9. 17. and chap. 3. ver. 3. 7. 11. 17. 22. 24. Rev. chap. 2. ver. 7. Prov. chap. 3. ver. 18.

[i] Rom. chap. 5. ver. 12.

[k] Gen. chap. 3.

word of the devil that they should not die, and subscribing unto his reproachful blasphemy, whereby he charged God with envy towards their estate, as if he had therefore forbidden the fruit, lest by eating thereof they should become like God himself, entered into rebellion against the Lord who made them, and openly transgressed his commandment.

Q. What followeth from this ?

A. First[l] the corruption of nature, called original sin, derived by continual descent from father to son ; wherewith all the powers of the soul and body are infected, and that in all men equally : and then actual sin, arising from hence.

Q. Shew how the principal powers of the soul are defiled by this corruption of our nature ?

A. First, the understanding is blinded with ignorance and infidelity. Secondly, the memory is prone to forget the good things which the understanding hath conceived. Thirdly, the will is disobedient to the will of God understood and remembered by us, (the freedom of holiness, which it had at the first, being now lost) and is wholly bent to sin. Fourthly, the affections are ready to overrule the will, and are subject to all disorder. Lastly[m], the conscience itself is distempered and polluted.

Q. In what sort is the conscience thus distempered ?

A. The duties thereof being two especially ; to give direction[n] in things to be done, and to give both witness and judgment in things done : for the first, it sometimes giveth no direction at all, and thereupon maketh a man[o] to sin in doing of an action otherwise good and lawful ; sometimes it giveth a direction, but a wrong one, and so becometh a blind[p] guide, forbidding to do things which God alloweth, and commanding to do things which God forbiddeth. For the second, it sometimes giveth no judg-

[l] James, chap. 1. ver. 14, 15. Gal. chap. 5. ver. 19. Col. chap. 3. ver. 9, 10.
[m] Tit. chap. 1. ver. 15.
[n] Rom. chap. 2. ver. 15. 2 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 12. John, chap. 8. ver. 9.
[o] Rom. chap. 14. ver. 23.
[p] Gal. chap. 1. ver. 14. 1 Chron. chap. 13. ver. 9. John, chap. 16. ver. 2.

ment at all[q], not checking the offender as it should, but being benumbed, and as it were seared with an hot iron. It sometimes giveth judgment, but falsely; condemning where[r] it should excuse, and excusing where it should condemn; thereby filling the mind with false fear, or feeding it with vain comforts: and sometimes giveth true judgment, but uncomfortable[s] and fearful, tormenting the guilty soul as it were with the flashes of hell fire.

Q. What are the kinds of actual sin?

A. Such[t] as are either inward in the thoughts of the mind and lusts of the heart; or outward, in word or deed: whereby those things are done which should be omitted, and those things omitted which should be done.

Q. What is the death which all men are subject unto, by reason of these sins?

A. The[u] curse of God both upon the things that belong unto them (such as are their wife and children, honour, possessions, use of God's creatures, &c.) and upon their own persons, in life and death.

Q. What are the curses they are subject to in this life?

A. All[x] temporal calamities both in body (which is subject unto infinite miseries) and in soul, which is plagued sometimes with a terror of a guilty conscience, sometimes with a benumbed and seared conscience, sometime with hardness of heart, which cannot repent; and finally, a spiritual slavery under the power of the world and the devil.

Q. What is the death that followeth this miserable life?

[q] Eph. chap. 4. ver. 18, 19. 1 Tim. chap. 4. ver. 2.

[r] Col. chap. 2. ver. 21, 22. Rom. chap. 7. ver. 9.

[s] John, chap. 8. ver. 9. 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 20. Prov. chap. 28. ver. 1. Acts, chap. 24. ver. 26.

[t] James, chap. 1. ver. 14, 15. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 3. Matt. chap. 5. ver. 28. and chap. 12. ver. 34. and chap. 15. ver. 19. and chap. 25. ver. 42. Isaiah, chap. 1. ver. 16, 17. Rom. chap. 3. ver. 12.

[u] Rom. chap. 7. ver. 10. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 10. Deut. chap. 28. ver. 15, 16. &c. Psalm 109. ver. 9, 10, 11, 12. &c. Prov. chap. 10. ver. 7.

[x] Deut. chap. 28. ver. 21, 22. &c. Levit. chap. 26. ver. 16, 17. &c. John, chap. 5. ver. 14. Deut. chap. 27. ver. 28. 65, 66, 67. Psalm 69. ver. 22. 1 John, chap. 2. ver. 16. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 2. Col. chap. 1. ver. 13. 2 Cor. chap. 4. ver. 4.

A. First[y], a separation of the soul from the body: and then, an everlasting separation of the whole man from the presence of God, with unspeakable torments in hell fire, never to be ended.

Q. If all mankind be subject to this damnation; how then shall any man be saved?

A. Surely[z] by this covenant of the Law no flesh can be saved; but every one must receive in himself the sentence of condemnation. Yet the Lord, being a God of mercy[a], hath not left us here; but entered into a second covenant with mankind.

Q. What is this second covenant?

A. The[b] Gospel, or the covenant of grace; whereby God promiseth everlasting life unto man, upon condition that he be reconciled unto him in Christ, for, as the condition of the first was the continuance of that righteousness which was to be found in man's own person: so, the condition of the[c] second is the obtaining of that righteousness which is without himself; even the righteousness of God which is by faith in the Mediator Jesus Christ.

Q. What are we to consider in Christ our Mediator?

A. Two things: his nature and his office.

Q. How many natures be there in Christ?

A. Two; the Godhead, and the manhood; remaining still distinct in their substance, properties and actions.

Q. How many persons hath he?

A. Only one; which is the person of the Son of God, for the second person in the Trinity took upon him, not the person but the nature of man; to wit, a body and a reasonable soul; which do not subsist alone, (as we see in

[y] Heb. chap. 2. ver. 14, 15. and chap. 9. ver. 27. Rev. chap. 6. ver. 8. Luke, chap. 16. ver. 23, 24. &c. Rev. chap. 21. ver. 8. 2 Thess. chap. 1. ver. 9.

[z] Rom. chap. 3. ver. 19, 20. and chap. 8. ver. 3. Gal. chap. 2. ver. 16. and chap. 3. ver. 10. 21, 22. Ephes. chap. 2. ver. 3, 4, 5.

[a] Hos. chap. 2. ver. 18, 19. Rom. chap. 10. ver. 5, 6. 9. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 10. 13. 24.

[b] Gal. chap. 3. ver. 11. 17. 22. John, chap. 1. ver. 12. Rom. chap. 5. ver. 17. Ephes. chap. 2, ver. 13, 14.

[c] Rom. chap. 3. ver. 21, 22. and chap. 10. ver. 3. Phil. ver. 3. 9.

all other men) but are wholly sustained in the person of the Son of God.

Q. What is the use of this wonderful union of the two natures in one person?

A. Our nature being received into the union of the person of the Son of God; the sufferings and the obedience which it performed became of infinite value, as being the sufferings and obedience of him who was God, equal with the Father.

Q. What is the office of Christ?

A. To[d] be a Mediator betwixt God and Man.

Q. What part of his office did he exercise in things concerning God?

A. His[e] priesthood.

Q. What are the parts of his priestly office?

A. The satisfaction of God's justice, and his intercession.

Q. What is required of Christ for the satisfaction of God's justice?

A. The paying of the price which was due for the breach of the law committed by mankind; and the performance of that righteousness, which man by the law was bound unto, but is now unable to accomplish.

Q. How was Christ to pay the price which was due for the sin of mankind?

A. By[f] that wonderful humiliation, whereby he that was equal with God, made himself of no reputation, and became obedient unto the death; sustaining both in body and soul, the curse that was due to the transgression of the law.

Q. What righteousness was there required of Christ in our behalf?

A. Both original, which he had from his conception (being conceived by the Holy Ghost, in all pureness and holiness of nature:) and actual; which he performed by yielding perfect obedience, in the whole course of his life, unto all the precepts of God's law.

[d] 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 5.

[e] Heb. chap. 2. ver. 17. and chap. 5. ver. 1. and chap. 7. ver. 24.

[f] Zach. chap. 13. ver. 7. Phil. chap. 2. ver. 7, 8. Gal. chap. 4. ver. 4.

Q. What is the intercession of Christ?

A. That[g] part of his priesthood, whereby he maketh request unto his Father for us, and presenteth unto him both our persons, and our imperfect obedience; making both of them (howsoever in themselves polluted) by the merit of his satisfaction, to be acceptable in God's sight.

Q. Thus much of that part of the office of the Mediator which is exercised in things concerning God: how doth he exercise his office in things concerning man?

A. By[h] communicating unto man that grace and redemption which he hath purchased from his Father.

Q. What parts of his office doth he exercise here?

A. His prophetical and kingly office?

Q. What is his prophetical office?

A. That[i] whereby he informeth us of the benefits of our redemption, and revealeth the whole will of his Father unto us; both by the outward means which he hath provided for the instruction of his Church, and by the inward enlightening of our minds by his holy Spirit.

Q. What is his kingly office?

A. That[k] whereby he ruleth his subjects, and confoundeth all his enemies.

Q. How doth he rule his subjects?

A. By[l] making the redemption, which he hath wrought, effectual in the elect: calling those, whom by his prophetical office he hath taught, to embrace the benefits offered

[g] Heb. chap. 7. ver. 25. and chap. 9. ver. 24. Rom. chap. 8. ver. 34. John, chap. 17. ver. 20. 24. Exod. chap. 28. ver. 38. 1 Peter, chap. 2. ver. 5.

[h] Rom. chap. 5. ver. 15. 17. 19. John, chap. 5. ver. 21. and chap. 17. ver. 2. 6. Luke, chap. 4. ver. 18.

[i] Deut. chap. 18. ver. 18. John, chap. 1. ver. 18. and chap. 6. ver. 26. Isaiah, chap. 61. ver. 1, 2. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 2. and chap. 3. ver. 1, 2. Matt. chap. 23. ver. 10. Luke, chap. 24. ver. 45. Acts, chap. 16. ver. 14. 1 Cor. chap. 2. ver. 10, 11, 12.

[k] Psalm 2. ver. 6. 8, 9. John, chap. 18. ver. 36, 37. Eph. chap. 1. ver. 20, 21, 22. and chap. 3. ver. 23, 24. Matt. chap. 22. ver. 3. 7. 13. Luke, chap. 19. ver. 14, 15. 27. Psalm 110. ver. 1, 2.

[l] 1 Col. chap. 15. ver. 25. 45. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 1. 5. and chap. 4. ver. 1. 15, 16. Col. chap. 1. ver. 13. and chap. 2. ver. 12. Job, chap. 5. ver. 25, 26, 27. and chap. 17. ver. 2.

unto them; and governing them being called; both by these outward ordinances which he hath instituted[m] in his Church, and by the inward operation of his blessed spirit.

Q. Having thus declared the natures and offices of Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant. What are you to consider in the condition of mankind which hold by him?

A. Two things: the participation of the grace of Christ, effectually communicated by the operation of God's spirit unto the Catholic Church, which is the body and spouse of Christ, out of which there is no salvation; and the outward means ordained for the offering and effecting of the same, vouchsafed unto the visible churches.

Q. How is the grace of Christ effectually communicated to the elect, of whom the Catholic Church doth consist?

A. By[n] that wonderful union, whereby Christ and his Church are made one: so that all the elect being ingrafted into him, grow up together into one mystical body, whereof he is the head.

Q. What is the bond of this union?

A. The[o] communion of God's Spirit: which being derived from the Man Christ Jesus unto all the elect, as from the head unto the members, giveth unto them spiriritual life, and maketh them partakers of Christ with all his benefits.

Q. What are the benefits which arise to God's children from hence?

A. Reconciliation[p] and sanctification.

Q. What is reconciliation?

[m] 2 Cor. chap. 13. ver. 14. Rom. chap. 14. ver. 17. 1 Cor. chap. 12. ver. 3, 4, 5.

[n] John, chap. 17. ver. 21, 22, 23.

[o] 1 Cor. chap. 12. ver. 13. Eph. chap. 5. ver. 29, 30. John, chap. 15. ver. 1, 2. 4, 5. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 15, 16. Col. chap. 1. ver. 18. and chap. 2. ver. 19. 1 Cor. chap. 12. ver. 13. 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 24. Rom. chap. 5. ver. 5. and chap. 8. ver. 9. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 22. Philipp. chap. 2. ver. 1.

[p] 1 Cor. chap. 6. ver. 11. 1 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 2. 2 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 3, 4.

A. That[q] grace, whereby we are freed from God's curse, and restored unto his favour.

Q. What are the branches of reconciliation?

A. Justification[r] and adoption.

Q. What is justification?

A. That[s] grace, whereby we are freed from the guilt of sin, and accounted righteous in Christ Jesus our Redeemer.

Q. How then must sinful man look to be justified in the sight of God?

A. By[t] the mercy of God alone, whereby he freely bestoweth his Son upon him: whereupon the sinner being possessed of Jesus Christ, obtaineth of God remission of sins, and imputation of righteousness.

Q. What is adoption?

A. That[u] grace, whereby we are not only made friends with God, but also his sons, and heirs with Christ.

Q. What is sanctification?

A. That grace, whereby we are freed from the bondage of sin remaining in us, and restored unto the freedom of righteousness.

Q. What be the parts of sanctification?

A. Mortification[x], whereby our natural corruption is subdued; and vivification or quickening, whereby inherent holiness is renewed in us.

Q. Is there no distinction to be made among them that thus receive Christ?

A. Yes, for some are not capable of knowledge; as in-

[q] Col. chap. 7. ver. 20, 21, 22. Rom. chap. 5. ver. 10. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 16.

[r] Gal. chap. 4. ver. 5, 6.

[s] Gal. chap. 3. ver. 8. 13, 14. 2 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 21. Rom. chap. 4. ver. 25.

[t] Rom. chap. 3. ver. 24, 25, 26. 28. and chap. 5. ver. 15, 16, 17. 19. Eph. chap. 2. ver. 8, 9. Isai. chap. 9. ver. 6. Gal. chap. 2. ver. 15. Philipp. chap. 3. ver. 8, 9. Rev. chap. 1. ver. 5. Col. chap. 1. ver. 14. 21, 22. and chap. 2. ver. 13. Acts, chap. 13. ver. 38, 39.

[u] Rom. chap. 8. ver. 15. 17. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 26. and chap. 4. ver. 6, 7. Eph. chap. 1. ver. 5.

[x] Gal. chap. 5. ver. 24, 25. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 22, 23. Rom. chap. 6. ver. 2, 3, 4, 5. Col. chap. 2. ver. 12.

fants, and such as we term naturals: other some are of discretion. In the former[y] sort, we are not to proceed farther than God's election, and the secret operation of the Holy Ghost. In the other there is required a lively faith, bringing forth fruit of true holiness.

Q. Is it in man's power to attain this faith and holiness?

A. No[z]: but God worketh them in his children, according to that measure which he in his wisdom seeth fit.

Q. What do you understand by faith?

A. A gift[a] of God, whereby a man being persuaded not only of the truth of God's word in general, but also of the promises of the Gospel in particular, applieth Christ, with all his benefits, unto the comfort of his own soul.

Q. How are we said to be justified by faith?

A. Not as though we were just for the worthiness of this virtue, (for in such a respect Christ alone is our righteousness;) but because faith, and faith only is the instrument fit to apprehend and receive (not to work or procure) our justification, and so to knit us unto Christ, that we may be made partakers of all his benefits.

Q. What is that holiness, which accompanieth this justifying faith?

A. A gift[b] of God whereby the heart of the believer is withdrawn from evil, and converted into newness of life.

Q. Wherein doth this holiness shew itself?

[y] Acts, chap. 2. ver. 39. 1 Cor. chap. 7. ver. 14. and chap. 12. ver. 13. Eph. chap. 3. ver. 17. 1 Thess. chap. 1. ver. 3. Tit. chap. 3. ver. 8. 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 5. 2 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 5. Acts, chap. 15. ver. 9.

[z] Philipp. chap. 1. ver. 6. and chap. 2. ver. 13. 1 Cor. chap. 2. ver. 12. 14. Col. chap. 2. ver. 12, 13. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 5. 2 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 25. Jer. chap. 31. ver. 18. 2 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 3, 4. Eph. chap. 3. ver. 2.

[a] Eph. chap. 2. ver. 8. Heb. chap. 11. ver. 1, 2, 3. &c. Col. chap. 2. ver. 7. 12. Eph. chap. 3. ver. 12. 17. John, chap. 1. ver. 12. and chap. 6. ver. 35. Gal. chap. 2. ver. 16. 20. Philipp. chap. 3. ver. 8, 9. 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 16. Heb. chap. 10. ver. 22, 23. 2 Cor. chap. 13. ver. 5.

[b] Rom. chap. 8. ver. 1. 1 John, chap. 3. ver. 9. 2 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 4. Tit. chap. 2. ver. 12. Gal. chap. 6. ver. 25.

A. First, in unfeigned repentance; and then in sincere obedience springing from the same.

Q. What are the parts of repentance?

A. Two. A true[c] grief wrought in the heart of the believer, for offending so gracious a God by his former transgressions. And[d] a conversion unto God again, with full purpose of heart ever after to cleave unto him, and to refrain from that which shall be displeasing in his sight.

Q. What is the direction of that obedience which God requireth of man?

A. The moral law: whereof the ten commandments are an abridgement.

Q. What is the sum of the law?

A. Love[e].

Q. What be the parts thereof?

A. The love which we owe[f] unto God, commanded in the first; and the love which we owe unto our neighbour, commanded in the second table.

Q. How do you distinguish the four commandments which belong unto the first table?

A. They do either respect the conforming of the inward powers of the soul to the acknowledgment of the true God, as the first commandment; or the holy use of the outward means of God's worship, as the three following.

Q. What are the duties which concern the outward means of God's worship?

A. They are either such as are to be performed every day, as occasion shall require; or such as are appointed for a certain day.

Q. What commandments do belong unto the first kind?

A. The second, concerning the solemn worship of religion; and the third, concerning that respect which we are to have of God's honour in the common carriage of our life.

[c] 2 Cor. chap. 7. ver. 10, 11. Jer. chap. 31. ver. 18, 19.

[d] Acts, chap. 11. ver. 23. and chap. 26. ver. 20.

[e] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 8. 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 5. Col. chap. 3. ver. 14.

[f] Matt. chap. 22. ver. 37, 38, 39, 40. Mark, chap. 12. ver. 30, 31. 33.

Q. What commandment belongeth to the second kind?

A. The fourth; enjoining the special sanctification of the Sabbath day.

Q. How do you distinguish the six commandments, belonging to the second table?

A. The first five do order such actions as are joined with consent of the mind at least: the last respecteth the first motions that arise in the heart, before any consent is given.

Q. What are the duties appertaining to the first kind?

A. They are either due unto certain persons in regard of some special bond; or unto all men in general, by a common right, the first sort is set down in the fifth commandment: the other in the four next.

Q. What is the outward means whereby the Gospel is offered unto mankind?

A. The ministry of the Gospel; which is exercised in the visible Church of Christ.

Q. Of whom doth the visible Church consist?

A. Of public officers, ordained to be ministers[g] of Christ, and disposers of heavenly things, according to the prescript of the Lord: and the rest of the saints, who with obedience are to subject themselves unto the ordinances of God.

Q. What are the parts of the outward ministry?

A. The administration of the Word, and of the ordinances annexed thereunto; which are especially sacraments and censures.

Q. What is the Word?

A. That[h] part of the outward ministry, which consisteth in the delivery of doctrine: and this is the ordinary instrument which God useth in begetting faith.

[g] Rev. chap. 1. ver. 20. Philipp. chap. 1. ver. 1. Acts, chap. 20. ver. 17. 28. 1 Peter, chap. 5. ver. 1, 2, 3. 1 Tim. chap. 5. ver. 12, 13. Rom. chap. 12. ver. 7, 8. 1 Cor. chap. 4. ver. 1. Heb. chap. 13. ver. 17. 24.

[h] 2 Chron. chap. 17. ver. 7, 8, 9. Acts, chap. 2. ver. 40, 41. and chap. 11. ver. 20. 26. 1 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 5. Rom. chap. 10. ver. 17. Eph. chap. 1. ver. 13.

Q. What order is there used in the delivery of the Word for the begetting of faith?

A. First, the[i] covenant of the law is urged, to make sin and the punishment thereof known: whereupon the sting of conscience pricketh the heart with a sense of God's wrath, and maketh man utterly to despair of any ability in himself to obtain everlasting life. After this preparation[k], the promises of the Gospel are propounded: whereupon the sinner conceiving hope of pardon, sueth unto God for mercy, and particularly applieth unto his own soul those comfortable promises; and hath wrought in him, by the Spirit of God, an earnest desire at the least to believe and repent.

Q. What is a sacrament?

A. A visible[l] sign, ordained by God to be a seal for confirmation of the Gospel, unto those who perform the conditions required in the same.

Q. How is this done by a sacrament?

A. By a fit similitude between the sign and the thing signified, the benefit of the Gospel is represented unto the eye, and the assurance of enjoying the same confirmed to such as are within the covenant. Wherefore, as the preaching of the Word is the ordinary means of begetting faith; so both it, and the holy use of the Sacraments, be the instruments of the Holy Ghost to increase and confirm the same.

Q. How many kinds of Sacraments be there?

A. Two[m]; the first, of our admission into the Church; the second of our preservation and nourishment therein, to assure us of our continual increase in Christ. In which

[i] Rom. chap. 3. ver. 19. and chap. 7. ver. 9, 10. Gal. chap. 3. ver. 22, 23. Acts, chap. 2. ver. 37. Matt. chap. 15. ver. 34. Psalm 33. ver. 4, 5. Luke, chap. 15. ver. 17, 18, 19.

[k] Matt. chap. 11. ver. 28. Gal. chap. 2. ver. 19, 20. Heb. chap. 4. ver. 16. Hos. chap. 14. ver. 2, 3. Rom. chap. 8. ver. 15.

[l] 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 1, 2. 16. Gen. chap. 17. ver. 10, 11. Deut. chap. 30. ver. 6. Matt. chap. 3. ver. 11. 1 Pet. chap. 3. ver. 21. Coloss. chap. 2. ver. 11, 12, 13. Acts, chap. 2. ver. 41, 42. Rom. chap. 4. ver. 11.

[m] 1 Cor. chap 10. ver. 1, 2, 3, 4. Exod. chap. 12. ver. 48.

respect, the former is once only; the latter often to be administered.

Q. What do you understand by censures?

A. The[n] order which God hath appointed for the confirmation of the threatenings of the Gospel against the disobedient.

Q. How are these censures exercised?

A. First, by word[o] alone, in admonition. Secondly, by inflicting a penalty: either by shutting up the offender in the Lord's prison, till such time as he sheweth tokens of repentance; or by cutting off the rotten member from the rest of the body.

Q. Hath this administration of the Gospel been always after the same manner?

A. For[p] substance it hath always been the same: but in regard of the manner proper to certain times, it is distinguished into two kinds; the old and the new.

Q. What call you the old ministry?

A. That[q] which was delivered unto the Fathers: which was to continue until the fulness of time, wherein by the coming of Christ it was to be reformed.

Q. What were the properties of this ministry?

A. First, the[r] commandments of the law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkly propounded: these latter being so much the more generally and obscurely delivered, as the manifesting of them was further off. Secondly, the promises[s] of things to

[n] Matt. chap. 18. ver. 17, 18. 1 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 4, 5.

[o] Matt. chap. 18. ver. 15, 16, 17, 18. 2 Thess. chap. 3. ver. 14. 1 Cor. chap. 5. ver. 4, 5. 11. 13. 2 Cor. chap. 2. ver. 6, 7, 8. 1 Tim. chap. 1. ver. 20. John, chap. 9. ver. 22. 1 Cor. chap. 16. ver. 22.

[p] Heb. chap. 11. ver. 2. 13. and chap. 13. ver. 8. Acts, chap. 10. ver. 43. and chap. 15. ver. 11. and chap. 26. ver. 6, 7. Luke, chap. 16. ver. 16. John, chap. 1. ver. 17, 18. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 1, 2. and chap. 8. ver. 8, 9, 10. 13. and chap. 9. ver, 10, 11. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 6, 7, 8.

[q] Heb. chap. 1. ver. 1. and chap. 9. ver. 10. Acts, chap. 7. ver. 44. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 7. 11.

[r] Mal. chap. 4. ver. 4, 5. Jer. chap. 31. ver. 31, 32, 33. Heb. chap. 11. ver. 13. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 13. 18.

[s] Heb. chap. 8. ver. 9. 13. 2. and chap. 9. ver. 1. 8, 9, 10. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 11. 13. Gal. chap. 4. ver. 3, 4. Col. chap. 2. ver. 16, 17.

come were shadowed with a multitude of types and figures; which, when the truth should be exhibited, were to vanish away.

Q. What were the chief states and periods of this old ministry?

A. The first from Adam to Abraham; the second from Abraham to Christ.

Q. What were the special properties of the latter of these two periods?

A. First[t], it was more especially restrained unto a certain family and nation. Secondly, it had joined with it a solemn repetition and declaration of the first covenant of the Law. Thirdly, besides the ceremonies (which were greatly enlarged under Moses) it had sacraments also added unto it.

Q. What were the ordinary sacraments of this ministry?

A. The[u] sacrament of admission into the Church was circumcision, instituted in the days of Abraham[x]; the other of continual preservation and nourishment was the Paschal Lamb[y], instituted in the time of Moses.

Q. What is the new administration of the Gospel?

A. That[z] which was delivered unto us by Christ: which is to continue unto the end of the world.

Q. What are the properties thereof?

A. First[a], it is indifferently propounded unto all people,

[t] Luke, chap. 1. ver. 54, 55. Psalm 147. ver. 19, 20. Rom. chap. 9. ver. 4. and chap. 13. ver. 17. Deut. chap. 4. ver. 1. 6, 7, 8. 37. and chap. 7. ver. 6, 7. 48. and chap. 14. ver. 2. chap. 26. ver. 18, 19. John, chap. 1. ver. 17. Exod. chap. 24. ver. 7, 8. Deut. chap. 4. ver. 12, 13. and chap. 5. ver. 2. 5. and chap. 27. ver. 26. Rom. chap. 10. ver. 5. Acts, chap. 7. ver. 44, 45, 46, 47. Heb. chap. 9. ver. 1, 2, 3.

[u] Exod. chap. 12. ver. 48. John, chap. 7. ver. 22. Gen. chap. 17. ver. 9, 10.

[x] Rom. chap. 2. ver. 28, 29. and chap. 4. ver. 11. Col. chap. 2. ver. 11. Deut. chap. 30. ver. 6, 7, 8.

[y] Exod. chap. 12. ver. 3, 4. Num. chap. 9. ver. 11, 12. Deut. chap. 16. ver. 2.

[z] John, chap. 1. ver. 17. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 2. chap. 2. ver. 3, 4. chap. 3. ver. 5, 6. and chap. 12. ver. 25, 26, 27, 28. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 11.

[a] Isaiah, chap. 54. ver. 1, 2, 3. and chap. 60. ver. 4, 5. and chap. 65. ver. 1. and chap. 66. ver. 12. 19, 20. John, chap. 10. ver. 16. Rom. chap. 10. and

whether they be Jews or Gentiles; and in that respect it is catholic or universal. Secondly, it is full of grace and truth; bringing joyful tidings unto mankind, that whatsoever was formerly promised of Christ, is now performed: and so, instead of the ancient types and shadows, exhibiteth the things themselves; with a large and clear declaration of all the benefits of the Gospel.

Q. What be the principal points of the Word of this ministry?

A. That[b] Christ our Saviour (whom God by his prophets had promised to send into the world) is come in the flesh, and hath accomplished the work of our redemption. That he was conceived[c] by the holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, suffered[d] under Pontius Pilate, was crucified and died upon the cross. That[e] the body and soul being thus separated, his body was laid in the grave, and remained under the power of death: and his soul went into the place appointed for the souls of the righteous; namely Paradise, the seat of the blessed. That the third[f] day, body and soul being joined together again, he rose from the dead, and afterwards ascended up into heaven: where he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, until such time as from thence he shall come unto the last judgment.

Q. What are the sacraments of this ministry?

A. The sacrament of admission into the Church is baptism; which sealeth unto us our spiritual birth: the other sacrament of our continual preservation is the Lord's Supper: which sealeth unto us our continual nourishment.

11. Col. chap. 1. ver. 5, 6. Eph. chap. 3. ver. 5, 6. 8. John, chap. 1. ver. 17. Rom. chap. 1. ver. 1, 2, 3. 1 Pet. chap. 1. ver. 10, 11, 12. 1 Cor. chap. 1. ver. 23, 24. and chap. 2. ver. 9. 16. 2 Cor. chap. 3. ver. 11. 13, 14. 18.

[b] Rom. chap. 1. ver. 1, 2. 5. John, chap. 1. ver. 14. 45. and chap. 19. ver. 28. 30. Heb. chap. 9. ver. 12. 26. 28. 1 Tim. chap. 3. ver. 16.

[c] Luke, chap. 1. ver. 35. Matt. chap. 1. ver. 18, 19. 21, 22, 23.

[d] Matt. chap. 27. ver. 2. 26.

[e] Matt. chap. 12. ver. 40. and chap. 27. ver. 59, 60. John, chap. 19. ver. 40, 41, 42. Rom. chap. 6. ver. 9. Luke, chap. 23. ver. 43. 46.

[f] Matt. chap. 16. ver. 21. 1 Cor. chap. 15. ver. 4. 2 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 8. Mark, chap. 6. ver. 19. Acts, chap. 1. ver. 2. 9, 10, 11. Eph. chap. 4. ver. 10. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 3. 2 Tim. chap 4. ver. 1.

Q. After the end of this life, what is to be looked for in the world to come?

A. A twofold judgment, the one particular, upon the soul of every man at the time of his death; the other general, upon the souls and bodies of all men together at the time of their resurrection.

[The particulars which concern the two sacraments of the New Testament, and the twofold judgment in the world to come, are to be supplied out of the latter end of the former sum.]

THE

POSTHUMOUS WORKS

OF

JAMES USSHER,

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH,

&c. &c. &c.

THE POWER

COMMUNICATED BY GOD

TO

THE PRINCE,

AND

THE OBEDIENCE REQUIRED

OF

THE SUBJECT;

BRIEFLY LAID DOWN AND CONFIRMED OUT OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,
THE TESTIMONY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,
THE DICTATES OF RIGHT REASON,
AND THE OPINION OF THE WISEST AMONG THE HEATHEN WRITERS.

TO

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

CHARLES II.

BY THE GRACE OF GOD

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND IRELAND,
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH,
&c. &c.

MY MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN,

THE law of nature obliging all men to advance the honour and reputation of their ancestors, I could not render a more signal obedience thereto, than by dedicating this treatise (composed purposely for the rights both of princes and subjects) to your sacred Majesty, to whom it doth most properly appertain: seeing it was at first compiled for the service and satisfaction of your royal father, of blessed memory, and by his deep judgment and singular pru-

dence thought worthy the publishing to the world.

But those cross occurrences, which then and since have obstructed it, have given it the happier opportunity of appearing in the more peaceful and prosperous reign of your excellent Majesty, and, I hope, for the confirmation of staggering loyalty in the hearts of many in these your dominions. Therefore as your Majesty's right to the patronage of this book may be termed a right of succession, so the book itself may almost challenge this noble privilege, that, being composed for, and presented to, the greatest and best of kings, it should not without a kind of diminution be dedicated to any prince in Christendom, except your Majesty's royal self.

I shall now make this my most humble suit to your Majesty, That, as the reverend author in his lifetime publicly professed his loyalty to his sovereign, and constantly prayed for your Majesty's happy and glorious return to these your kingdoms, and in all things shewed himself your loyal subject; so you would be pleased to own him as such by affording your gracious countenance to this his posthumous work; which will eternize the me-

mory of the deceased author, and thereby confer the greatest temporal blessing on

Your Majesty's

Most loyal and obedient subject,

JAMES TYRRIL.

THE PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

I. The Reader is desired to take notice, that this treatise was written by the reverend and learned author at the special command of our late gracious sovereign (of blessed memory) King Charles I., about the time when those unhappy distempers (which had been a good while before by the endeavours of some unquiet spirits secretly working under hand, and not long after broke out most desperately into a bloody and unnatural war) did first begin to appear openly in our land. As soon as the treatise was finished, the author caused a copy thereof to be fairly transcribed, and with a dedicatory epistle prefixed thereunto, to be presented to his Majesty; who, having read the book, signified his will and pleasure that it should be printed; to the end that all his beloved subjects might receive the like satisfaction from the same, as himself had done. Whereupon the author, being not then at London himself, sent up the aforesaid transcript copy thither, to the intent it should be there printed; which, notwithstanding, whether by the negligence or unfaithfulness of the party, to whose care and trust it was committed, was not done; but the copy itself finally lost, or pretended to

be lost, and so that intent frustrated. The original copy of his own hand-writing being in the mean time by the author (supposing perhaps there would be little use of it after it was printed) negligently laid aside, and so at length mingling with some other papers, it became so buried amongst those heaps of books and writings, whereof he had good store, that it never was his hap to meet with it again all his lifetime; but gave it over for lost also, as well as the transcript aforesaid, to his great grief, as he oft expressed to those that were about him: yet was it not indeed lost, but only mislaid, as after his death appeared. When they to whom it appertained to take an inventory of what he left behind him, in sorting his papers which lay disorderly and confusedly, some in one place of his study, some in another, among the rest found the first original copy of this treatise, from beginning to end, all written with his own hand; which they looked upon as a choice jewel (quantivis pretii *κειμήλιον*) and took care accordingly to preserve it, with an intention (as in duty for the performance of the will of the dead, they held themselves obliged to do) when the times would bear it, to publish it to the world for the common benefit of all those, that were able to understand it, and willing to make a good use of it.

II. But, as the times then were, the whole nation being enslaved to the will and tyranny of a monstrous usurper, it could not be either safe or seasonable so to do; in so far, that for any person only to have been known to have had such a piece in his custody, had been crime enough to have cast him under the displeasure of the most merciless tyrant, and withal the most perfect dissembler in the world: and the work itself, had it been once discovered where it lay, had been sure either to have been suppressed, and so to have perished for ever; or (which is no less probable, but had been much worse) to have been

perverted, quite contrary to the pious and loyal intention of the author, in being made instrumental to the support of his power, who having unrighteously invaded the sovereignty, was then in actual possession of the sword: for by this time the flatterers of that great tyrant had learned by a new device, upon the bare account of Providence, without respect to the justice of the title (the only right and proper foundation) to interpret and apply to his advantage, whatsoever they found either in the Scriptures or in other writings delivered concerning the power of princes or the duty of subjects, profanely and sacrilegiously taking the name of that holy providence of God in vain, and using it only as a stalking horse to serve the lusts and interests of ambitious men.

III. When by the death of that tyrant it was hoped the black cloud that hung over us would scatter, yet was the coast for all that never a whit the clearer; but the darkness rather thickened upon us, and the danger of bringing any thing of this nature to light, was much greater than before. The tyranny still continued, though under various shapes, Proteus-like, ever and anon changing forms; mock parliaments, and other (what shall we call them?) things, for which it was hard to find names to distinguish them by. The very name of monarchy meanwhile decried and exploded as a devoted and execrable thing; and (to make short) every thing posting on desperately towards anarchy, confusion and ruin.

IV. Thus lay we in darkness and in the shadow of death, heartless and hopeless; when behold Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, the eternal God, who in the beginning of the creation caused light to shine out of darkness, (to manifest at once the mightiness of his power, and the riches of his mercy and compassion, in looking upon the miseries of a foolish and unthankful people, that had so highly provoked him) appeared gloriously in the mount, and

caused the light of his favourable countenance once more to shine upon us in the midst of our greatest confusions. And all this done, since men have talked so much of Providence, who (so far as appeareth by their actions) believe nothing of it, by a special hand of Providence indeed; so signal and visible (considered in all its circumstances) as if the Lord had purposely stretched out his hand to convince the bold atheists of these times, that verily there is such a thing as they call Providence, and that doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth.

V. This so blessed and unexpected a change (mutatio dextræ excelsi) amongst many other good effects tending to the happiness of this nation (if we would but keep ourselves quiet and be thankful) hath by removing the late unhappy obstructions made a way for truth and reason, which before durst scarce peep out without a disguise, to adventure abroad open faced. Which opportunity gave me the perusal of this book, brought to my hands by a gentleman of great hopes and ingenuity, and grandchild to the reverend author, in whose custody it then was. Upon the perusal whereof, I found it so full of truth and reason, and so every way answering that expectation which the known abilities of so learned an author had beforehand raised in me, that in order to the public benefit, and for the preservation of true Christian loyalty in the hearts of all my fellow-subjects, I endeavoured what in me lay to help forward the impression. It is a thing indeed very much desired by men piously zealous of the public peace, that by the prudent care of those that are in authority, some timely and effectual provisions were made for repressing the exorbitant licentiousness both of the press and pulpit, and the suppressing of seditious sermons and pamphlets; by means whereof, thousands of well meaning souls become poisoned in their judgments,

have their affections soured towards their governors, in whom they ought to rejoice, and are themselves apt to be misled into the foulest practices of disobedience and rebellion ere they be aware. In the mean time, until some further order be taken herein, it is but needful that such treatises of this nature, as carry weight and evidence with them, should be published to the world for the settling of men's judgments and consciences aright, as concerning the great duties of Christian obedience and subjection, and for the preventing of such mischiefs as must unavoidably ensue, where those so necessary points are either misrepresented by the leaders, or misunderstood by the people.

VI. For the attaining of which ends I have great reason to believe that what is here presented to view may be as effectually conducible, as any thing that hath been written, or probably can be written (at least in this present age) by any other hand, whether we respect the work or the author. In the work itself, the diligent and impartial reader, that will but bestow his hours so profitably as to take it all before him from the beginning to the end, (besides the great variety of learning and authorities which he shall meet withal all along) will easily find all to the full made good in the treatise, whatsoever is promised in the title. And then for the author himself, it is not unknown to the world what great esteem was had of his learning and moderation, and what great respect and reverence was paid to his person and judgment by the generality even of those men, whose either judgments or interests swayed them to entertain other persuasions than he had in sundry points, as well concerning the ecclesiastical as civil government. Which truly as it is a very great advantage in itself (for in this case, as in some other things, the old saying holdeth, "Duo cum faciunt idem non est idem," and many times the value the patient

setteth upon the physician advanceth the cure almost incredibly beyond what the virtue of the ingredients would have done without it:) so this reverend primate had that advantage in a very great measure, above almost all other men in the world in his time. If some men I could name should write of "the Power of Kings," and "the Duty of Subjects," with the pen and art of men and angels, with all the evidence of truth and the greatest strength of reason imaginable, it would work no more upon one sort of men in this generation, than a charm would do upon a deaf adder. Their writings would be slighted and thrown aside, decried and condemned all with a breath, without the reading of any more than the bare title page. Of so much greater force are names than things for the heightening or lessening the authority of men's writings, with such as have suffered themselves to be engaged in parties and factions, or whose judgments are forestalled with prejudices or partial affections. But this reverend author, besides his great abilities in all kinds of profitable and polite learning, his vast reading and readiness to make use of what he had read upon all occasions, had also by his piety and regularity of life, by his meekness and moderation, by his humble, affable and free letting himself forth to all converses, together with his facility and willingness to hold fair compliances and correspondences with those he presently conversed with, gained to himself such a general reputation with all parties, that his very name carried authority with it, and awed those very men into a reverend estimation of his person and judgment, who were yet too stiff to submit to the judgments of any person but themselves.

VII. Of the author, whose worth and abilities are so well known to the world both at home and abroad, I shall not need to say any more, nor of his other works, which (without me) will sufficiently "praise him in the

gates." All the account I am to give is of this present work, which had appeared sooner in public, but that it seemed necessary to have it fairly transcribed once more, and the transcript compared with the original, before it were sent to the press, and that, for two reasons; the one, because the *αὐτόγραφον*, or first copy, being close written with many additions, interlinings and references (and those sometimes very obscure and scarce discernible) almost in every page, would so have puzzled and perplexed the workmen at the press, that it had not been possible for them to have carried on the work, without much difficulty and disturbance to themselves, and no less injury and trouble to the readers, through the multitude of mistakings and misplacings of words, sentences and quotations. The other, that the original copy might not in the whole or in any part thereof, be soiled, torn, scattered or lost, whiles it was in the printer's or corrector's hands; but that the same being preserved whole and entire might remain as a record, ready to be produced and shewn under the author's own hand, whensoever it should be required, either to justify the integrity of this publication, or to satisfy any person that may suspect forgery therein, or upon any other just occasion otherwise: for posthumous writings (because many of them are such) lie all of them under the suspicion of being spurious and supposititious, or at leastwise of being moulded, interpolated and condited to the gust and palate of the publisher. To discharge myself and all that have any hand in this publication, from all such suspicion, and clear to the world our innocence in that behalf, we thought ourselves obliged to give better security than our own bare word; that if any doubt should be made of our fidelity herein, recourse might be had to the author's undoubted original copy (reserved in his granchild's hand for that purpose) for better satisfaction herein.

VIII. Now the main design of the whole work is that which is contained in the latter part thereof, concerning "the duty of subjects:" that all the king's liege people might know they were in their consciences (both by the law of God and their own native condition) bound to hold close to their allegiance and obedience to the king's most excellent Majesty; notwithstanding all the attempts that were then endeavoured to be made upon their loyalty, under the softer notions of religion and liberty; or those fiercer assaults (which the face of affairs then threatened, and soon after ensued) of plunder and undoing. But, forasmuch as the duty which God requires of subjects is grounded upon that power which the same God hath committed to sovereigns, (as St. Paul[a] clearly deduceth the obligation of that duty from God's ordaining that power, and then men will faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey, the king, according to God's blessed word and ordinance, when they shall have duly considered whose authority he hath:) he saw it most agreeable to the laws of good method, that he should first establish the prince's power upon the right bottom, and thence demonstratively infer and enforce the subject's duty as a necessary consequence thereof: like a wise master builder laying the groundwork sure, that the structure might rise the firmer. For upon the right stating of these two questions concerning the power of sovereign princes, what it is, and whence it is, (which how exactly it is performed in the former part of this treatise I leave the intelligent reader to judge) dependeth the true decision of all such emergent differences and controversies as may arise at any time between princes and their subjects, and consequently the safety and security of both; and conse-

[a] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 1. &c.

quently to those, the peace and happiness of all kingdoms, states and commonwealths.

IX. By what hath been said, the reader will easily perceive, that it is a matter of very great and universal concernment (for both prince and people, that is, all mankind, are concerned in it) that the two points insisted upon in this treatise should be well known and rightly understood. And therefore I cannot sufficiently wonder at the inconsiderateness, or perverseness rather, of those men, if any such shall be found, (and by the pulse of the times and other indications, it is no hard matter to foresee there will be found enough such) as will take offence at the publishing hereof, or indeed of any thing else that can be written, although with never so much truth and soberness in this argument. But yet they have not all the same pretences, some quarrelling most at the persons, others at the thing itself, and some perhaps at the very circumstance of time, according as they are led along by their several passions or interests. 1. Some, who look upon the Church with an evil eye, forsomuch as not this present work only, but most of what hath been written in this kind heretofore, hath been written by the bishops or other episcopal divines, will be ready to give out, and that, according to their old wont, with confidence enough, That it is not either the love of truth, or zeal of the honour of kings, but the busy forwardness of some flattering ambitious churchmen, the more to ingratiate themselves with the higher powers, in hope to get better preferments thereby, that hath brought forth into the world so many discourses and treatises concerning the power of sovereign princes, and the obedience of subjects. 2. Others, it may be, will allege, that it is not for divines at all to meddle in these matters, whereof they are no competent judges, nor do they come within the compass of their sphere; they ought to be left to the

cognizance and determination of statesmen and lawyers, who best understand the constitution of the several governments, and the force and effect of the laws of their own several respective countries, and are therefore presumed to be best able to judge, the one (by the constitution) in whom the sovereignty resideth, and the other (by the laws) how that sovereignty is bounded and limited in the exercise thereof. 3. Besides these, whose quarrel is chiefly against the persons, there is a generation of men wholly disaffected to the thing itself; men of popular spirits, who have so far espoused certain false principles, apt to engender sedition, and utterly destructive of kingly government, that they will not easily be drawn off of them again. These taking it for an undeniable truth, which if examined to the bottom will be found so far remote from truth, that it is not within the possibility of being rendered so much as probable by any other medium, than that it hath been countenanced by some great names, that[b] the original of all government is from the people, and that the power which kings and princes have, was derived unto them from the people by way of pact or contract; would thence infer, that princes therefore can claim no more power as of right belonging unto them, than the people shall think fit to entrust them withal: which the people may from time to time, and at all times, as they shall see cause in order to the public weal and safety, either enlarge or restrain at their pleasure. Whence it will farther follow, that the prince's power, being but a precarious and ambulatory power, subject to be varied according to the exigency of times and occasions, is not capable to be comprized within any fixed rules, neither can any thing be written thereof with any certainty. 4. Nor is it improbable, lastly, that some will-

[b] A cujus voluntate jus regnandi proficiscitur. Grot. lib. 2. de jure belli, cap. 4. 10.

ing to play such small game rather than sit out, will take exceptions at the ill-timing of this publication, that discourses of this nature might possibly at the time when these things were first written by the primate, have been of some good use, towards the discovery of the iniquity and hypocrisy of the mystery of rebellion which had then begun to work, the giving a stop, or check at least, to the farther spreading thereof, and the keeping of the king's good subjects in their right wits, from falling into that apostacy from their faith and allegiance to his Majesty, into which multitudes of them, inveigled by false teachers and specious pretences, were afterwards drawn: but now that by the merciful providence and good hand of God upon us, the king is so happily restored to his just rights, and the nation thereby to their ancient laws and liberties; his supremacy so generally owned and acknowledged, and that under the sacred and religious tie of a solemn oath all over the realm; the people of the three kingdoms reduced to their former obedience, and the affairs both of Church and state put into a good forwardness of a happy and orderly resettlement, as there seemeth to be little need, so there will be made little use of this or any other writings in this kind.

X. To all which, and whatsoever objections can be made here against, it shall suffice to oppose, as a general and satisfactory answer, that one short passage of St. Paul[b]: "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." Doubtless the holy apostle, who was so far from being a flatterer or man-pleaser, from seeking, himself, his own glory, or other temporal advantage, from making merchandize of the holy Word of God, or handling it deceitfully for filthy lucre's sake, that very

[b] Tit. chap. 3. ver. 1.

often in his epistles he utterly disclaimeth such base unworthy[d] practices, as altogether unbeseeming the servant of Christ, appealing to the consciences of those that knew him, and calling in God also to witness with him, how clear he stood in that behalf; would never have given it in charge to Titus, or any other bishop or minister of the Gospel, to preach such doctrine to the people of God, had there been any thing of flattery or secular design in so doing. Nor were the times then such as could reasonably tempt any man to such flattery with hopes of preferment, (and what man, not forsaken of his wits, would play the parasite for nothing?) when as neither the Church had yet any settled revenue, nor was there at that time so much as any one Christian prince in the universal world. It is evident enough from sundry intimations scattered in all his epistles, especially those to Timothy and Titus, that the reasons of the apostle's injunction, without the least reflexion upon his own or their terrene interests, were drawn from topics of more sublime consideration: the ordinance of God, the discharge of duty and a good conscience, the advancement of the Gospel, and the honor of the Christian religion. Subjection and obedience to superiors is certainly no small part of the Christian's duty; a debt so just, and so well known to be so, that the apostle supposeth none could be utterly ignorant of; only because men generally are not so forward to perform known duties as they should be, he saw it needful they should be sometimes, and upon all just occasions, admonished and reminded thereof by their teachers.

XI. And then sure, if those teachers be divines, (and I think no sober man will deny Titus, and others by him assumed in partem curæ, to have been such) the pressing

[d] Gal. chap. 1. ver. 10. 1 Thess. chap. 2. ver. 5, 6.

of the aforesaid duties can be no unfit theme for divines to busy themselves in: unless we will affirm that St. Paul meant to put a task upon them, altogether excentric from their function and calling. It appertaineth to the minister's office, not only to declare the will of God to the people circa res agendas, (as well as credendas) to the intent they may frame their lives and actions accordingly; but also to "stir up their minds by way of remembrance," and to charge upon their consciences the performance of every duty they owe either to God or men. Which is needful to be done in the particulars we now treat of (viz. subjection and obedience to lawful authority) with as much diligence, vigour and instance, as almost in any other particular duty whatsoever; because through the corruption of nature and the pride of men's spirits, the greatest part of mankind are tarda nomina, such debtors as will abide calling on, not willing to pay more than needs must, nor that but with some grudging. But how shall the minister be able to do this with authority[e]? or, how shall he secure himself and his endeavours the mean while from scorn and contempt, if he shall not be able first competently to convince the persons he is to deal withal, that such subjection and obedience is their bounden duty? For vain it is to think, that empty words should have any strong operation upon the wills and affections of men in any thing required to be done of them, without representing to their understandings somewhat to make the proposal seem reasonable. And then, forasmuch as the obligation to those duties in inferiors ariseth from, and is commensurate unto, that power wherewith superiors are entrusted, (as hath been partly already shewn) the most proper and rational course that can be taken to persuade men effectually to the performance of those

[e] *μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς.* Tit. chap. 2. ver. 15.

duties, is by informing them rightly and clearly, what that power is, and whence it is derived.

XII. True it is, that for the more ease of the governors, and better satisfaction of the people, in securing their properties, preserving peace among them, and doing them justice, the absolute and unlimited sovereignty which princes have by the ordinance of God, hath at all times and in all nations been diversely limited and bounded in the ordinary exercise thereof, by such laws and customs as the supreme governors themselves have consented unto and allowed. As with us in England, there are sundry cases wherein a subject, in maintenance of his right and property, may wage law with the king, bring his action and have judgment against him in open court; and the judges in such case are bound by their oaths and duties to right the party according to law, against the king as well as against the meanest of his subjects. And it is very true also, that where any controversy ariseth about meum and tuum, or suit groweth between the king and one or more of his subjects, (as it may be about some tenure, grant, privilege, usage, or other thing) the debating and determining of every such doubt or controversy belongeth to the learned lawyers and reverend judges, who are presumed to be best skilled in the laws and customs of the land, as their proper study wherein they are daily conversant; and not to divines, who, as divines, are no competent judges in such matters, nor do they come within the compass of their sphere. All this therefore must be granted; yet is not the divine hereby wholly excluded from having his part, and that proper and peculiar to him, even in the nicest law cases; so far as they relate to morality and practice in point of conscience. For human laws cannot be the adequate measure of moral duty in the judgment of any reasonable man, (for atheists, though masters of never so much

reason, I reckon not of as reasonable men) the laws being finite and fixed, but the circumstances of men's actions, on which their lawfulness and unlawfulness chiefly dependeth, various and infinite. The laws allow (and of necessity so must) many things to be done, which an honest man would be loath to do; and affordeth sundry advantages, which one that feareth God, and maketh conscience of his ways, ought not to take. As then, when the whole business under consideration is perfectly stated, with all the material circumstances thereunto belonging, as to matter of fact, if any doubt arise what in such case may be done or not done in point of law, wise men use to take the advice and direction of their learned council skilled in the laws: in like manner, if any doubt arise, what, in the same case so stated as before, is fit to be done or not done in point of conscience; whence can any man seek for resolution and instruction so properly and rationally, as from the mouth of a learned, grave and sober divine? "The[f] priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth."

XIII. Whether what I have now last insisted upon will be taken for a digression or not, is at the reader's courtesy, and as he will interpret it. To me it seemed not pertinent enough to the objection, and somewhat needful also to be taken notice of, in regard of the great clamour raised against churchmen for thrusting their sickle in every man's corn; by those men, who, it seemeth, have not considered, or not with an equal eye, how busily and magisterially men of other professions adventure into the world their bold dictates, not only in matters concerning church discipline and government, but even in the deepest points of polemical and school divinity. But otherwise, and as in relation to the present treatise, I

[f] Mal. chap. 2. ver. 7.

confess it might well enough have been spared. Wherein the reverend author, without meddling with these punctilios of the law, undertaketh no more but to declare and assert the power of sovereign princes, as the godly fathers and councils of the ancient Catholic Church from the evidence of holy Scripture, and the most judicious heathen writers by discourse of reason from the light of nature, have constantly taught and acknowledged the same: as to the unprejudiced reader by the perusal of the book itself will easily appear. And it must be a strange perverseness of spirit in any person, whosoever he be, that shall affirm such an undertaking by a divine, to be a stretching himself beyond the lines and measure of his calling.

XIV. And as for the sovereignty, be it as it will be with other states and commonwealths in regard of their constitution: to us of this nation it is so evident, where it resideth, that we need not to have recourse to statesmen or lawyers for information in that point. The known laws of the land have declared it so fully, and particularly the oath of supremacy expressed it so clearly, that any man of ordinary capacity may understand it as well as the deepest statesman in the world. That which some talk of, a mixed monarchy, (which by the way is an arrant bull, a contradiction in adjecto, and destroyeth itself;) and others dream of such a co-ordination in the government, as was hatched amidst the heat of the late troubles, but never before heard of in our land: are in very truth no better than senseless and ridiculous fancies. Which although some men have framed to themselves out of their own vain imaginations, made them as gay as they could, and then set them up as idols to be adored by the populace, always apt to admire what they understand not; yet are they not able to stand up in the presence of that oath, but must fall flat to the ground before it, as Dagon

before the Ark, and be broken all to pieces. Are not the words of the oath ("That the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm," &c.) as plain and obvious to every man's understanding, as the wit of man can devise? and ought not every oath to be sworn and taken, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the words, wherein it is expressed and administered? It were an inexcusable tyranny in the state, to the ensnaring of the consciences of many thousands of well-meaning and loyal subjects, to require that oath to be taken in such a form of words, if it were to be understood in any other sense than those words literally import, and that sense not made known to them by some public declaration or other. For then how could such an oath be sworn and taken (as every oath ought to be) "in[g] truth, and judgment, and righteousness?"

XV. As for those, in the next place, that would derive the original of all government from the people by way of pact or contract: it may suffice to say that they take that for granted which never yet was proved, nor, I dare say, will ever be proved while the world standeth, either from Scripture, reason, or history. Jus gladii, the right and power of the sword (which is really the sovereign power) belongeth we know to kings, but, it is "by[h] the ordinance of God," not the donation of the people: for "he[i] beareth the sword, (St. Paul telleth us) as God's[i] minister," from whom he received it; and not as the people's minister, who had no right to give it, because they never had it themselves. If any shall say they had, the proof lieth on their part, to shew how they came by it: whether God gave it them, or they took it themselves.

[g] Jer. chap. 4. ver. 2.
[h] Τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ. Rom. chap. 13. ver. 2.
[i] Θεοῦ διάκονος. Rom. chap. 13. ver. 4.

If God gave it them, let it be made appear when and where the first grant was made; let some evidence be produced to justify the claim, or at least, some credible testimony, or pregnant presumption to render it probable that there was some such thing done, though the records be lost. If none of all this can be done, it remaineth that if they had it they took it. And if they so did, it was saucily and sacrilegiously done at the first; and by our Saviour's presage[k], like enough to prosper with them accordingly at the last.

XVI. Besides, the supposed contract itself is encumbered with so many doubts and difficulties, that it is not possible for the wit of man to devise salvos or expedients sufficient to rescue it from infinite entanglements and irreconcilable contradictions; I believe it would trouble the ablest of them all that hold this opinion, to give a direct satisfactory answer (amongst a world of queres more that might be tendered) to these following interrogatories: first, for the persons contracting; of what sort of persons did the people, who are supposed to have made the first contract in this kind, consist? Were all, without difference of age, sex, condition, or other respect, promiscuously admitted to drive the bargain or not? Had women, and children, and servants, and mad men, and fools, the freedom of suffrage, as well as men of age, and fortunes, and understanding? Or were any of them excluded? If any excluded, who excluded them? by whose order, and by what authority was it done? and who gave them that authority? If all were admitted, whether with equal right to every one, or with some inequality? Was the wife's interest towards making up the bargain equal with that of her husband? and the child's with that of his parents? and the servant's (if there were or could be then any

[k] Matt. chap. 26. ver. 52.

such thing as master and servant) with that of his master? If every one had not an equal share and interest in the business, whence did the inequality arise? who made the difference between them? and what right had any man, and how came he to have that right, to give more or less power to one than another? If all were equal, who could summon the rest to convene together? or appoint the day and place of meeting? or when they were met take upon him the authority and office of regulating their proceedings, of presiding or moderating in the assembly, of determining such doubts and differences as might arise while matters were under debate, of calculating the voices, and drawing up the articles of the agreement, in case they should agree?

XVII. But let us imagine all these could be cleared, and the contract made as they would have it; yet would the force and obligation of it remain questionable still: for it may be demanded, whether the majority of votes shall conclude all that are present, dissenters as well as others? And whether by virtue of an act of those upon the place, an obligation shall lie upon such as are casually absent or willingly absent themselves, when it was free for them so to do, no man having power to require their appearance? And whether a contract made by such persons, as were at liberty before, can debar those that shall succeed them in the next generation from the use of that liberty their ancestors had and enjoyed? If so, by what law or right are the said respective persons so concluded? and whence should that obligation spring? None of these things look like the dictates of the law of nature, and other law besides that (according to our hypothesis) when as yet there was no government, there could be none. And the contract itself, as a bare contract, without the help of some law or other to give it force, cannot operate upon any but the contractors; it cannot have any cogency upon those that never gave consent thereunto.

XVIII. Besides these, and I know not how many more difficulties no less insoluble, one thing there is which puzzleth the men of this opinion very much, and wherewith a man that were so disposed might make himself some sport: to wit, the circle, between property and government, which they have conjured themselves into, and wherein they run round even unto giddiness, (like men in a maze or labyrinth) not knowing which way to get out. That which some have said, because, when they are put to it, they must say something, viz.: "That dominion and property is in order of nature before government," be it true or be it false, as to their purpose signifieth nothing; unless it could be made out that they were before it in order of time also. This dispute is not much unlike that problem in Macrobius, "Ovumne prius fuerit, an gallina?" Whether were first the hen or the egg? We cannot imagine there could be a hen, but we must suppose there must have been an egg first, out of which that hen must have been hatched: neither can we imagine there could be an egg, but we must suppose there must have been a hen first, to lay that egg. Semblably here, we cannot imagine property, but we must suppose some government first; because the right which any man hath to that wherein he claimeth a property must accrue to him by some law, and that supposeth government: nor can we imagine a government, one of the principal ends whereof is the preservation of men's properties who live together in one society, but we must suppose that there were first such properties to be so preserved. True it is, that a mere rationalist, (that is to say in plain English, an atheist of the late edition) who giveth more faith to such heathen philosophy, as affirmeth the world to have been ab æterno, than to divine revelation, which assureth us it had a beginning; (and some of the great champions of the opinion we now speak of, have given cause enough of

suspicion that they are little better :) such a one, I say, cannot possibly get out of the circle, or solve the difficulty in either of the aforesaid instances : but to us, who believe the Scriptures and acknowledge a creation, the solution of both is equally easy. If we will but follow the clue of the sacred history in the four first chapters of Genesis, it will fairly lead us out of these labyrinths in a plain way, and without any great trouble. It is certain that God in their first creation made all living creatures, each in their kind, in the full state and perfection of their nature ; and thence we may conclude, that undoubtedly the hen was before the egg. And it is no less certain, that as soon as Adam was created, God gave to him as an universal monarch, not only dominion over all his fellow creatures that were upon the face of the earth, but the government also of all the inferior world, and of all the men that after should be born into the world so long as he lived ; so as whatsoever property any other persons afterwards had or could have, in any thing in any part of the world, (as Cain and Abel, it is well known, had their properties in several, and distinct either from other) they held it all of him, and had it originally by his gift or assignment, either immediately or mediately. Whence we may also conclude, both in hypothesi, that Adam's government was before Cain's property ; and in thesi, that undoubtedly government was before property. And we have great reason to believe that, after the flood, the sole government was at first in Noah, and whatsoever either property in any thing they possessed in several, or share in the government over any part of the world afterward any of his sons had, they had it by his sole allotment and authority, and transmitted the same to their posterity merely upon that account ; without awaiting the election or consent of, or entering into any articles or capitulations with the people that were to be governed by them. Those words in Genesis,

chap. 10. ver. 32. seem to import as much: "These are the families of the sons of Noah after their generations in their nations: and by them were the nations divided in the earth after the flood." And so this supposed pact or contract, which maketh such a noise in the world, proveth to be but a squib, powder without shot, that giveth a crack, but vanisheth into air and doth no execution.

XIX. That last, from the ill-timing of the publication, is so poor an objection that it is scarce worth the answering. Subjection and obedience to superiors, besides that they are duties of perpetual obligation, equally with all those mentioned together with them in that fore-cited passage of the apostle[1], are also (as hath been said) of so great public concernment otherwise, and withal so little looked upon as duties by the most of men, that the pressing upon the people's consciences the performance thereof whether by word or writing, cannot with any pretence of reason be deemed unseasonable at any time. Nor hath the great mercy of God vouchsafed to these nations in the happy and little less than miraculous restoration of our gracious sovereign to his father's throne, or the general alacrity of our people in owning his sovereignty, rendered the truths in this treatise asserted any whit less necessary to be taught and known as the times now are, than in the times of our late sad troubles and distractions. As will be easily yielded by all such, as either have diligently observed the temper and carriage of the most active men of these times, or shall duly take into consideration, amongst many other things which might be added, these few ensuing particulars:—

1. The desperate principles and resolutions of Quakers, Fifth-monarchy men, and other enthusiastic sectaries, of what denomination soever, who utterly refuse to take the

[1] Tit. chap. 3. ver. 1, 2.

oath of supremacy; and what multitudes in a few years, for want of timely coercion, they are increased into in all parts of the land.

2. How strangely some of those that have taken the said oath (and they a far more considerable party than the former) do yet seek to mince it, by such an interpretation of the word *only*, as quite destroyeth the force of it, and leaveth a gap open for any rebellious attempt to enter, that shall offer so to do.

3. That the ministers of that party, who, in their prayers before and after sermon, do not usually shew themselves over studious of brevity, are generally observed when they pray for the king, (whether for fear of offending their grandees, or as a discriminating character or shibboleth, whereby to distinguish themselves from men of different principles from them, or for whatever other reason it is) to omit in reciting his Majesty's royal titles that clause which in former and peaceable times was generally used, " in all causes and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal in his dominions Supreme Governor."

4. With what boldness some of the said ministers do, in their ordinary prayers and sermons, openly asperse the king and his government? and with what cunning other some of them do covertly and glancingly inject suspicions into the minds and thoughts of their credulous auditors concerning the same; by these means to beget in the people an opinion (to which the common sort are as easily persuaded as to any other thing in the world) that they are not so well governed as they should be? The old experimented artifice by which Absolom stole away the hearts of the people from their allegiance.

5. What endeavours have been used, that the encroachments made upon the regalities, by such advantages as

the late king's either necessities or condescensions ministered, should still continue? and that all public actings, from the beginning of the long Parliament till the year 1648. (whereof it were a miracle if some, whilst the dispute was so hot, were not illegal enough, and unprecedented) should be avowed and justified?

6. What a world of wicked pamphlets, sermons, and other treatises full of most dangerous and seditious positions, have been sent abroad within these few last years, vented and dispersed through all the parts of the kingdom, and lie still upon the stalls, and in the shops free for any man that list to buy?

When all this, and some other things (which, to avoid the provoking of some unpeaceable spirits, I forbear to mention) are notorious of themselves, and sufficiently known to the whole nation, let any man now say, if he can shew cause why it should be either unseasonable or unnecessary that books should be published to assert the just right and power of princes, and to remind the people of their bounden duty of subjection and obedience?

Let this learned treatise then, in the name of God, go forth and prosper, according to the pious intention of the Reverend Author now in peace, and the hearty desires and prayers of the publishers: that princes remembering from whom they have their authority, may with all faithfulness exercise it to the honour and glory of him that gave it, to the comfort, benefit and happiness of the people under their government, as the end for which it was given; and to the furtherance and advantage of their own trial at that last great day, when they are to render an account for all the power committed to their trust, and how they have administered the same. And that all subjects, duly considering whose authority their princes have, may faithfully serve, honour and humbly obey them ac-

cording to God's holy word and ordinance. So shall peace and righteousness flourish upon earth, and God shall send down his blessing both upon king and people from heaven. Even so, Amen.

ROBERT LINCOLN.

London, Dec. 31, 1660.

PART I.

OF

THE POWER

COMMUNICATED BY GOD

TO

THE PRINCE.

I. That question which our Saviour propounded, touching John's baptism, is most considerable in the point we have now in hand concerning magistracy: "Whence[a] was it? from heaven, or from men?" For if the authority of it shall be found to have no higher spring than this earth, the streams of our obedience will be raised to no higher a pitch than that fountain: but if the descent thereof shall appear to be derived from heaven, a "necessity[b] of subjection" to it will arise, "not for fear of punishment alone, but for conscience sake," and that duty which we owe unto God Almighty.

II. That John's baptism was "from heaven" we are sure, because "the[c] word of God came unto him," by virtue whereof he was "sent[d] to baptize with water:" the

[a] Matt. chap. 21. ver. 25.

[b] Διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. Rom. cap. 13. ver. 5.

[c] Luke, chap. 3. ver. 2.

[d] John, chap. 1. ver. 33.

baptism in that respect being not properly to be accounted his, but God's; and he openly to be esteemed God's minister therein. Even so for magistrates, our Saviour declareth that God was pleased to grace them with his own name, because "the[e] word of God came unto them," that is, his appointment and commandment, that they should rule in his name, in his room. Whereupon they also are recommended unto us as "God's[f] ministers," and their judgments as his judgments; witness that charge given to the Judges by Moses, "You[g] shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's;" and by king Jehosaphat after him, "Take[h] heed what ye do, ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment." And therefore as "the wisdom of God said, I will send them prophets" (among whom there was "none[k] greater than John the Baptist;") so the wisdom of the same God also said, "By[l] me kings reign, and princes decree justice; by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth." All of them, whether supreme or subordinate, whether within or without Christ's Church: for unto all of them belongeth that divine sentence delivered by St. Paul: "Let[m] every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

III. Neither doth St. Peter any whit swerve herein from his "beloved brother Paul," and "the wisdom given unto him," when he requireth us "to[o] submit ourselves to every ordinance of man," or, as the original hath it, "to every human creature, for the Lord's sake." Of which place we find divers and various expositions; the first whereof, and not the worst, is that of the old Syriac

[e] John, chap. 10. ver. 35.
[f] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 4. 6.
[g] Deut. chap. 1. ver. 17.
[h] 2 Chron. chap. 19. ver. 6.
[i] Luke, chap. 11. ver. 49.
[k] Ibid. chap. 7. ver. 28.
[l] Prov. chap. 8. ver. 15, 16.
[m] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 1, 2.
[n] 2 Pet. chap. 3. ver. 15.
[o] Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον. 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 13.

interpreter, who thus renders it: "Be subject to all the sons of men for God;" or, as the framers of our book of Common Prayer (in the epistle appointed to be read the third Sunday after Easter) seem to have expressed it: "Submit yourselves to every man for the Lord's sake;" taking man there *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*, for a man in authority, as in Genesis, chap. 9. ver. 6. For the clearer understanding whereof we are first to note, that the writers of the New Testament being Jews, do ordinarily frame their Greek according to the usage of their own language; and that the Hebrews do usually design mankind by the name of בריות, which in his proper signification denoteth the creatures of God in general, but is by them in a peculiar manner appropriated to man, the noblest of the rest. Among the innumerable examples which might be produced out of the rabbins for the proof of this, I will make choice of this one sentence of Rabbi Jeremiah (one of their ancient doctors) recited in Rabba bar Nachman[p] in his great Gloss upon Deuteronomy, for the matter's sake which may otherwise serve also unto the purpose which we have now in hand, אן בריה דן המלך אלא הקדוש ברוך הוא. "No creature may judge the king but the holy and blessed God alone." So, answerable to this, in the New Testament, St. Mark doth thus express the tenor of the commission given by our Saviour to his apostles, "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to[q] every creature:" and St. Paul declareth the execution thereof, that the Gospel was accordingly preached to "every[r] creature which is under heaven;" the word *κτίσις*, or creature, in both places denoting man only.

IV. Next, it is to be observed, that to those general terms which are applied in a special manner to the more excellent sort of the same kind, for better distinction's sake, it is not unusual to add an epithet, whereby the restriction thereof to the intended particular may be more clearly

[p] דברים רבה. Seder שופטים page 296. b. edit. Cracov.
[q] *Πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει.* Mark, chap. 16. ver. 15.
[r] *Ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν.* Coloss. chap. 1. ver. 23.

understood. Take for example the word נפש, or soul, the native signification whereof in the Hebrew tongue (and so of ψυχὴ in the Greek answering thereunto) neither descendeth so low as to comprehend the vegetables under it, nor riseth so high, that of itself it should only denote the rational: but in the middle kind of way betwixt both, properly doth signify that which the Greeks call ζῶον, the Latins *animal*, a creature endued with life and sense: that of the Latins being more immediately imported by the word נפש itself, which is *anima*; the other of the Greek by the adjective חוה living, which for further explication's sake we sometimes[s] find adjoined to it. Yet we see withal, that κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or, by way of excellency, man in particular is presented unto us by those generals, both of living, (as when Eve is said to be "the[t] mother of all living") and of soul; a name whereby he is as ordinarily set out unto us by the holy[u] writers, as he is by בריה or creature, by the rabbins. But as the word נפש being in itself indifferent to signify both[x] man and beast, is sometimes for better distinction's sake accompanied with the addition of [y]נפש אדם which is as much as ψυχὴ ἀνθρωπίνη, or, an human soul; so the more general word κτίσις, or creature, being applied the same way, might very well here be thought to have the adjective ἀνθρωπίνη, or human, conjoined with it; though for the matter nothing at all were thereby added unto it, the one word being only an explication of the other.

V. Lastly, it may be considered, that the sentences delivered in general terms are not always intended to be taken in their full latitude, but to have their commodious

[s] Gen. chap. 9. ver. 10. Lev. chap. 11. ver. 46. which Rev. chap. 16. ver. 3. is ψυχὴ ζῶσα.

[t] Gen. chap. 3. ver. 20.

[u] Gen. chap. 36. ver. 6. Exod. chap. 12. ver. 16. Num. chap. 19. ver. 18. 22. Deut. chap. 10. ver. 22. (with Acts, chap. 7. ver. 14.) Jerem. chap. 43. ver. 6. 1 Pet. chap. 3. ver. 20. and in that very place, Rom. chap. 13. "Let every soul," that is, every man, "be subject to the higher powers."

[x] Num. chap. 21. ver. 28.

[y] Num. chap. 31. ver. 35. 40. 1 Chron. chap. 5. ver. 21. Ezek. chap. 27. ver. 13.

restrictions, according to the quality and nature of the matter in hand: as, not to go further, in this self-same chapter of St. Peter, we are required to "honour[z] all men;" where yet we are not to think the apostle meant, that masters thereby are tied to honour their servants, or would any way oppose that which by David was delivered for a character of God's child: "In[a] whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear the Lord:" but as Cajetan well expoundeth the place, "Honour all men" that is, "every[b] one according to his degree and merit." As therefore that general rule of his must be limited by that special explication thereof delivered by St. Paul: "Give[c] to all men their due, honour to whom honour is due:" so likewise this other precept of subjecting ourselves to all men, must receive the same restriction; as if it had been said, "be subject to all men to whom subjection is due," and that for God, and the conscience of the duty you owe unto him, who hath put you in subjection under them. Which differeth very little from the exposition given by Bede here: "Every[d] human creature, he saith, meaning every dignity of men, every person, every principality, to which the divine ordinance would have us subject; for that is it which he intendeth by saying, for God, because there is no power but from him alone."

VI. David Pareus (although otherwise no very great friend to the supreme power of kings) yet putteth us here in mind, that the "word[e] *κτίσις* used in this text, doth lead

[z] 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 17.

[a] Psalm 15. ver. 4.

[b] Unumquemque secundum gradum et ordinem. Caj. in 1 Pet. cap. 2. ver. 17.

[c] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 7.

[d] "Omni humanæ creaturæ, dicit, omni dignitati hominum, omni personæ, omni principatui, cui nos divina dispositio subdi voluerit; hoc est enim quod ait, propter Deum, quia non est potestas nisi a Deo." Beda in 1 Pet. cap. 2. "Subditi estote omni humanæ creaturæ," id est, omnibus hominibus nobis præpositis. Haymo, in Rom. cap. 13.

[e] "*Κτίσεως* appellatio ad Deum primum authorem nos revocat. Etsi enim magistratus creari, hoc est, ordinari etiam ab hominibus dicuntur, tamen eorum

us to the consideration of God, the prime author of magistracy: For though magistrates", thus his words run, "are said to be created, that is ordained, by men, yet their first creator properly is God alone, unto whom only all creation primarily doth appertain." For the fuller explication of which conception, these observations following may be taken into consideration; First, that this word *κτίσις* doth signify either a creation or a creature; by both which the holy writers (whose manner of speaking is here more to be respected than the language of any other authors) do express the work, not of any mortal man, but of the Almighty and ever-living God: for him alone, as the prime efficient of all, the Scripture honoureth with the style of Creator: and the answerable effect both of creation, as *motus*, and creature, as *res motu facta*, it ascribeth to him alone.

VII. Secondly, that this in the Scripture is not restrained to the first creation of all things only, but extended likewise to the works of God's providence, whether wrought by himself immediately, or by the intervention of other secondary causes. So the propagation of the species by the means of natural generation is accounted a continued creation; and God's[f] blessings and judgments upon mankind, though others be used as his instruments in the effecting thereof, are said by him likewise to be created. "I[g] form the light," saith he, "and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things. I[h] have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy." In which sense also the son of Syrach affirmeth "husbandry[i] to be created by the most High;" both because the thing itself was at first ordained by him, and for the necessary upholding thereof

creator primus proprie est solus Deus, cui soli omnis creatio primo competit." D. Pareus in appendice commentar. ad cap. Roman. dubio 3.

[f] Psalm 102. ver. 18. and Psalm 104. ver. 30. Ezek. chap. 21. ver. 30. and chap. 28. ver. 13. 15.

[g] Isaiah, chap. 45. ver. 7.

[h] Ibid. chap. 54. ver. 16.

[i] *Γεωργίαν ὑπὸ ὑψίστου ἐκτισμένην.* Ecclus. chap. 7. ver. 16.

by the industry of the husbandman, "his[k] God doth instruet him and doth teaeh him."

VIII. Thirdly, that St. Peter by "every human ereature" intendeth to signify here, not things but persons; as is manifest by the division subjoined "whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors," &e. for the expressing whereof the term of ereature is far more proper than either that of ereation, or that of ordinanee.

IX. Fourthly, that as man, who by God's ordinance was appointed to have dominion[l] over the other ereatures, hath by way of excelleney (as we have heard) the name of *κτίσις*, or ereature, attributed unto him, as bearing therein a peculiar stamp[m] of the image of his Creator: so among men themselves, sueh as by God's appointment are advanced to the dignity of bearing rule over others, by like proportion may in a more special manner have the word creature appropriated unto them, as carrying a deeper impression of this image[n], and likewise of their Creator, by that power whieh it hath pleased him to grant them, even over those to whom "over[o] the other works of his hands he hath given dominion."

X. Fifthly, that sueh a ereature may very properly for distinction's sake obtain the name of *ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις*, as God's espeeial ereature among and over men. "For as "every[p] priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer gifts and

[k] Isaiah, chap. 21. ver. 16.

[l] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 26. 28.

> Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ
> Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset;
> Natus homo est.—Ovid. Met.

[m] Τὸ *κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦτο ἐστιν, ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς βασιλεύει ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἄρχει, καὶ ἐξουσιάζει πάντων τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τῇ γῇ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς καθέστηκε πάντων τῶν ἐπιγείων πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτεξουσίως ὃ βούλεται πράττει, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Θεός.* Author. quæst. 55. oper. Athan. tom. 2. pag. 320.

[n] "*Εἰκὼν εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰκόνα διὰ χειρὸς ἄγεις.* Thou art the image of God, and the image of God dost thou also lead and govern," saith Gregory Nazianzen to the president of his country. Orat. 17. ad cives timore perculsos.

[o] Psalm 8. ver. 6.

[p] Heb. chap. 5. ver. 1.

sacrifices for sins;" so every civil magistrate also taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to men, "that[q] they may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." Whereupon the full meaning of the apostle Peter in this place should be: "Submit yourselves to every creature," or to every man[r], who is a creature constituted by God among and over men; "for the Lord's sake," whose creature he is in that place of authority.

XI. Calvin[s], Beza[t], and other of our later interpreters, do thus far also deliver their opinion, that the order of civil government is here called "an human ordinance," not because men invented it, but because it is proper to men; or (if you will have it in Pareus his expression) the apostle calleth magistracy "an[u] human ordinance or creation, not causally, as if it were devised by men, or brought in only by the fancy of men; but subjectively, because it is administered by men; and objectively, because it is exercised about the government of human society; and finally, in respect of the end, because it is appointed by God for the good of man, and the preservation of human society."

[q] 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 2.

[r] Which kind of enallage, whereby an adjective is put substantively, hath been observed in St. Peter not unusual, as namely in the second verse of this chapter, we translate "*τὸ λογικὸν γάλα*, the milk of the word," or "the word which is milk;" and in the seventh verse of the chapter following, "*ὡς ἀσθενεστέρῳ τῷ γυναικείῳ ἀπονέμοντες τιμὴν*, giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel."

[s] Humana dicitur ordinatio, non quod humanitus inventa fuerit, sed quod propria hominum est digesta et ordinata vivendi ratio." Calvin. in 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 13.

[t] "Humanam vocat, non quod humanitus sit excogitata, (est enim hæc quoque donum Dei præclarum, ut Demosthenes etiam ipse testatur) sed quod hominum sit propria, ut recte observat doctissimus interpres." Beza in 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 13.

[u] "Humanam ordinationem vocat apostolus magistratum, non causaliter, quod sit ab hominibus excogitata, et hominum tantum libidine invecta; sed subjective, quia ab hominibus geritur; et objective, quia circa gubernationem humanæ societatis versatur; et denique *τελικῶς*, quia ad hominis bonum et conversationem humanæ societatis a Deo est constituta." D. Pareus in append. comment. in Rom. cap. 13. dub. 3.

XII. But let us admit too that it were so called "an human ordinance" causally; because the particular forms of government were instituted by the choice and counsel of man, and the particular form of the creation of the governors were in man's appointment; as if the apostle had said, "Submit yourselves unto your governors, by what ordinance or human creation soever they do hold that government, whether by succession, election, or howsoever;" yet, when with the very same breath he requireth this subjection to be performed "διὰ τὸν Κύριον, for God," or "the Lord's sake," he doth clearly intimate, that God is to be acknowledged the principal, though man be the instrumental, cause of their institution.

XIII. The ministers of the Gospel, we see, receive their ordination from man's hand, and are appointed over their several flocks by man's election; and yet it is most true withal, that "God[x] hath set them in the Church, Christ[y] hath given" them, and "over[z] all the flock the holy Ghost hath made them overseers:" with whom our Saviour having promised "to[a] be alway, even unto the end of the world," as he was at the beginning with those first master-builders, which were apostles "not[b] of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father;" that which he speaketh of the first appertaineth no less unto the last: "He[c] that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me."

XIV. The wife, we know, maketh choice of her husband, and the mutual consent of the parties makes up the matrimony; yet God it is that "joineth[d] them both together:" and the conjunction being once made, the wife by virtue thereof standeth bound to "submit[e] herself unto her own husband as to the Lord." And as God by saying to our

[x] 1 Cor. chap. 12. ver. 28.
[y] Ephes. chap. 4. ver. 11.
[z] Acts, chap. 20. ver. 28.
[a] Matt. chap. 28. ver. 20.
[b] Gal. chap. 1. ver. 1.
[c] Luke, chap. 10. ver. 16. with John, chap. 13. ver. 20.
[d] Matt. chap. 19. ver. 6.
[e] Ephes. chap. 5. ver. 22.

first mother Eve: "Thy[f] desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee," (as the apostle out of that law infers) commanded woman to "be[g] in subjection," and thereby established an headship in every single family: so, after the posterity of Eve began to be distinguished into families, the same God, by using the like speech to Cain concerning his brother Abel, "Unto[h] thee shall be his desire, and thou[i] shalt rule over him," may seem to have constituted a principality in one man over divers families, and thereby laid the foundation of political government; the kingdom (as it appeareth by the ordinary[k] practice of the succeeding times) together with the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power, (the two peculiar characters thereof) being an honour that descended upon the first-born and not upon the younger brother.

XV. Although it may not be denied, but that (without any such special direction) the very light of nature would have enforced men at first to conjoin many families into one body of a civil society, and to submit themselves to the government of some superior: for, otherwise a dissolution of mankind would quickly ensue, and all come to ruin. To this purpose among the Hebrews that of Rabbi Hananiah, one of their chief priests, is much remembered: "Pray[l] for the peace," or prosperity, "of the kingdom; for, if it were not for fear of authority, every one would swallow down quick his neighbour:" which is but an explication of that which a far better author long before delivered touching the Babylonian monarchy, (which was adverse to the religion of the Jews, as that under which Hananiah lived;) "Seek[m] the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." For the Christians, you may hear St. Chry-

[f] Gen. chap. 3. ver. 16.

[g] 1 Cor. chap. 14. ver. 34.

[h] Gen. chap. 4. ver. 7.

[i] Vide D. Heinsii exercitat. sacr. lib. 7. cap. 8. in 1 Cor. cap. 11. ver. 10.

[k] Gen. chap. 49. ver. 3. 2 Chron. chap. 21. ver. 3.

[l] הוי מתפלל בשלומה של מלכות שאלמלא מוראה איש את רעהו חיים בלעו Pirke Abhoth cap. 3. sec. 2.

[m] Jer. chap. 29. ver. 7.

sostom speak: "Take[n] away the higher powers, and all goes to wreck; neither will city, nor country, nor family, nor assembly, nor ought else stand; the stronger will devour the weaker, and all things be turned upside down." And Cicero, if you please, for the heathen: "Without[o] government neither house, nor city, nor nation, nor mankind, nor nature, nor the world itself could consist."

XVI. True it is, that in several states there are admitted several forms of government, the supreme authority being somewhere[p] placed in the person of one, which maketh a monarchy; otherwhere in some of the chief, which they call an aristocracy; and somewhere in the whole body of the people, from whence ariseth a democracy. Likewise of monarchs themselves, some come in by election, some by hereditary succession: and in all these governments the subordinate magistrates are raised, either by the immediate appointment of the supreme, or by the election of such persons or corporations as they are pleased to communicate that power unto.

XVII. If this be so, and that nature seeketh always to preserve itself, we may justly conclude, that magistracy is rooted in the law of nature, and so in the author of nature, that is, God himself. To which purpose, for the general, it is noted by Plutarch, that "A[q] governor politic is by nature always the prince of the commonwealth, as the master bee is amongst the

[n] *Κᾂν ἀνέλῃς τὰς ἀρχὰς, πάντα οἰχήσεται· καὶ οὐ πόλεις, χώρα, οὐκ οἰκία, οὐκ ἀγορὰ, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν στήσεται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀνατραπήσεται, τῶν δυνατοτέρων τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους καταπινόντων.* Chrysost. in epist. ad Dom. homil. 23. tom. 9. pag. 688. Vide etiam tom. 5. pag. 496. tom. 12. pag. 311. tom. 2. pag. 74.

[o] "Sine imperio nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest." Cic. 3. de legib. in initio.

[p] "Cunctas nationes et urbes, aut populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt." Tacit. annal. lib. 4. *Ἀνάγκη δ᾽ εἶναι κύριον ἢ ἕνα, ἢ ὀλίγους, ἢ τοὺς πολλούς.* Aristot. Polit. lib. 3. cap. 5.

[q] *Φύσει μὲν οὖν ἄρχων ἀεὶ πόλεως ὁ πολιτικὸς, ὥσπερ ἡγεμὼν ἐν μελίτταις.* Plutarch. in præcept. gerend. reip.

bees:" and by Aristides, that "All[r] governors are by nature superior to those that are under their command;" that "This[s] is a law set by nature, that the inferior should yield obedience to the superior; and if any man should account the abrogation of this law to be a sign of liberty, he did deceive himself; the[t] law of nature being hereby inverted, which requireth us to yield unto the eminency of our superiors, and to live according to the direction of our governors." And for the regal authority in particular, Seneca doth tell us, that "Nature[u] did first find out a king:" Polybius, that "Without[w] any art, and by the guidance of nature itself a monarchy was first of all constituted:" Diotogenes the Pythagorean, that "Of[x] those which by nature are most honorable, the best indeed is God, but upon earth and among men, the king:" Yea, and Aristotle himself too, that "By[y] nature not only the father hath the rule over his children, but also the king over those who are within his kingdom."

XVIII. But however in the constitution of these man's hand may be an instrument, yet being once constituted, whether supreme or subordinate, in all of them we must respect the commission received by them from the founder of "all rule, authority and power" at the beginning, and the[z] resumer thereof into his own hands

[r] Πάντες μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες φύσει κρείττους τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς. Aristid. in orat. Platon. 1. tom. 3. edit. Græco-Lat. in 8. pag. 76.

[s] Νόμος γάρ ἐστιν οὗτος φύσει κείμενος, ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων καταδειχθεὶς ἀκούειν τὸν ἥττω τοῦ κρείττονος· κἂν τις ἐλευθερίας σύμβολον ποιῆται τὸ διαφθείρειν τὸν νόμον, αὐτὸν ἐξαπατᾷ. Aristid. in orat. de concordia ad Rhodios, tom. 2. pag. 391.

[t] Ὅτι ἀξιοῖς μεταβάλλειν τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ὑπερβολὴν ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὸ ἡγούμενον. Aristid. in orat. de Paraphthegm. tom. 3. pag. 673, 674.

[u] "Natura commenta est regem." Senec. de Clemen. lib. 1. cap. 19.

[w] Πρώτον μὲν οὖν ἀκατασκεύως καὶ φυσικῶς συνίσταται μοναρχία. Polyb. hist. lib. 6.

[x] Τῶν μὲν φύσει τιμιωτάτων ἄριστον ὁ Θεὸς, τῶν δὲ περὶ γᾶν καὶ τὼς ἀνθρώπως ὁ βασιλεύς. Diotog. apud Stobeum, serm. 46.

[y] Φύσει τε γὰρ ἀρχηγὸς πατὴρ υἱῶν, καὶ πρόγονος ἐκγόνων, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευομένων. Arist. Ethic. Nicomach. lib. 8. cap. 13.

[z] I Cor. chap. 15. ver. 24.

again at the end of the world; both because "We[a] make those things our own unto which we impart our authority;" and because in all power established upon earth there is represented unto us an image and superscription of that high eminency which is in him whom St. Paul worthily glorifieth with the style of "The[b] blessed and ONLY Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; who ONLY hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting." In which words it is not unworthy our observation, that the apostle nameth him the "only potentate," in the same sense that he saith, he "only hath immortality." For, as angels and the souls of men have immortality indeed, yet not originally from themselves, but by his donation who only hath it absolutely in himself, without dependence upon any other: so are there other potentates also, yet such as hold of him in chief, who hath only all fulness of power in himself, and distributeth what proportion thereof he thinketh meet to those whom he hath intrusted with the government of this world; according to the acknowledgment of King David, "Thine[c], O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all."

XIX. Why the woman ought to cover her head (that is, her face[d]) in the assembly, and not the man, St. Paul

[a] "Omnia nostra facimus quibus authoritatem nostram impertimur." Gloss. in cap. 1. extr. de præsumptionib. et cap. 1. de transactionib. ex illo Justiniani imp. in c. de vet. jur. enunt. lib. I. "Omnia merito nostra facimus, quia ex nobis omnis eis impertietur authoritas."

[b] 1 Tim. chap. 6. ver. 15, 16.

[c] 1 Chron. chap. 29. ver. 12, 13.

[d] As in Jerem. chap. 13. ver. 3, 4. Esth. chap. 6. ver. 12. and 2 Sam. chap. 15. ver. 30. with chap. 19. ver. 21. "Mitris et lanis quædam non velant caput,

giveth this for a reason: "The[e] man is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man." If we respect either those inward perfections wherewith God endowed the soul at the beginning, as knowledge[f] in the mind, "righteousness[g] and true holiness" in the will; or that outward dominion which God granted to mankind over the other creatures; it cannot be denied but male and female both were created by God "in[h] his own image." But if we consider them as they stand in mutual relation one unto the other, or as they are heads of the economical government; the man being "head[i] of the woman," is the immediate image and glory of God, but the woman is the image and glory of the man, deriving all her power and splendor from him, as the moon doth from the sun, according to that of Justinian: "The[k] wives receive lustre from their husband's rays;" and those solemn words which the women of Rome were taught to use at their nuptials, "Ubi tu Caius ego Caia," in effect this, "Where[l] thou art master, there am I to be mistress."

XX. So, (to rise higher than household government) God in Scripture is made "the[m] head of all principality and power;" both of the "principalities[n] and powers in heavenly places," whose ministry he useth in the invisible, and of the "principalities[o] and powers" here below, whose labours he employeth in the visible administration of the things of this world: unto both of which therefore he is pleased to impart as well his own name, as the title of his own children. For as angels, "the[p] chief princes," invested

sed conligant; a fronte quidem protectæ, qua proprie autem caput est, nudæ." Tertullian. de veland. virgin. cap. ult.

[e] 1 Cor. chap. 11. ver. 7.

[f] Col. chap. 3. ver. 99.

[g] Ephes. chap. 4. ver. 24.

[h] Gen. chap. 1. ver. 27.

[i] 1 Cor. chap. 11. ver. 3.

[k] *Αἱ γαμεταὶ συνεκλάμπουσι ταῖς τῶν συνοικούντων ἀκτῖσι, τοῦτο αὐταῖς τοῦ νόμου διδωκότος.* Justin. Novel. 105.

[l] *Ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποινα.* Plutarch. in quæstionib. Romanis.

[m] Col. chap. 2. ver. 12. with 1 Pet. chap. 3. ver. 22.

[n] Col. chap. 3. ver. 10.

[o] Tit. chap. 3. ver. 1.

[p] Dan. chap. 10. ver. 13.

with the glory[q] and power[r] of God, are styled gods[s], and "the sons[t] of God;" so the princes and judges of the earth have frequently the title of gods[u] in holy Writ: and in one place, of gods, and the sons of God both together. "I[w] have said, ye are gods, and all sons of the most High." Which in the Chaldee paraphrast is thus rendered: "Behold, ye are reputed as angels, and all of you as it were angels of the most High." Such affinity in this respect there is between[x] those celestial "spirits[y], sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation," and those terrestrial "angels[z] of God," who are "his[a] ministers to us for good;" even "God's[b] ministers continually attending upon this very thing," as St. Paul witnesseth. With whom among the heathen also Plutarch agreeth fully, where he maketh the government of a kingdom to be "a[c] ministration of God," and affirmeth magistrates to "be[d] God's ministers for the care and welfare of mankind, either in distribution of good things not yet had, or in the preservation of good things not yet enjoyed."

XXI. Now these higher powers, unto whom it is "the[e] will of God" we should "submit ourselves for his sake," are distinguished by St. Peter into two ranks, the supreme and the subordinate; the king[f], the supreme;

[q] Luke, chap. 2. ver. 9.

[r] Μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. 2 Thess. chap. 1. ver. 7.

[s] Psalm 8. ver. 5. with Heb. chap. 2. ver. 7. and Psalm 97. ver. 7. with Heb. chap. 1. ver. 6.

[t] Job, chap 1. ver. 6. and chap. 2. ver. 1. and chap. 38. ver. 7.

[u] Exod. chap. 21. ver. 6. and chap. 22. ver. 8, 9. 28. Psalm 82. ver. 1.

[w] Psalm 82. ver. 6.

[x] V. Epiphan. hæres. 40. edit. Grœco-Lat. pag. 284.

[y] Λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα. Heb. chap. 1. ver. 14.

[z] 2 Sam. chap. 19. ver. 27.

[a] Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστί σοι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. Rom. chap. 13. ver. 4.

[b] Λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες.

[c] Ὑπηρεσίαν θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡγούμενος. Plutarch. in Numa.

[d] Ὑπηρετεῖν θεῷ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, ὅπως ἂν θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, τὰ μὲν νέμωσι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσι. Plutarch. ad principem indoctum.

[e] 1 Peter, chap. 2. ver. 13. 15.

[f] "Egregium culmen habentem," as Didymus Alexandrinus here noteth.

the subordinate, such governors as are "sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well:" sent by the king, I mean, it being the "office[g] of him that hath the highest and greatest place of government, to choose such assistants as shall rule together with him in the administration of those things which belong to the public utility;" so saith Philo: and after him Libanius to the emperor of his time, "Indeed[h], if it were possible that your own bodies might be every where, there would be no need that any magistrates should be sent by you into the provinces, you yourselves being able to administer justice unto all, as the sun is sufficient to give light unto them: but seeing that cannot be, you govern them by others, and by their sentence you do determine justice." Which made St. Paul profess before Festus the governor, sitting at Cæsarea upon the bench, that he stood (not at his, but) at "Cæsar's[i] judgment seat;" the other supplying his room only in that present place of judicature. The compiler of the apostolical constitutions (personating those times wherein the civil government stood opposite to the Christian faith) doth thus express this distribution: "Thou[k] shalt fear the king, considering that he is the election (or ordinance) of the Lord: thou shalt honour his magistrates as the ministers of God, for they are revengers of all iniquity." Where for St. Peter's ἡγημόνες, it is observable that he useth the word ἄρχοντες, which

'Επ' ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι. Pindar. Olymp. 1. sub fin.

[g] Προσήκει τῷ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιωθέντι αἱρεῖσθαι διαδόχους, οἱ συνάρξουσι καὶ συνδικάσουσι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὅσα κοινωφελῆ συνδιοικήσουσιν. Philo in libro de creatione principis.

[h] Εἰ μὲν οὖν οἷοντ' ἦν εἶναι πανταχοῦ τὰ ὑμέτερα σώματα, τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἔδει τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη παρ' ὑμῶν πεμπομένων, ἅπασιν ὑμῶν τοῖς δικαζομένοις ἀποχρώντων, ὥσπερ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου λαμπηδόνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόντε δι' ἑτέρων αὐτοῖς ἐφεστήκατε, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ὑμεῖς τὰς ψήφους τίθεσθε. Libanius, in ora. κατὰ τῶν προσεδρευόντων τοῖς ἄρχουσι.

[i] Acts, chap. 25. ver. 6. 10.

[k] Τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐστιν ἡ χειροτονία. τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ τιμήσεις ὡς λειτουργοὺς Θεοῦ, ἔκδικοι γάρ εἰσι πάσῃ ἀδικίας. Const. apostolic. lib. 7. cap. 17.

in the singular commonly denotes the prince, in the plural magistrates: a term which in the propriety of the Latin tongue belongs to subaltern officers, and doth not comprehend the prince himself, whose office it is to "redress[l] the unjust actions of the magistrates, and to make void whatsoever ought not to have been done by them." And herein he seemeth to make the same distinction between *βασιλεὺς* and *ἄρχοντες*, the king and magistrates, which Dio Chrysostomus doth between *βασιλεία* and *ἀρχὴ*, "*ἀρχὴ*[m], or magistracy, is called a legal administration of men according to the law: *βασιλεία*, or regality, is such a government as is not subject to the control of any. The law is the decree of the king. A tyranny, which is contrary to these, is a violent and illegal usage of men by one that is of greater strength."

XXII. For the clearer understanding whereof we may call to remembrance that difference which king James of never-dying memory, in the first book of his Basilicon Doron (out of Plato and Aristotle, the great masters of political learning) doth make between a lawful king and a tyrant: the words of that elegant writer are to this effect: "That the one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burthen of government, whereof he must be accountable; the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimity; and therefore that a good king, thinking his highest honour to consist in the due discharge of his calling, employeth all his study and pains to procure and maintain, by the

[l] "Intercedere iniquitatibus magistratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit. Plin. Panegyric. ad Trajan.

[m] *Λέγεται γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ νόμιμος ἀνθρώπων διοίκησις κατὰ νόμον. Βασιλεία δὲ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχή. Ὁ δὲ νόμος βασιλέως δόγμα. Ὁ δὲ τύραννος, καὶ ἡ τύραννις, ἐναντίον τούτοις, βίαιος καὶ παράνομος χρῆσις ἀνθρώπων τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἰσχύειν πλέον.* Dio Chrysost. in orat. 3. de regno. Ubi vocabuli *δοκοῦντος* usum pleonasticum recte observat vir doctissimus Joannes Pricæus: ut etiam in loco illo Marci, cap. 10. ver. 42. *οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν*, pro quo Matt. cap. 20. ver. 25. simpliciter legitur, *οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν*.

making and execution of good laws, the welfare and peace of his people."

XXIII. For the making of laws, whereof the force and penalty doth generally reach unto the whole kingdom, must be an act of the prince: and therefore where it is said, Psalm 60. ver. 7. "Judah is my law-giver," the Greek aud vulgar Latin translate it, "Judah is my king," agreeable to that in 1 Chron. chap. 5. ver. 2. "Of Judah came the prince." For "To[n] this end," saith Justinian, "God hath settled regal power among men, that by ordering upon all occasions such things as are needful, it should both supply the uncertainty of human nature, and conclude it within the bounds of certain laws." And St. Augustine to the same purpose: "The[o] divine right we have in the Scriptures, the human right in the laws of kings; for[p] human rights God hath distributed to mankind by the emperors and kings of this world, and this human[q] right is in the power of the kings of the earth." Hitherto also belongeth that of Alexius Comnenus: "The[r] regal office is nothing else but a legal administration of things: the law is that which preserveth the indemnity of the commonwealth, removing far and expelling such things as are prejudicial to the civil state; and the power of making the laws is committed to the king:" and that of Plutarch long before him, "Justice[s] is the end of the law, the law a work of the prince, and the prince the image of God."

[n] *Βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο καθῆκεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, ὅπως ἂν τοῖς δεομένοις ἀεί τι διατάττουσα τῆν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀοριστίαν ἀναπληροῖ τε, καὶ ῥητοῖς περικλείοι νόμοίς τε.* Cod. de vet. jur. enucl. lib. 3. Græc.

[o] "Divinum jus in Scripturis habemus, humanum jus in legibus regum." August. in Joan. tract. 6.

[p] "Ipsa jura humana per imperatores et reges seculi Deus distribuit generi humano." August. in Joan. tract. 6.

[q] Jus humanum in potestate regum est terræ. August. in epist. 93. ad Vincentium.

[r] *Μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡ βασιλεία ἢ ἔννομος ἐπιστασία ἐστι. νόμοι δὲ οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν τηροῦντες ἀδιαλώβητον, πόῤῥω ἀπωθοῦντες τὰ τὸ πολίτευμα καταβλάπτοντα, ἀνεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ νομοθετεῖν βασιλλεῦσιν.* Alex. Comnen. Novel. de solutione sponsalium.

[s] *Δίκη νόμου τέλος ἐστιν, νόμος δὲ ἄρχοντος ἔργον, ἄρχων δὲ εἴκων Θεοῦ.* Plutarch. ad principem indoctum.

The ἄρχων, or prince, makes the laws, not to himself, but to his subjects (to whom he standeth no way accountable for his own not observing any of them, as hereafter shall more fully be declared), the ἄρχοντες judge and govern others according to the prescript of those laws, being themselves also obnoxious to them as well as other subjects. For, "magistrates[t] are the ministers, judges the interpreters of the laws," saith Tully: and "the[u] laws do govern the magistrates no less than the magistrates do the people." To the maker of the law, Dio (in the place alleged) attributes βασιλείαν, or regal sovereignty, which by him, and Suidas[x] out of him, is defined to be "ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχὴ, a government without check," whereof no account is to be rendered unto any man: to the ministers of the law he ascribeth ἀρχὴν simply; by which word likewise the scholiast[y] of Aristophanes, and Suidas[z] also from him, observe the ministerial and inferior government most usually to be understood; for "in[a] every kingdom there are many ἀρχαὶ, but under one king," saith Epiphanius. "The[b] princes digged the well, the nobles of the people digged it by direction of the law giver, with their staves," was a part of the song of Israel: and "Moses[c] commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob: and he was king in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together." Here Moses is the lawgiver and king in Israel: the princes and heads of the people, those ἄρχοντες and ἀρχαὶ, without which Aristotle[d] so oft tells us it is impossible a com-

[t] "Legum ministri magistratus, legum interpretes judices; legum denique idcirco omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possumus." Cicero pro A. Cluentio.

[u] "Ut magistratibus leges, ita populo præsunt magistratus." Cicero init. lib. 3. de legibus.

[x] Suidas in Βασιλεία.

[y] Κοινότερον καὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ψιλὰς ἐπιστασίας καὶ λειτουργίας ἀρχὰς ἔλεγον, καὶ τὸ βουλεῦσαι (id est, jus dicere) ἀρχάς. Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. pag. 91. edit. Græco-Lat. anno 1607.

[z] Suidas in Ἄρχειν.

[a] Καθ' ἑκάστην βασιλείαν πολλαὶ ἀρχαὶ, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἕνα βασιλέα. Epiphan. contra Archont. hæres. 40.

[b] Num. chap. 21. ver. 18. [c] Deut. chap. 33. ver. 4, 5.

[d] Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ εἶναι τινας ἀρχάς. Aristot. politic. lib. 3. cap. 12.

monwealth can consist. For, "One[e] man," saith Philo, "though he have never so much alacrity and vigour in body and mind, cannot be sufficient to undergo the greatness and the multitude of the businesses, which every day do flow one upon the neck of another, unless they have coadjutors, chosen all of them out of the best, men of known wisdom, courage, justice, piety; and who not only are free from pride, but abhor it likewise as an hateful and exceeding great evil: for such men are most fit helpers and assistants to a good and worthy prince." For proof whereof he giveth an instance in Moses himself, who although he were a man "mighty[f] in words and in deeds," and "going in this his might," (as God in another[g] place biddeth Gideon to do) did for a time judge Israel all alone; yet mere necessity forced him in the end to profess unto the people: "I[h] am not able to bear you myself alone: How[i] can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burthen, and your strife?" whereupon "he[k] took the chief of their tribes, wise men and known, and made them heads over the people, and officers among their tribes."

XXIV. And yet in his wisdom foreseeing withal, that these, as many as they were, could not be able to go through with the work, nor retain the people in due obedience, without the support of a supreme governor, before his departure out of this life he presenteth God with this petition: "Let[l] the Lord, the God of the spirits of all

Ἄνευ ἀρχόντων ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν. Arist. polit. lib. 4. cap. 4. *Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίων ἀρχῶν χωρὶς ἀδύνατον εἶναι πόλιν.* Arist. polit. lib. 6. cap. 8.

[e] *Εἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐξαρκέσαι, κἂν προθυμότατος ᾖ καὶ πάντων ἐῤῥωμενέστατος ἑκάτερον σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ τῇ φορᾷ τῶν ἐπεισχεομένων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς συλλεψομένους ἔχοι πάντας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλεγμένους, φρονήσει, δυνάμει, δικαιοσύνῃ, θεοσεβείᾳ, τῷ μὴ μόνον ἐκτρέπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν ὡς ἐχθρὸν καὶ μέγιστον κακὸν, ἀλαζονείαν· βοηθοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ παραστάται γένοιντ' ἂν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπηχθισμένῳ, συνεπικουφίζειν καὶ ἐπελαφρίζειν ἐπιτηδειότατοι.* Philo, in libro de creatione principis.

[f] Acts, chap. 7. ver. 22.

[g] Judges, chap. 6. ver. 14.

[h] Deut. chap. 1. ver. 9.

[i] Id. ibid. ver. 12.

[k] Deut. chap. 1. ver. 15. with Exod. chap. 18. ver. 25.

Num. chap. 27. ver. 16, 17.

flesh, set a man over the congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep[m] which have no shepherd:" and God thereupon giveth order unto him, that he should "put[n] some of his honour upon Joshua, that all the congregation of the children of Israel might be obedient:" which honour or regal sovereignty (for Moses[o] had no less) how fully Joshua did enjoy after his decease, this profession then made by the people may sufficiently testify: "All[p] that thou commandest us, we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go. According as we hearkened unto Moses, so will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with Moses. Whosoever he be, that doth rebel against thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandest him, he shall be put to death: only be strong and of a good courage." And this ratification thereof made by God himself not long after: "On[q] that day, the Lord magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel, and they feared him as they feared Moses all the days of his life."

XXV. The supreme governor therefore hath not more need of the subordinate magistrates for his assistance, than they have of him to give them life and motion: no state being possibly able to subsist, unless a supremacy of power be placed in some head, from whence it may be derived through all the parts of the body politic. A lively manifestation of this we have from the old Persians[r], who

[m] See 1 Kings, chap. 22. ver. 17. [n] Num. chap. 27. ver. 20.

[o] Gen. chap. 36. ver. 31. wih Deut. chap. 33. ver. 5.

[p] Jos. chap. 1. ver. 16, 17, 18.

[q] Jos. chap. 4. ver. 14.

[r] Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Περσῶν χαρίεντες νόμον ἔχουσι, βασιλέως παρ' αὐτοῖς τελευτήσαντος, πέντε τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας ἀνομίαν ἄγειν· οὐκ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δυστυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν ἡλίκον κακόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀνομία (σφαγὰς καὶ ἁρπαγὰς, καὶ εἴ τι χεῖρόν ἐστιν ἐπάγουσα) ἵνα πιστότεροι τῶν βασιλέων φύλακες γένωνται. Sext. Empir. adversus Mathematicos, lib. 2. Vide et Serinum apud Stobæum, serm. 42.

for five days together, after the decease of their king, permitted the people to live lawless; that after the experience of the slaughters, rapines, and other outrages committed in that short interval, they might learn to hold their kings in more high esteem. Which bringeth some light to that which we meet with so oft in the book of Judges, and wherewith the last chapter of that sacred history is concluded: "In those days there was no king in Israel, every man did that which was right in his own eyes." In the same chapter we read that there were then "the[s] elders of the congregation" in the commonwealth; and in the chapter going before, that zealous Phineas[t] stood high priest before the ark in those days. But the want of a king, that is, of one that had the supreme managing of the sword of justice, is assigned to be the cause of all this confusion and disorder; who, being in the Scripture termed "The[u] breath of our nostrils," as the great army of Alexander doth profess to the same effect in Curtius, that "they[x] all did live by that one man's breath, or spirit;" we may easily thence infer, that, as in the natural body, the breath being stopped, life can no longer be continued; so, the power of the supreme governor being taken away, all vital influence into the rest of the body civil must cease therewith, and the whole state of necessity suffer a dissolution. And therefore, as Florus writeth of the constitution of the Roman empire under Cæsar Augustus, that "No[y] doubt it could never have otherwise conjoined and consented together, unless it had been governed by the beck of one ruler, as by a kind of soul and mind:" so, touching the continuation thereof, Seneca in like man-

[s] Judges, chap. 21. ver. 16. [t] Ibid. chap. 20. ver. 28.

[u] Lament. chap. 4. ver. 20.

[x] "Armatus exercitus regiam obsedit, confessus omnes unius spiritu vivere." Q. Curtius, lib. 9. cap. 11.

[y] "Ad Octavium Cæsarem Augustum summa rerum rediit: qui sapientia sua atque solertia perculsum undique et perturbatum ordinavit imperii corpus. Quod ita haud dubie nunquam coire et consentire potuisset, nisi unius præsidis nutu quasi anima et mente regeretur." L. Florus, lib. 4. cap. 3.

ner addeth: "This[z] infinite multitude which environs one man's soul, is by his spirit governed, and by his reason guided; which otherwise would oppress and break herself with her own force, if by his counsel she were not sustained." For, "He[a] is the bond which holds fast the state together, he is that vital breath which so many thousands draw in; who otherwise as a lifeless and unwieldy load would prove a booty, if that soul of the empire were taken away."

The king being safe, one mind unites them all;
He gone, their league dissolveth, and they fall.

XXVI. Where further also it is to be considered, that the placing of the supremacy of civil power (which the Latins call majesty, the Grecians *κύριον πολίτευμα, κυρίαν ἀρχὴν,* and *ἄκραν ἐξουσίαν*) in some certain head, is so essential to all states of government, that from it the formal difference ariseth of all particular kinds thereof. For, although in Switzerland, for example, the cantons have their several magistrates, who during the time of their government order all things among the people, yet are they not an aristocracy for that, but a mere democracy; because these officers derive their authority wholly from the people, and to them or their deputies they are to give an account of the exercise thereof. And, although in the commonwealth of Venice there be but one duke, yet, because this person is not invested[b] with the supreme power of government, that state is nothing less than monarchical. The

[z] "Hæc immensa multitudo, unius animæ circumdata, illius spiritu regitur, illius ratione flectitur; pressura se ac fractura viribus suis, nisi consilio sustineretur." Seneca de Clementia, lib. 1. cap. 3.

[a] "Ille est enim vinculum, per quod respublica cohæret; ille spiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt; nihil ipsa per se futura nisi onus et præda, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur. —Rege incolumi mens omnibus una est; Amisso rupere fidem—" Seneca de Clementia, lib. 1. cap. 4. Versus autem Virg. sunt lib. 4. Georg. de apibus, quorum sententiam hoc eodem libro, cap. 19. ita expressit idem Seneca, "Amisso rege totum dilabitur examen."

[b] "Imperii summam vim ipsam nunquam habuit, sed imaginem tantum quandam et umbram imperii, plus minusve, pro temporum varietate." Nicol. Crass. Not. 15. in Donat. Jannot. de rep. Venet.

Lacedemonians had two kings (for failing) and both of them hereditary, descending from the race of Hercules, and yet that hindered nothing at all their aristocracy; because they being subject to the oversight and control of the Ephori, were but equivocal kings, such in name[c], but not in deed. For, to speak properly, by the name of a king, as Gregory Nyssen noteth, we understand such an one as is "his[d] own master, and hath no other master beside:" who hath "absolute[e] power in himself," and is no way subject to the control of any other. And therefore when Anthony was so much pressed by his Cleopatra to call Herod unto question, he answered: "It[f] was not fitting a king should give account of what he did in his government, for he should be in effect no king at all."

XXVII. On the other side, in our high court of parliament, although the knights, citizens and burgesses (representing the whole body of the commons) bear the shew of a little democracy among us, and the lords and nobles, (as the optimates of the kingdom) of an aristocracy; yet our government is a free monarchy notwithstanding: because the supreme authority resteth neither in the one nor in the other, (either severally or jointly) but solely in the person of the king, at whose pleasure[g] they are assembled, and without whose royal assent nothing they conclude on can be a law forceable to bind the subjects. Whereupon by a special act of the same great court it is

[c] As other inferior princes likewise named, Isai. chap. 10. ver. 8. Jerem. chap. 19. ver. 3. Psalm 105. ver. 30. So Eustathius in Homer. Odyss. *α.* *Σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον Ὅμηρος βασιλεῖς λέγει τοὺς ἐνδόξους καὶ βασιλικοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτόν.* et Proclus, in Hesiod. Ἔργων *α.* *Βασιλῆας τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας λέγει· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί.*

[d] *Αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀδέσποτον τὸν βασιλέα καλοῦμεν.* Greg. Nyssen. contra Eunom. lib. 1.

[e] Τὸ *αὐτοκρατὲς τε καὶ ἄναρχον.* Greg. Nyssen. contra Eunom. lib. 1.

[f] *Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν* Ἀντώνιος, *βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς εἶναι.* Joseph. antiqu. lib. 15. cap. 14.

[g] Quis tantæ est authoritatis ut nolentem principem possit ad convocandos patres cæterosque proceres coarctare? Justinian. Novel. 23.

declared, that[h] the king's highness must be acknowledged to be the ONLY SUPREME GOVERNOR of his dominions in all causes whatsoever. Which could not stand, if that either court itself, or any other power upon earth, might in any cause overrule him: I say any power, whether foreign or domestical.

XXVIII. This government is called "*παντελὴς*[i] *μοναρχία*, a full monarchy," by Sophocles; "*αὐταρχία*[k], a free and independent regiment," by Marcus Aurelius in Dio; "*αὐτοκρατὴς βασιλεία καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος*, an absolute kingdom, not subject to the control of any," by Plutarch, in that little book wherein he compareth the three kinds of governments (monarchical, democratical, and oligarchical or aristocratical) together; and in the end, out of Plato, preferreth a monarchy before the rest for this very reason; because "the[l] others being ruled, do yet after a sort rule, and being led do lead the civil governor" set over them; who "having no solid and firm strength herein from those who gave him his power," is subject to be suppressed by the same hand that raised him. Whereas a free monarch, who hath the supremacy of power placed in his own person, and by virtue thereof maketh such laws, and imparteth to the subordinate magistrates such authority for the seeing of them put in execution, as may best conduce to the benefit of the whole state, doth thereby in a most special manner represent unto us (as we have before heard out of the same author) the image of God, the most high and absolute monarch[m] of this whole universe. To this purpose, Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, maketh that "high[n] eminency of glory," annexed unto the imperial state, to be

[h] Statut. Angl. ann. 1. Eliz. (et Hibern, ann. 2. ejusdem) cap. 1.

[i] Sophocles in Antigona, ver. 1177.

[k] Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dionis Marc. Aurelio.

[l] *Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πολιτεῖαι τρόπον τινὰ κρατούμεναι κρατοῦσι, καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τὸν πολιτικὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἰσχὺν βέβαιον ἐπὶ τούτου (τούτων) παρ' ᾧ ἔχει τὸ ἰσχύον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ Αἰσχύλειον ἀναφωνεῖν*, &c. Plutarch.

[m] Vide Philonem Jud. initio lib. 1. de monarchia.

[n] *Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον, καὶ ἀσυνκρίτοις διαφοραῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνεστηκός τε καὶ ὑπερκείμενον ὑμεῖς (ὦ φιλό-*

an image upon earth of the supreme majesty of Almighty God in heaven. And you, saith he to the emperors, "you[n] alone, who have obtained power over all men, are, as it were, a kind of expression and imitation of that kingdom which is in heaven." Whereunto may be added that of the author of the questions upon the Old and New Testament, in the third tome of St. Augustin's works: "The[o] king hath the image of God;" and the author of the commentaries upon the epistles of St. Paul, who, not without great probability, is thought to be the same, howsoever bearing the name of St. Ambrose: "Kings[p] are created for the correcting of our life, and the keeping back of adversities; in his having the image of God, that all the rest should be under one." And of Johannes Sarisburiensis: "The[q] prince, as sundry do define him, is a public power, and a kind of an image of the divine majesty upon earth." To which definition, or description rather, we may refer that of Menander:

Εἰκὼν[r] δὲ βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἔμψυχος Θεοῦ.

The king is a living image of God.

And that of Diogenes the Pythagorean, that "The[s] king having a power uncontrolable, and being himself a living

χριστοι βασιλεῖς) καὶ κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαιρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ θεοῦ τῆς ἑνούσης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς, εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ γέρας, &c. ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γαληνότατος τῆς οὕτω περιφανοῦς καὶ ἀνωτάτω πασῶν εὐκλεΐας, διαπρέποντα καὶ ἐναργῆ τὸν τύπον· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε καὶ τῶν εἰς λῆξιν ἀξιωμάτων πηγαί, καὶ ἁπάσης ὑπεροχῆς ἐπέκεινα. Cyril. initio libri de recta fide ad Theodosium.

[n] Τῆς ἐν οὐρανοῖς βασιλείας ἐκτύπωμα ὥσπερ τι καὶ μίμημα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ μόνοι τὸ κατὰ πάντων λαχόντες κράτος. Cyril. in apologet. ad Theodosium.

[o] Quæst. 25. ex vet. et nov. Test.

[p] "Principes hos reges dicit, qui propter corrigendam vitam et prohibenda adversa creantur; Dei habentes imaginem, ut sub uno sint cæteri." Ambr. in Rom. cap. 13.

[q] "Est ergo, ut eum plerique definiunt, princeps potestas publica, et in terris quædam divinæ majestatis imago." Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. lib. 4. cap. 1.

[r] In monostichis ab H. Stephano edit. ann. 1569.

[s] Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀρχὰν ἔχων ἀνυπεύθυνον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόμος ἔμψυχος, Θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις παρεσχαμάτισται. Diotog. apud Stobæum serm. 46.

law, is the figure of God among men." And those admonitions of Agapetus unto the emperor Justinian: "Seeing[t] thou hast attained to a dignity higher than all other honour, do thou also above all others honour God, who was pleased so to signify thee, according to the similitude of his heavenly kingdom, giving unto thee the sceptre of this earthly principality." For, although "the[u] king, in regard of the nature of his body, be of the same mould with every other man, yet, in respect of the eminency of his dignity, he is like unto God, who is Lord over all; whose[x] image he beareth, and by him holdeth that power which he hath over all men."

XXIX. If we consider God in his own sublime majesty, the Scripture will tell us that "his[y] throne is in heaven;" but if we look upon him in these his vicegerents, which do so immediately represent his person among the sons of men, in the same Scripture we may find out another throne of his, prepared here on this earth, which is his "footstool[z]." Thus, where, in the history of the kings, we read that "Solomon[a] sate upon the throne of David his father, and his kingdom was established greatly." In the Chronicles we have it thus expressed: "Then[b] Solomon sate upon the throne of the LORD as king instead of David his father, and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him." And, where in the former the queen of Sheba is brought in speaking unto the same king after this manner: "Blessed[c] be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to set thee on the throne of Israel:" in the latter, her speech is thus

[t] *Τιμῆς ἁπάσης ὑπέρτερον ἔχων ἀξίωμα, βασιλεῦ, τίμα ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τὸν τούτου σε ἀξιώσαντα θεὸν, ὅτι καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τῆς βασιλείας ἔδωκέ σοι τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς ἐπιγείου δωναστείας.* Agap. Par. cap. 1.

[u] *Τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἴσος παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ βασιλεῦς, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὅμοιος ἐστι τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ.* Agap. Par. cap. 21.

[x] *Τὴν εἰκονα φέρει τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κατέχει τὴν ἐπὶ πάντων ἀρχὴν.* Agap. Par. cap. 37.

[y] Psalm 11. ver. 4. and Psalm 103. ver. 16.

[z] Isaiah, chap. 66. ver. 1. Matt. chap. 5. ver. 35.

[a] 1 Kings, chap. 2. ver. 12.

[b] 1 Chron. chap. 29. ver. 23.

[c] 1 Kings, chap. 10. ver. 9.

related: "Blessed[d] be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to set thee on HIS throne, to be king for the LORD thy God." And as the king's throne is accounted God's throne, so the kings themselves also are styled his kings and his anointed; "He[e] shall give strength unto HIS king, and exalt the horn of HIS anointed," saith Hannah in her song; and David likewise in his: "Great[f] deliverance giveth he to HIS king, and sheweth mercy to HIS anointed."

XXX. Where further also it deserveth special consideration, that this sacred title of "the Lord's anointed" is not only attributed to David[g] and Josiah[h], and such good kings as God in his mercy did raise up unto his people; but to Saul[i] also, a king whom he[k] gave unto them in his anger: nor to those who were of the commonwealth of Israel alone, but to Cyrus an heathen emperor, of whom it is written: "Thus[l] saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him:" who[m], although at first he did not know his founder, yet at last by public proclamation he made this large acknowledgment of him: "Thus[n] saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me, and he hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem." Yea, he that gave the empire to Cyrus that should "build[o] his city, and let go his captives," gave the same unto Nebuchadnezzar who had before destroyed the same city, and led the people into captivity; whereof the prophet Daniel did thus put him in mind: "Thou[p], O king, art a king of kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom,

[d] 2 Chron. chap. 9. ver. 8. [e] 1 Sam. chap. 2. ver. 10.

[f] Psalm 18. ver. 50. 2 Sam. chap. 22. ver. 51.

[g] 2 Sam. chap. 12. ver. 7. chap. 19. ver. 21. and chap. 23. ver. 1.

[h] Lam. chap. 4. ver. 20.

[i] 1 Sam. chap. 12. ver. 3. 5. chap. 24. ver. 6. 10. and chap. 26. ver. 9. 11. 16. 23. with 2 Sam. chap. 1. ver. 14. 16.

[k] 1 Sam. chap. 8. ver. 7. [l] Isaiah, chap. 45. ver. 1.

[m] Isaiah, chap. 45. ver. 4, 5.

[n] 2 Chron. chap. 36. ver. 23. Ezra, chap. 1. ver. 2.

[o] Isaiah, chap. 45. ver. 13. [p] Dan. chap. 2. ver. 27.

power and strength and glory;" and afterwards his grandchild in these words: "The[q] most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty and glory, and honour; and for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations and languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down." And he that gave Cyrus the title of his anointed, gave to this Nebuchadnezzar also the style of his servant[r]; the same wherewith those choicest governors, Moses[s], Joshua[t] and David[u], were graced by him.

XXXI. That kings derive their power, and hold their crown from God, is a truth which even heathen writers do acknowledge no less than Christian. Ἐκ[x] δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, was the saying of old Hesiod; whereby he makes God their procreant cause, as elsewhere their conservant, by giving them the title of Διοτρεφεῖς[y], and what the poets ascribe to Jove, the apostle gives to God[z], we know. The former is more largely expressed thus by Callimachus[a], (whose verses, together with all the following, are of the translation of my ingenious and learned friend Mr. I. P.)

Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς Βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
Θειότερον, τῷ καί σφι τεὴν ἐκρίναο τάξιν.

Kings are from Jove, none so divine as they,
Whom he calls his, and in his place bids sway.

The latter is set down by Homer in this manner:

Θυμὸς[b] δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος,
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διός ἐστι, φιλεῖ δέ ἑ μητιέτα Ζεῦς.

[q] Dan. chap. 5. ver. 18, 19.
[r] Jer. chap. 25. ver. 9. chap. 27. ver. 6. and chap. 43. ver. 10.
[s] Num. chap. 12. ver. 7, 8. Psalm 105. ver. 26.
[t] Jos. chap. 24. ver. 29.
[u] Psalm 18. ver. 1. and Psalm 78. ver. 70.
[x] Kings are from Jove. Hesiod, Theogon. verse 96.
[y] Nourished by Jove. Hesiod, Theogon. ver. 82.
[z] Acts, chap. 17. ver. 24. 28.
[a] Callimach. hymn. in Jovem.
[b] Iliad, β. verse 196, 197.

The anger of a king is great;
Him Jove himself doth nourish:
From him his honour springs,
And by his love doth flourish.

Where, note with Eustathius, that kings are called διογενεῖς and διοτρεφεῖς, not[c] as deriving their pedigree from Jove, but their kingly honour. And this is delivered also by the same poet, under the person of sage Nestor reproving Achilles for contending with king Agamemnon:

Μήτε[d] σὺ Πηλείδη, 'θελ' ἐριζέμεναι βασιλῆι
'Αντιβίην· ἐπεὶ οὔποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς
Σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε.

Pelides, strive not with the king,
His honour is a different thing
From thine: his power is from above,
His sceptre is the gift of Jove.

And directing his speech to Agamemnon himself:

Λαῶν[e] ἐσσὶ ἄναξ, καί τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιζε
Σκῆπτρον τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλεύησθα.

Thou rulest many nations, Jove a sceptre did thee lend,
And laws, that to thy people's good thou might'st attend.

Whence Eustathius also inferreth, that "the[f] kingly office is a good gift of God," and that "the[g] king hath both his sceptre and his jurisdiction from God."

And with Homer, the prince of poets, doth Plato likewise, the prince of philosophers, acknowledge "the[h] regal office to be a divine good among men," and makes his "king[i] as it were, a god among men." Diotogenes

[c] Οὐκ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἕλκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς τιμὴ, ἡ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδή. Eustath. pag. 199. edit. Rom.

[d] Iliad, α. ver. 277. &c.

[e] Iliad, θ. ver. 97. &c. with Iliad, β. ver. 205, 206.

[f] Θεόσδοτον ἀγαθὸν ἡ βασιλεία. Eustath. in Iliad. 2. pag. 202, 203. edit. Rom.

[g] 'Ο ,ἄναξ καὶ σκῆπτρον Θεόθεν ἔχει καὶ θέμιστας. Eustath. in Iliad. 9. pag. 738.

[h] Πλάτων βασιλείαν θεῖον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλεῖ. Syncs. in orat. de regno.

[i] Οἷον Θεὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Plato in Politico.

the Pythagorean saith, "that[k] God hath given him dominion." Dio Chrysostom[l] toucheth often the same thing. Pliny telleth the emperor Trajan, that God "gave[m] him to be his substitute toward all mankind." And Themistius affirmeth, that "God[n] from heaven did send regal power unto the earth." Our Christians also that lived under the first persecutions, though they had occasion enough thereby given them to decline the government of those times and emperors, did yet both acknowledge and reverence God's ordinance in the advancement of them. And therefore when Celsus the Epicurean philosopher had cited that place of Homer:

——————— Εἷς[o] κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἷς βασιλεὺς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

and inferred thence against the Christian: "If[p] thou wilt not admit this document, the king may justly punish thee:" Origen admitteth it, so that instead of the fabulous son of Saturn the true God be nominated, "who[q] setteth up kings and removeth them, and in his own time raiseth upon the earth such an one as is useful to the state." For "It is not," saith he, "the son of Saturn (who expelled his father from his government, and cast him into hell, as the fables of the Grecians report) that setteth up

[k] Δέδοκεν ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ τὰν ἁγεμονίαν. Diotog. apud Stobæum, serm. 46.

[l] Τῶν βασιλέων παρὰ Διὸς ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν. Dio, orat. 1. de regno. Ὅταν ἀνθρώπους ὠφελῇ, τότε νομίζει τὸ προσῆκον ἐπιτελεῖν ἅτε ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου Θεοῦ ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. Dio, orat. 3. de regno ad Trajanum. ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ προστάττειν ἔνειμεν ὁ Θεός. Dio, orat. 3. de regno ad Trajanum.

[m] "Te dedit, qui erga omne hominum genus vice sua fungereris." Plin. Paneg. ad Trajanum.

[n] Βασιλείαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεός. Themist. orat. 5. de imp. Theodosii humanitate. Vide et orat. 12. ad Jovinianum imp. ubi etiam regia illa epitheta, διογενῆ καὶ διοτρεφῆ, ex Homero repetit.

[o] Homer, Iliad, β. verse 204, 205.

[p] Ὡς ἂν τοῦτο λύσῃς τὸ δόγμα, εἰκότως ἀμυνεῖται σε ὁ βασιλεύς. Celsus apud Originem.

[q] Ἀλλ' ὁ ἔδωκεν ὁ καθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστῶν, καὶ τὸν χρήσιμον κατὰ καιρὸν ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ οὐχ ὁ καταταρταρωθέντος (ὡς οἱ μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι) Κρόνου υἱὸς ἀπελάσας τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, καθίστησι βασιλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ διοικῶν τὰ σύμπαντα Θεὸς οἶδεν ὅ τι ποτὲ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς τῶν βασιλέων καταστάσεως. Orig. lib. 8. contra Celsum. Op. tom. 1. pag. 793.

kings; but it is the God who governeth all things, that knoweth when and in what place to appoint the erection of kings." And so concludeth, that "The[q] king could not justly punish them for saying that it is not the son of crafty Saturn that gave him power to reign, but he who is the remover and setter up of kings:" and wisheth that "all would do the like, rejecting the Homerical, and embracing the divine doctrine touching the constitution of a kingdom, and observing the precept which requireth them to honour the king." To this purpose also Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, thus declares himself: "I[r] will honour the king, not adoring him, but praying for him: Him that is God indeed, even the true God, I adore; knowing that by him the king is ordained." And again: "He[s] is not himself God but a man appointed by God; not to be worshipped, but to judge righteously; being after a sort entrusted by God with this administration." Athenagoras addressing his speech jointly to Aurelius and his son Commodus: "To[t] you the power of all things is committed, ye have received the kingdom from above." And Dionysius of Alexandria: "We[u] worship and adore that one God and maker of all things, who hath committed the kingdom to our sacred emperors Valerianus and Galienus." Irenæus, having proved this point at large by tes-

[q] Ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰκότως ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεται βασιλεὺς, φάσκοντας μὲν ὅτι οὐ Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλεύειν, ὁ δὲ μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν. Καὶ τὸ αὐτό γε ποιειτωσάν μοι ἅπαντες, τὸ μὲν Ὁμηρικὸν καταλύοντες δόγμα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον περὶ βασιλείας τηροῦντες, καὶ τὸ τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶν φυλάττοντες. Orig. lib. 8. contra Celsum. Op. tom. 1. pag. 793.

[r] Τοιγαροῦν μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντως θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. Theoph. ad Autolycum lib. 1.

[s] Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν· τρόπῳ γάρ τινι παρὰ θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται. Theoph. ad Autolycum lib. 1.

[t] Ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχείρωται, ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόσι. Athenag. legat. pro Christian.

[u] Ἡμεῖς τὸν ἕνα θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρήσαντα φιλοθεοστάτοις Οὐαλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλιήνῳ σεβαστοῖς, τοῦτον καὶ σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν. Dion. adv. Germanum, apud Euseb. lib. 7. hist. eccles. cap. 11.

timony of Scripture, concludes his discourse elegantly with these words: "By[x] whose command they are born men, by his command likewise they are ordained kings." And so Tertullian after him: "Thence[y] is the emperor from whence he was a man before he became emperor: thence hath he his authority from whence he hath his breath." And again: "What[z] should I speak more of the religious and observant respect of Christians towards the emperor? whom of necessity we must reverence as one that our Lord hath chosen; so as we may truly say, Cæsar is rather ours than yours, as being ordained by our God." And in another place: "A[a] Christian is enemy to no man, much less to the emperor, whom knowing to be appointed by his God, he must of necessity love, reverence and wish safe." Which safety and health of the prince he sheweth to have been so highly esteemed by the Christians, even when thus they suffered persecution from them, that they used to make mention of it in their oaths; "We[b] swear," saith he, "not by the genii of the Cæsars, (which are no other than devils) but by their health, which to us is exceedingly more venerable than those delusions. We reverence in our emperors God's judgment, that hath made them governors over the nations: for that we know to be in them which God would

[x] "Cujus jussu homines nascuntur, hujus jussu et reges constituuntur." Iren. lib. 5. cap. 24.

[y] "Inde est imperator unde et homo antequam imperator; inde potestas illi unde et spiritus." Tertul. apolog. cap. 30.

[z] "Sed quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Christiana in imperatorem? quem necesse est suspiciamus, ut eum quem Dominus noster elegit: ut merito dixerim, noster est magis Cæsar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus." Tertul. apolog. cap. 33.

[a] "Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum imperatoris; quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut et ipsum diligat, et revereatur, et salvum velit." Tertul. ad Scapul. cap. 2.

[b] "Sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Cæsarum, ita per salutem eorum, quæ est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios dæmonas dici, et inde dæmonia? Nos judicium Dei suspicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos præfecit. Id enim in eis scimus esse, quod Deus voluit; ideoque et salvum ipsum volumus esse quod Deus voluit; et pro magno id juramento habemus." Tertul. in apol. cap. 32.

have to be; and therefore would have that to be safe which God appointed; and make account of that as a great oath."

And so under the Christian emperors, as Vegetius tells us, the oath administered unto the Roman soldiers was: "By[c] God, and Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and by the majesty of the emperor; which, next after God, was by mankind to be loved and honoured;" whereof he gives this reason: "To[d] the emperor, when he hath received the name of Augustus, faithful devotion is to be exhibited, and all vigilant service to be performed, as unto a present and corporeal[e] God. For a man, whether private or military, doth serve God, when he faithfully loves him who reigns by the authority of God." Which reason, whether it hath force sufficient to introduce the emperor's either health or majesty into the form of a solemn oath, I will not at this time debate: but for the thing itself, that God hath constituted princes over nations, and that they reign by his authority, is a matter as generally acknowledged in the times of the Christian, as before it was in the days of the heathen emperors.

The first Christian emperor, Constantine, used this speech sometime unto his bishops: "You[f] are the bishops of those things which are done within the Church, but I am appointed by God to be the bishop of those things that are done without the Church:" meaning that the oversight of the external government of things belonging to the Church was by God committed unto him,

[c] "Per Deum, et per Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, et per majestatem imperatoris, quæ secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda." Fl. Veget. de re militari, lib. 2. cap. 5.

[d] "Nam imperatori, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tanquam præsenti et corporali Deo fidelis est præstanda devotio, et impendendus pervigil famulatus. Deo enim vel privatus vel militans servit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui Deo regnat authore." Fl. Veget. de re militari, lib. 2. cap. 5.

[e] Athanaricus Gothus apud Jornand. de rebus Geticis, cap. 28. "Deus sine dubio terrenus est imperator; et quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit."

[f] Ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν εἴσω ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καθεστάμενος, ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην. Euseb. de vita Constantini, lib. 4.

as well as the administration of the holy things of God within the Church was unto them. And of this he gave good proof in the mandate which he directed to the bishops assembled in the council of Tyre, for the discussing of the cause of Athanasius, "That[g] all of them should immediately repair unto his court, to shew by their acts, how purely and incorruptly they had judged; and that before me," saith he, "whom you may not deny to be God's true minister." Which title[y] he elsewhere also assumes unto himself, as unto one "whose[i] ministry God had found out and judged to be fit for the accomplishment of his good pleasure." And although his son Constantius did labour with might and main to introduce the Arian heresy into the Church of God, yet did Hosius bishop of Cordoba, for all that, freely profess, that "God[k] had committed the kingdom to him," and therefore "whosoever[l] did detract from his empire, did contradict God that constituted it." And four other bishops, Paulinus of Trier, Lucifer of Calaris, Eusebius of Verselli, and Dionysius of Millain, upon the same ground made bold to tell him, "That[m] the kingdom was not his, but God's who gave it unto him; whom they advised him therefore to fear, lest he should suddenly take the same

[g] Ἵνα πάντες ὅσοι τὴν σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Τύρῳ γενομένην πληρώσατε, ἀνυπερθέτως εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, (al. ἐμῆς ἡμερότητος) ἐπειχθῆτε, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιδείξαντες τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας κρίσεως καθαρόν τε καὶ ἀδιάστροφον, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δηλαδὴ, ὃν τοῦ Θεοῦ γνήσιον εἶναι θεράποντα οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀρνηθείητε. Const. ep. ad Synod. Tyri, apud Athan. in apol. 2. et Soc. lib. 1. hist. eccles. cap. 34.

[h] Παραχρῆμα τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐμοῦ, εὐεργείας ἀνασταλήσεται. Const. in ep. ad Nicomed. apud Theod. lib. 1. hist. eccles. cap. 19.

[i] Τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπερέσίαν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτου βούλησιν ἐπιτηδίαν ἐζήτησέ τε καὶ ἔκρινεν. Const. in edicto ad Palestinæ provinciales, apud Euseb. lib. 2. de vita Const.

[k] Σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν. Hosius, apud Athanas. in epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

Ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ θεῷ. Hosius, apud Athanas. in epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

[m] Μὴ εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δεδωκότος Θεοῦ, ὃν καὶ φοβεῖθαι αὐτὸν ἠξίουν, μὴ ἐξαίφνης αὐτὴν ἀφέληται.

again from him." And Athanasius being persecuted by him, prayed: "O[n] Lord Almighty, King of the world, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou by thy word hast given to thy servant Constantius this kingdom; do thou so enlighten his mind, that he may perceive how I am calumniated, and so receive graciously my apology:" attributing hereby to Constantius, the grand patron of the Arians, the same power which Julius Firmicus did to him and his brother Constans: "The[o] high God hath committed unto you the empire." And pope Leo the Great giveth it to the emperors Theodosius[p], Marcianus and Leo; pope Hormisda[q] to the emperor Justinus; and Gregory the Great to Mauricius; unto whom when he had written in general terms, that "power[r] was given unto him over all men;" he declareth it more specially in his letter unto his physician Theodorus, that God had "granted[s] him dominion not only over soldiers, but also over priests:" as pope Gelasius had written before him to the emperor Anastasius: "The[t] bishops obey thy laws, knowing the empire to be conferred upon thee by order from above."

"The[u] Lord," saith St. Basil, "setteth up kings, and removeth them, and there is no power but what is or-

[n] Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σὺ διὰ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου τὴν βασιλείαν ταύτην τῷ θεράποντι Κωνσταντίῳ δέδωκας· σὺ λάμψον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα γνοὺς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συκοφαντίαν, εὐμενῶς αὐτὸς δέξηται τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium.

[o] "Ad hoc vobis Deus summus commisit imperium, ut per vos vulneris istius plaga curetur." Jul. Firmicus Matern. de errore profan. relig. cap. 17.

[p] "Unde per ipsum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui regni vestri est author et rector, obtestor et obsecro clementiam vestram." Leo, epist. 38. ad Marcian. imp.

[q] "A Deo electi sicut et credimus." Hormisd. epist. 27. ad Justin.

[r] "Potestas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines." Gregor. 1. Registr. lib. 3. epist. 65. ad Mauricium. op. tom. 2. pag. 676.

[s] "Dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit." Gregor. 1. Registr. lib. 3. epist. 66. ad Theodorum. op. tom. 2. pag. 678.

[t] "Cognoscentes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis antistites." Gelas. epist. 8. ad Anastas.

[u] Κύριος καθιστᾷ βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστᾷ καὶ οὔκ ἐστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένη. Basil. in Psal. 32.

dained by God." And St. Augustine: "Let[x] us not attribute unto any other the power of giving kingdoms and empires but to the true God." And Petrus Chrysologus, archbishop of Ravenna: "If[y] all power be from God, then hath the king received the dignity of his regal office from God." And the apostle purposely declareth, that "the[z] powers that be, are ordained of God," to the end no man might think that these are to be slighted as human devices. For "they see that a divine right is attributed to human authorities," said the author of the Commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, ascribed to St. Ambrose. Hereupon Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria putteth Theodosius the younger in mind, that "the[a] lot of that high dignity," whereunto he was advanced, fell unto him from God: and that "the[b] unmoveable prop of his empire was our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom kings do reign, as it is written": "yea[c], to whom alone it belongeth to say, By me kings reign;" as he writeth unto the same emperor, in the preface before his books against the apostate Julian, who "knew[d] not that Christ was the giver of the kingdom and power of ruling." So likewise in the acts of the council of Chalcedon, not only the monks, which held with Dioscorus, conclude their petition unto the emperor Marcian with an acknowledgment, that Christ "of[e] his own good

[x] "Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperii potestatem nisi Deo vero." Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 21.

[y] "Si a Deo potestas omnis, a Deo rex etiam dispensationis regiæ adeptus est dignitatem." Chrysol. serm. 26.

[z] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 1.

[a] *Κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαιρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ Θεοῦ.* Cyril. initio libri de fide ad Theodosium.

[b] *Ἔρεισμα δὲ τὸ ἀκράδαντον τῆς οὕτω θεοφιμοῦς καὶ εὐαγεστάτης ὑμῶν βασιλείας, αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύσι, καὶ οἱ δυνάσται γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον.* Cyril. initio libri de fide ad Theodosium.

[c] *Ὥσπερ ἂν πρέπει καὶ μόνῳ τῷ χρῆναι λέγειν, δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι.* Cyril. in præfat. librorum advers. Julianum.

[d] *Ἀγνοήσας τὸν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν δοτῆρα Χριστόν.* Cyril. in præfat. librorum advers. Julianum.

[e] *Τῷ καὶ ἀοράτως τῇ ἰδίᾳ εὐδοκίᾳ χαρισαμένῳ ὑμῖν τὸ βασίλειον.* Archimandritar. ep. ad Marcian. in Conc. Chalcedonens. Act. 4. tom. 2. concil. part. 1. pag. 237. edit. Colon. ann. 1618.

pleasure did in an invisible manner bestow the empire upon him:" but also the bishop and clergy of Nicomedia begin their letters unto him and Valentinian in a like style; " God[f] hath justly granted unto you to reign and rule over all, for the welfare of the world, and the peace of the holy churches:" the six Armenian bishops theirs unto the emperor Leo, thus: " God[g], who glorifieth them that glorify him, hath graciously given unto you, Christian prince, power over all men without any prohibition:" and Ahalaric king of the Goths his unto the clergy of the church of Rome in this manner: " We[h] owe so much the more to the Deity, by how much we have received greater things than other men: for what correspondent thing can he repay to God, who by his gift enjoyeth an empire?" Of which point Agapetus Diaconus teacheth Justinian, who at the same time was emperor in the East, to make this use: " Seeing[i] God hath entrusted you with this kingdom of the world, use none of the wicked to the administration of your affairs;" and again: " Seeing[k] you have received the sceptre of the kingdom from God, consider how you may please him who gave the same unto you; and being by him exalted above all men, strain yourself more than all others to honour him." Let us

[f] *Θεὸς τὸ βασιλεύειν ὑμῖν καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ὅλων, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ εἰρήνῃ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν, δικαίως δεδώρηται.* Eunom. Nicomediens. episc. epist. ad imp. in conc. Chalcedonens. Act. 13. pag. 308.

[g] " Deus, qui glorificantes se glorificat, secundum cor suum apicem vestræ tranquillitatis inveniens inexpugnabilem, palmam et honorem fidei consistentem, placidus præbuit vobis, Christianissime principum, super omnes homines sine prohibitione aliqua potestatem. Insurgentes enim inopinabiliter subdidit victoriis atque incomparabilibus triumphis, et vestram pietatem excellentissimis honoribus exornavit; immutilata et sine litigio, et ab aliis indivisa præbens sceptra vestri imperii." Conc. Chalced. part. 3. pag. 395.

[h] " Tanto divinitati plura debemus, quanto cæteris mortalibus majora suscepimus. Nam quid simile rependat Deo qui potitur imperio?" Cassiodor. lib. 8. epist. 24.

[i] *'Εγκόσμιον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πιστευθεὶς βασιλείαν, μηδενὶ χρῶ τῶν πονηρῶν πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεις.* Agapet. Parænetic. cap. 30.

[k] *Σκῆπτρον βασιλείας παρὰ Θεοῦ δεξάμενος, σκέπτου πῶς ἀρέσεις τῷ ταύτην σοι δεδωκότι· καὶ ὡς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προτιμηθεὶς, πλέον πάντων ἐπείγου καπαγεραίρειν αὐτόν.* Agapet. Parænetic. cap. 16.

add to this the sentence of the council of Toledo: "It[l] is unlawful to call his power into question to whom the government of all is known to be delegated by judgment from above;" and of Paris: "No[m] king is to think that his kingdom cometh unto him by his progenitors, but ought truly and humbly to believe that it is given unto him by God:" for "whosoever hath the temporal rule over other men, is to believe that the kingdom is committed unto him not by men, but by God; forasmuch as this earthly kingdom is obtained neither by craft, nor by wish, nor by the arm of man's strength, but by the power and secret judgment of the providence of God." So likewise the council held at Meaux declareth out of St. Paul, that "the[n] regal power is from God:" and that of Aken puts Lotharius in mind of his vocation, that "Christ[o] the King of kings, who on earth in his name had substituted him for the worthy dispensation of his office, might in heaven remunerate him." And in a third held at Trosley, the bishops do both acknowledge out of St. Peter, that "the[p] regal sublimity is constituted by God;" and pray for their king, that "having[q] well performed the

[l] "Nefas est in dubium deducere ejus potestatem cui omnium gubernatio superno constat delegata judicio." Concil. Toletan. 6. cap. 14.

[m] "Nemo regum a progenitoribus regnum sibi administrari, sed a Deo veraciter atque humiliter credere debet dari, &c. Quapropter quisquis cæteris mortalibus temporaliter imperat, non ab hominibus, sed a Deo sibi regnum commissum credat, &c. quia non astu, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humanæ, sed virtute, imo occulto judicio dispensationis divinæ regnum confertur terrenum." Concil. Paris. 6. cap. 5. tom. 2. Concil. Galliæ, pag. 529.

[n] "Si quis potestati regiæ, quæ non est, juxta apostolum, nisi a Deo, contumaci ac inflato spiritu, contra auctoritatem et rationem, pertinaciter contradicere præsumpserit, &c. anathematizetur." Concil. Meldens. cap. 15. tom. 3. Concil. Galliæ, pag. 36.

[o] "Christianissimo principi ad memoriam reduximus, ut non immemor vocationis suæ, quod nomine censetur opere compleat; ut rex regum Christus, qui sui nominis vicem illi contulit in terris, dispensationis sibi creditæ dignam remunerationem reddat in cœlis." Concil. Aquisgran. 3. cap. 1. Conc. Galliæ, pag. 189.

[p] "In quo facto pontificalem sic crexerimus auctoritatem, ut non obliviscamur regiam a Deo constitutam esse sublimitatem; dicente apostolo: Subjecti estote regi quasi præcellenti." Concil. Trosleian. cap. 2. Concil. Galliæ, pag. 539.

[q] "Hac vobis commissa decenter administratione peracta, ab eo qui temporale vobis dedit regnum, accipere æternum." Concil. Trosleian. cap. 2. Concil. Galliæ. pag. 541.

government committed unto him from him who gave him the temporal kingdom, he might receive that which is everlasting." And the French bishops, in the profession which they made unto Carolus Calvus, promise their faithful assistance for the upholding of him "in[r] the kingdom which God had bestowed, or should bestow upon him:" as in a former oath also his subjects promised[s] the like assistance for the maintaining of that power which in the regal name and kingdom God had granted unto him.

The time would fail me to recount all the passages which occur in the constitutions of Justinian to this purpose; this taste only for the present may be sufficient: "The[t] greatest gifts which God's goodness from above hath conferred on men, are the priesthood and empire; both of which do proceed from one and the same principle, and are for the ordering and disposing of the affairs of mankind." "Nothing[u] is exempted from the cognizance of regal power, which hath received from God the general charge of all sorts of men." And of himself in particular: "The[x] empire is delivered unto us by the heavenly Majesty." "By[y] the divine appointment we took upon us the imperial robes," and "the[z] rights of

[r] "Fidelis vobis adjutor ero, ut regnum quod vobis Deus donavit, vel donaverit, ad ipsius voluntatem, &c. habere et obtinere possitis." Capitular. Caroli Calvi, a Jac. Sirmundo edit. cap. 38. pag. 387.

[s] "Fidelis vobis adjutor ero, ut illam potestatem, quam in regio nomine et regno vobis Deus concessit, ad ipsius voluntatem, et ad vestram ac fidelium vestrorum salvationem, cum debito et honore et vigore tenere et gubernare possitis." Capitulat. Caroli Calvi, a Jac. Sirmundo edit. cap. 38. pag. 387.

[t] *Μέγιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστι δῶρα Θεοῦ, παρὰ τῆς ἄνωθεν δεδομένα φιλανθρωπίας, ἱερωσύνη τε καὶ βασιλεία*, &c. *ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκατέρα προϊοῦσα, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον κατακοσμοῦσα βίον.* Just. Nov. 6. init.

[u] *Μηδὲν ἄβατόν ἐστιν εἰς ζήτησιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, κοινὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστασίαν ἐκ Θεοῦ παραλαβούσῃ.* Just. in Novellæ 133. proœmio.

[x] "Deo auctore nostrum gubernante imperium, quod nobis a cœlesti majestate traditum est." Cod. de vet. jur. enucl. in init.

[y] "Nutu divino imperiales suscepimus infulas." l. fin. in fi. c. de quadrien. præscript. which Agapetus in his admonitions to him, num. 45. did thus iterate, *Νεύματι θεοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν λαβών.*

[z] "Per ipsum (Christum) jura imperii suscepimus." Lib. 2. in princ. cap. de offic. præf. præt. Afr.

the empire by our Lord Jesus Christ." "God[a] did set us over the affairs of the Romans," and "gave[b] us rule over the nations." "He[c] according to his benignity entrusted us with the power of the laws." And "forasmuch[d] as for this end God from heaven hath constituted the regal power, we thought good to write this law, and give it in common to those subjects which both already he hath committed to us, and by little and little doth daily add to." As also in a like expression he willeth other laws of his to be observed, not in the imperial city alone, but also "in[e] all those nations, the government of some whereof," saith he, "God at first gave to us; others he hath since added, and we hope will still increase." And from hence he neglected not often to make mention of that duty which he held himself bound thereby to perform unto his subjects. "Since[f] the time," saith he, "that God did set us over the empire of the Romans, we have been diligent to do always what might conduce to the profit of the subjects of this commonwealth wherewith God hath entrusted us:" and "to[g] preserve all our subjects, the government of whom God hath committed unto us, without hurt or damage." "Always[h] by God's

[a] Ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέστησε πράγμασι. Novel. 47.

[b] Ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξάρχειν δέδωκεν ὁ θεός. Novel. 17.

[c] Νόμων πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπίστευσε. Novel. 137. init.

[d] Ἐπειδὴ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καθῆκεν, &c. ᾠήθημεν χρῆναι, καὶ τοῦτον γράψαι τὸν νόμον, καὶ δοῦναι ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ὁπόσοις ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πρότερόν τε παρέδωκε, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ προστίθησι. Novel. 73.

[e] Ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἡμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς, τὴν δὲ προσέθηκεν, ἠδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ δώσει (φησί τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν.) Novel. 60. ubi ad Homericum illud allusisse videatur, Iliad. α. Τοὔνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἄλγε᾽ ἔδωκεν ἑκηβόλος, ἠδ᾽ ἔτι δώσει.

[f] Ἐξ οὗπερ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέστησε βασιλείᾳ, πᾶσαν τιθέμεθα σπουδὴν, πάντα πράττειν ἀεὶ τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὑπηκόων τῆς ἐμπιστευθείσης ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτείας. Novel. 86. init.

[g] Σπεύδομεν πάντας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους, ὧν τὴν διοίκησιν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους φυλάττειν. Nov. 85. init.

[h] Ἀεὶ μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας πᾶσαν ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν τοῦ τὸ ὑπήκοον, τὸ παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας παραδοθὲν ἡμῖν, ἀβλαβὲς φυλάττεσθαι. Novel. 80. init.

assistance we use all providence to preserve from hurt the subjects which he of his benignity hath committed unto us:" and "we[i] think it is manifest unto all those who are well minded, that all our care and prayer is, that those may live well who are committed to our trust by God our Lord."

His successor Justinus is by Corippus brought in speaking thus:

> Imperii Deus est virtus et gloria nostri,
> A quo certa salus, sceptrum datur atque potestas.
>
> God is the strength and glory of my crown,
> From him my safety, sceptre, power come down.

Whereof he himself likewise giveth a touch in one of his Constitutions[k]: And after him Tiberius acknowledgeth, it was "God[l] that gave him the government of the commonwealth;" *ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν*, (our sovereignty constituted by God) is a style we meet withal in the novels[m] of Constantius and Basilius Porphyrogennetus. And Manuel Comnenus beginneth one of his thus: "The[n] wisdom of the ancients defined regal power to be a legal administration of things, a divine matter; and accordingly did both believe and profess it to be a great part of the providence of God Almighty." The same Manuel also both in his coins[o] expressed, and in his letters wrote himself to be "crowned[p] by God." Which honourable title

[i] *Πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι πρόδηλον εἶναι νομίζομεν, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡμῖν ἐστι σπουδὴ καὶ εὐχὴ, τὸ τοὺς πιστευθέντας ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Θεοῦ καλῶς βιοῦν.*

[k] *Τῆς παραδοθείσης ἡμῖν ἐκ θεοῦ πολιτείας κηδόμενοι.* Inter Justinianæas Novel. 148.

[l] *Ἐξ οὗ τῆς πολιτείας ἡμῖν τὸ κράτος δέδωκεν ὁ Θεός.* Tiber. constitut. de divinis domibus, præfat.

[m] Appendic. *βασιλικῶν* a Jo. Leunclavio edit. pag. 14. et 50.

[n] *Ἔννομον ἐπιστασίαν οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡρίσαντο, χρῆμα γοῦν ἀτεχνῶς θεσπέσιον· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρόνοιαν Θεοῦ μεγαλομερῆ ταύτην εἶναι καὶ πεπιστεύκασι καὶ διδάσκουσιν.* Appendic. *βασιλικῶν*, a Jo. Leunclavio edit. pag. 176.

[o] See in Octav. de Strada, de imperatorib. Rom. pag. 338. the medal, wherein Christ is figured putting on a garland upon the emperor's head.

[p] "Divinitus coronatus." Eman. Comnen. literæ ad Fridericum, apud Albert. Stadens. in chronic. an. 1179.

of θεοστεφὴς, his predecessors the Constantinopolitan emperors not only of themselves assumed, but the bishops of Rome acknowledged due to them; Gregory II[q]. (with the Roman[r] council held under him;) Zachary[s] and Paul I[t]. dating their acts in this manner: "Imperante Domino piissimo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno imperatore."

So Pope Hadrian I. beginneth one of his letters to Charles the Great with "Meminit[u] vestra a Deo promota regalis excellentia:" and Charles himself one of his capitulars with "Regnante[x] Domino nostro Jesu Christo in perpetuum, ego Carolus, gratia Dei ejusque misericordia donante, rex et rector regni Francorum." And when he was afterwards crowned emperor, the people of Rome with an unanimous consent used this solemn acclamation unto him: "Carolo[y] Augusto, A DEO CORONATO, magno et pacifico imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria." Whereof Alcuinus also doth put him in mind, by telling him as in the general, that "the[z] imperial dignity was ordained by God:" so, for his own particular, that this "power[a] was conferred on him by God, not for the government of the world alone, but especially for the defence of the Church, and the gracing of wisdom." Among the German emperors, Frederick I. maketh a like acknowledgment and profession: "Forasmuch[b] as by the appointment of

[q] Gregor. epist. 2. 9. 14. 17. Concil. tom. 3. part. 1. sect. 1. pag. 340. 343, 344. 346. edit. Colon. ann. 1618.

[r] Concil. Roman. tom. 3. part. 1. sect. 1. pag. 347.

[s] Zachar. epist. 1. 4, 5, 6. 8, 9, 10. 12. Concil. Rom. tom. 3. part. 1. sec. 1. pag. 364, 366, 367. 370, 371. 373. 375.

[t] Paul, epist. 1. and 2. Concil. Rom. tom. 3. part. 1. sec. 1. pag. 401, 402.

[u] Tom. 2. Concil. Galliæ, pag. 122.

[x] Capitulat. Aquisgranens. tom. 2. concil. Galliæ, pag. 130.

[y] Eginhard. in annal. Franco. ann. 801. Anonym. vitæ Caroli M. scriptor a P. Pithœo edit. Anastas. bibliothecar. in vita Leon. 3. P.

[z] "Dignitas imperialis a Deo ordinata." Alcuinus, præfat. in libros de S. Trinitate.

[a] "Unde patenter agnosci poterit, non tantum imperatoriam vestræ prudentiæ potestatem a Deo ad solum mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiæ præsidium et sapientiæ decorem collatam." Alcuinus, præfat. in libros de S. Trinitate, epist. 106.

[b] "Quoniam divina præordinante clementia solium regiæ majestatis conscen-

the divine clemency we have ascended to the throne of regal majesty, it is fit we should thoroughly obey him in our actions by whose gift we have attained to this pre-eminence." And Lewis of Baviere sheweth largely in one of his rescripts out of the canon law itself, that "the[c] imperial power and authority is immediately from God alone:" and in another, "by[d] the counsel and consent of the electors and the other princes of the empire," maketh a solemn declaration to the same purpose, that "the imperial dignity and power immediately dependeth upon God alone."

Yea, in the more ancient times we have marks of this truth from the very painters, who "by[e] corporeal things representing those which were incorporeal things," as Isidorus Pelusiota noteth, "used to figure a single hand crowning the heads of kings: to shew that their authority descended to them from heaven." Which expression of a divine act by a simple hand out of a cloud, as for the general, both in the Greek Genesis or Latin Psalter of Sir Robert Cotton, (the most ancient of any now extant, and coming not much short of Isidorus his own time) I have observed to be very usual; so for this particular you may note the continuation of the like emblem unto later ages in the[f] reverse of the emperor Theophylactus his medal, stamped about the year DCCCXII.

Having searched thus far into the ground of sovereign-

dimus, dignum est ut cujus præcellimus munere, illi omnino pareamus in opere." Feudor. lib. 2. tit. 27. de pace tenenda et ejus violat.

[c] "Ex quibus et aliis pluribus, quæ brevitatis causa dimittuntur, clare patet, quod potestas et authoritas imperialis est immediate a solo Deo, et non a papa." Ludov. imp. apol. in append. ad Hen. Rebdorfensis annal. a M. Frehero edit.

[d] "Ideo ad tantum malum evitandum, de consilio et consensu electorum et aliorum principum imperii, declaramus quod imperialis dignitas et potestas pendet immediate a solo Deo." Ludov. imp. apol. in lit. aliis apud H. Balbum episc. Gurcensem in lib. de coronat. ad Car. 5.

[e] *Ὁι ζωγράφοι (ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων τόλμης τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ποιήσωμαι) σωματοποιοῦντες τὰ ἀσώματα, χεῖρα γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσι μόνην, στέφουσαν τῶν τῆς γῆς βασιλευόντων τὰς κορύφας ἵνα δείξωσιν οὐρανόθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδόσθαι.* Isid. Pelus. lib. 3. epist. 161.

[f] Apud Octav. de Strada de imperat. Rom. pag. 294.

ty, and, by reasons and witnesses of all sorts, deduced the original thereof from no lower a head than heaven itself, let us now look a little into those royal prerogatives which are annexed to the eminent estate of such supreme governors. These "jura majestatis," of old, (for the more distinct notice, and better preservation of them) were sometimes written in a book, sometimes engraven in tables of brass; and so transmitted safely to posterity. Thus when Samuel[g] had declared to the people this "jus regium," it is said, that "he wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord:" and when the Jews had chosen Simon the brother of Jonathan for their prince, they caused the chief heads of that supreme power committed unto him, "to[h] be put in tables of brass, and to be set up within the compass of the sanctuary in a conspicuous place:" wherein, beside "the charge of the sanctuary," and the care of placing officers over "the works, the country, the armour, and the fortresses," it was further enacted, "That he should be obeyed of every man, and that all the writings in the country should be made in his name, and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold. Also that it should be lawful for none of the people or priests to break any of these things, or to gainsay his words, or to gather an assembly in the country without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold. And whosoever should do otherwise, or break any of these things, he should be punished." Where, among other things, it is observable, that the gathering of assemblies is reckoned as an especial privilege of the prince. To which purpose both remarkable and agreeable is that of Isocrates, who under the person of king Nicocles thus instructs his subjects: "Make[i] no societies nor conventicles without my license: assemblies of this kind, as in other governments they are hurtful, so in

[g] 1 Sam. chap. 10. ver. 25. [h] 1 Mac. chap. 14. ver. 18.

[i] Ἑταιρείας μὴ ποιεῖτε, μήτε συνόδους, ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης· αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται συστάσεις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτείαις πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις κινδυνεύουσιν. Isocrat. in Nicocle.

monarchies they are exceeding dangerous." Whereunto that of Mecænas in Dio may be likewise added: "Combinations[k], and assemblies, and associations, are things that do not very well consist with a monarchy."

When the senate[l] of Rome had decreed to Vespasian such rights as did usually belong to princes, the particulars (according to the manner above mentioned) were put into brass tables; the last of which is still there extant, removed from the Lateran church, where it stood fixed a long while, unto the capitol: in that, beside the power of "confederating[m] with whom he would," and many other privileges, we find this high prerogative confirmed unto him, that[n] what laws soever either of the senate or people it was ordained that the emperors his predecessors were not tied to, from those he should be loose also: which, according to the mind of the civilians, is expressed thus: "They[o] are loosed from the laws, (as the letter of their own language speaks) that is, they are free from all coactive obedience to them, and are held by none of the written ordinances:" shewing that they were exempted, first, from all coaction of the law, (this being accounted "the[p] happiest thing in a princedom, that the prince may be constrained to nothing") and then from all obligation to the written or positive law, which here is opposed to that which Tully calleth the "not[q] written, but innate

[k] *Συνωμοσίαι καὶ συστάσεις ἑταιρεῖαί τε ἥκιστα μοναρχίᾳ συμφέρει.* Dio, hist. Rom. lib. 52. Vid. tit. de Colleg. et Corpor. in Pandect.

[l] "Romæ senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit." Corn. Tacitus, hist. lib. 4.

[m] "Fœdusve cum quibus volet facere liceat." Vet. Inscript. a Grutero, edit. p. 242.

[n] "Utique quibus legibus plebisve scitis scriptum fuit ne Divus Aug. Tiberiusve Julius Cæsar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis imp. Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit." Vet. Inscript. a Grutero, edit. p. 242.

[o] *Λέλυνται τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει, τουτέστιν, ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεώς εἰσι, καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται.* Dion. hist. Rom. lib. 53.

[p] "Ereptumque principi illud in principatu beatissimum, quod nihil cogitur." Plin. Panegyr. ad Trajan.

[q] "Est hæc non scripta, sed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legi-

law;" from which, as he well observeth, "neither[r] by the senate nor by the people exemption can be given."

For the more full understanding hereof, observe we the distinction to be made between these three kinds of laws, the law of God, the law of the king, and that which is God's law and the king's together. Under the first of these we comprehend also the law of nature; of which (as the same Tully rightly noteth) "God[s], that one common master and ruler of all, is the inventor, arbitrator and enacter; which he who will not obey, must in a sort fly from himself, and reject man's nature; and consequently undergo the greatest pains" from his own conscience, "although he should escape all those other which commonly are accounted punishments." Now to this moral law of God, whether "by[t] nature thus written in the hearts" of men, or more fully delivered in God's own written word, or by just consequence deduced from the grounds of either of them, the greatest monarch upon earth owes as much obedience as the lowest and meanest of all his subjects: and therefore the civilians themselves, who[u] deny the king to be subject unto other laws, do yet declare, that these "general[x] laws ought to prevail even against

mus, verum ex natura ipsa arripuimus, hausimus, expressimus; ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus." Cic. orat. pro Milone.

[r] Huic legi nec obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest: nec vero aut per senatum aut per populum solvi hac lege possumus." Cicero, lib. 3. de Republ. apud Lactant. lib. 3. cap. 8.

[s] "Unus erit communis quasi magister et imperator omnium Deus ille, legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator; cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis spernabitur, atque hoc ipso luet maximas pœnas, etiamsi cætera supplicia quæ putantur effugerit." Cicero, de Republ. apud Lactant. lib. 3. cap. 8. "Hanc video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendique sapientia. Ita principem legem illam et ultimam mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei." Cicero, lib. 2. De legibus.

[t] Rom. chap. 2. ver. 14, 15.

[u] Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς νόμοις οὐχ ὑπόκειται. Basilic. lib. 2. tit. 6. cap. 1. Harmenopul. epitom. juris, lib. 11. tit. 1. sect. 48.

[x] Κατὰ βασιλέως οἱ γενικοὶ κρατείτωσαν νόμοι. Basilic. lib. 2. tit. 6. cap. 9. Harmenopul. lib. 11. tit. 1. sect. 39.

him also." Concerning which, hear what John of Sarisbury writeth: "There[y] are certain precepts which have a perpetual necessity, are current with all nations, and which by no means without guilt may be broken. Before the law, under the law, and under grace, this one law did bind all: What thou wouldest not have done to thyself, do not thou unto another; and what thou wouldest have done unto thyself, the same do thou unto others. Let those parjetters of great men now come forth, let them whisper, or (if that be too little) let them preach publicly, that the prince is not subject to the law, and that what pleaseth him (not only in the making of a law, according to the tenor of equity, but any way whatsoever) hath the force of a law. Let them, if they will and they dare, make the king, whom they exempt from all obligation of the law, to be a lawless person: whatever not only they, but the whole world shall say to the contrary, I will stand to it, that they are bound by this law."

For although the king[z] be lord of all, yet is he the servant of God together with all: nay, for God's law, we find that the king had this particular charge laid upon him above others: "It[a] shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law

[y] "Sunt autem præcepta quædam perpetuam habentia necessitatem, apud omnes gentes legitima, et quæ omnino impune solvi non possunt. Ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia, omnes lex una constringit, Quod tibi non vis fieri alii ne feceris; et quod tibi vis fieri hoc facias aliis. Procedant nunc dealbatores potentum, susurrent, et (si hoc parum est) publice præconentur, principem non esse legi subjectum, et quod ei placet (non modo in jure secundum formam æquitatis condendo, sed qualitercunque) legis habere vigorem. Regem, quem legis nexibus subtrahunt, si volunt et audent, exlegem faciant: ego non modo his renitentibus, sed mundo reclamante, ipsos hac lege teneri confirmo." Jo. Sarisburiens. Polycratic. lib. 4. cap. 7.

[z] *Κύριος μὲν πάντων ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς, δοῦλος ὁ μετὰ πάντων ὑπάρχει Θεοῦ.* Agapet. Paræn. ad Justinian. cap. 68.

[a] Deut. chap. 17. ver. 18, 19, 20.

and these statutes, to do them. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he and his children in the midst of Israel." Whereupon Philo bringeth in the king using this soliloquy: "I[b] being so great a prince did write these things, not using any other scribe, having so many thousands under me: to the end that while I did write them in the book, I might transcribe them into my soul, and imprint in my mind those divine characters never to be washed out again. Whereas other kings therefore bear staves for their sceptre, this abridgment of the law shall be my sceptre, my rejoicing and glory uncontrolable, the ensign of that unreprovable government which is fashioned according to the pattern of God's own kingdom." So that nothing hereby is detracted either from the liberty of the king, while he is made subject unto him whose service is perfect freedom; or from his power, while he is left "to[c] do nothing else but that which God shall commend." For while hereby we "temper[d] the majesty of Cæsar," as Tertullian speaketh, "under God, we commend him the more to God, unto whom alone we do subject him;" he being "therefore[e] great, because he is less than heaven."

By the law of the king, I understand such ordinances as are merely civil and positive; the coactive power whereof being derived from him who is the supreme lawgiver under God on earth, he himself cannot

[b] Ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ἔγραψα ὁ τοσοῦτος ἄρχων, μὴ προσχρησάμενος ὑπηρέτῃ ἑτέρῳ, μυρίων ὄντων, &c. ὅπως αὐτὰ ἐν βίβλῳ γράφων, εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μεταγράφω, καὶ ἐναπομάττωμαι τῇ διανοίᾳ θειοτέρους καὶ ἀνεκπλύντους χαρακτῆρας. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς βακτηρίας ἔχοντες σκηπτροφοροῦσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἡ βίβλος ἔσται τῆς ἐπινομίδος, καύχημα καὶ κλέος ἀνανταγώνιστον, ἐπίσημον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεπιλήπτου πρὸς ἀρχέτυπον τὴν Θεοῦ βασιλείαν ἀπεικονισθείσης. Philo, in libro de creatione principis.

[c] Ἡλίκην ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅπερ μέλλει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν. M. Antonin. lib. 12. de vita sua.

[d] "Temperans majestatem Cæsaris infra Deum, magis illum commendo Deo, cui soli subjicio." Tertul. apol. cap. 33.

[e] "Ideo magnus est, quia cælo minor est." Tertul. apol. cap. 30.

properly be said to be tied thereby. For as with the grammarians the imperative mood hath no first person, so with the civilians, "No[f] man can command or forbid himself;" at leastwise, "No[g] man can impose such a law upon himself, but that he may recede from it when he pleaseth." And with the schoolmen, "A[h] law hath power to direct such acts as belong to those who are subject to the government of another; whereupon no man, if we speak properly, doth impose a law upon his own acts." As no man therefore is superior to himself, so no man hath jurisdiction over himself; because none can oblige a man against his will, but only his superior; and the jurisdiction over a man's self may be dissolved at pleasure. To which kind of voluntary submission unto the laws, that memorable saying of Valentinian the younger may be referred: "It[i] is in truth a greater thing than the empire, to submit the princedom itself unto the laws:" and that of Alexander Severus: "Although[k] the law of the empire hath freed the emperor from the solemnities of the law; yet nothing is so proper for empire as to live by the laws;" and that which both Severus and Antonius set down so oft in their rescripts: "Although[l] we be loosed from the laws, yet we live by the laws." Whereunto also we may add that commendation which

[f] "Neque imperare sibi, neque se prohibere quisquam potest." Marcian. in l. Si de re sua. De recept. arbit. Vide et Ulpian. in l. Ille a quo, sec. Tempestivum, D. ad Senatusc. Trebellian. et in l. Quod autem, sec. Uxori quis. D. de donat. inter. vir.

[g] "Nemo eam sibi potest legem dicere, ut a priore ei recedere non liceat." Hermogenian. in l. Si quis, sec. 1 D. de legat. 3.

[h] "Lex est directiva actuum qui conveniunt subjectis gubernationi alicujus: unde nullus, proprie loquendo, suis actibus legem imponit." Thom. 1. 2. quæst. 93. artic. 5.

[i] "Revera majus imperio est submittere legibus principatuum." 1. 4. C. de leg. et constitut.

[k] "Licet lex imperii solennibus juris imperatorem solverit, nihil tamen tam proprium imperii est quam legibus vivere." l. 3. C. de testam.

[l] "Secundum hoc D. D. Severus et Antonius sæpissime rescripserunt, Licet enim (inquiunt) legibus soluti simus, attamen legibus vivimus." Institut. quibus modis testam. infirment. sec. ult.

Plutarch giveth to Alexander the Great, that "he[m] conceived he ought to be thought superior unto all men, yet subject to justice:" and Pliny to Trajan: "He[n] thinks himself to be one of us; and so much the more excellent and eminent he is, that he so thinketh, and no less remembereth that he is a man, than that he is a ruler of men." "For[n] he who hath nothing left to increase his height, hath but this one way to grow by, if he submit himself, being secure of his greatness." And in his direct speech to the emperor himself: "Thou[o] esteemest us the same, and thyself the same; equal unto all, and in this only greater than the rest, that thou art better than they." And more nearly to our present purpose: "Thou[p] hast made thyself subject to the laws, O Cæsar, which were not written to restrain the prince by. But thou wilt have nothing more lawful to thee than is to us." Such written laws as these, no doubt, Justinian the emperor meant, when, upon the enacting of a constitution of this kind, he addeth thereunto this limitation: "From[q] all those things that have been said by us, let the emperor's state be excepted, whereunto GOD hath subjected the very laws themselves, sending him as a living law unto men." Who therefore in another place assumeth unto himself the title of "a father of the law:" whereupon the glossator maketh this observation: "Note[r] that the em-

[m] Πάντων οἰόμενος δεῖν περιεῖναι, τοῦ δικαίου δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι. Plut. de fortuna Alexandri, orat. 2.

[n] "Unum ille se ex nobis; et hoc magis excellit atque eminet, quod unum ex nobis putat; nec minus hominem se, quam hominibus præesse meminit." Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

[n] "Nam cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic uno modo crescere potest, si se ipse submittat, securus magnitudinis suæ." Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

[o] "Eosdem nos, eundem te putas; par omnibus, et hoc tantum cæteris major, quo melior." Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

[p] "Ipse te legibus subjecisti, legibus, Cæsar, quas nemo principi scripsit: Sed tu nihil amplius vis tibi licere quam nobis." Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

[q] Πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων ἡμῖν ἡ βασιλέως ἐξῃρήσθω τύχη, ἧγε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς νόμους ὑποτέθεικε, νόμον αὐτὴν ἔμψυχον καταπέμψας ἀνθρώποις. Justinian. Novel. 105.

[r] "Nota imperatorem vocari patrem legis; unde et leges sunt ei subjecta." Gloss. in Novel. 1. 2. c. 4.

peror is the father of the law; whereupon the laws also are subject to him." For such positive laws as these, being (as other works of men are) imperfect, and not free from many discommodities, if the strict observation thereof should be perused in every particular; it is fit the supreme governor should not himself only be exempted from subjection thereunto, but also be so far lord over them, that where he seeth cause, he may abate or totally remit the penalty incurred by the breach of them, dispense with others for the not observing of them at all; yea, and generally suspend the execution of them, when by experience he shall find the inconveniences to be greater than the profit that was expected should redound thereby unto the commonwealth. Plutarch setteth this down as a chief point of that natural skill, which Philopœmen had in government, that he "did[s] not only rule according to the laws, but overruled the laws themselves, when he found it conducing to the weal-public." Such laws as these St. Augustine calleth "temporal[t]; which, although they be just, yet in time may justly also suffer a change." That being most true of them which Portius Cato saith in Livy: "No[u] law is equally commodious unto all; that chiefly is looked to, if it be convenient for the greater part:" and Sextus Cælicius in Gellius: "The[x] opportu-

[s] *Οὕτως ἡγεμονικὴν φύσιν ἔχων, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἄρχειν ἠπίστατο, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.* Plutarch. in comparat. Flaminii et Philopœmen.

[t] "Appellemus istam legem, si placet, temporalem; quæ, quamvis justa sit, commutari tamen per tempora juste potest." Aug. de lib. arbitr. lib. 1. cap. 6.

[u] "Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est; id modo quæritur si majori parti et in summum prodest." Porcii Cat. orat. pro lege Oppia, apud Liv. initio lib. 34.

[x] "Non ignoras, legum opportunitates et medelas pro temporum moribus, et pro rerumpublicarum generibus, ac pro utilitatum præsentium rationibus, proque vitiorum quibus medendum est fervoribus, mutari atque flecti, neque uno statu consistere, quin ut facies cœli et maris, ita rerum atque fortunæ tempestatibus varientur." A. Gellius lib. 20. cap. 1. cum illo Justiniani imp. de reformatione juris Romani: "Multa et maxima sunt, quæ propter utilitatem rerum transformata sunt." Lib. 2. Cod. de veteri jure enucleando, et in proœmio Novel. 107. *Ἡ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ποικιλία καὶ ἡ φύσις ταῦτα συχνῶς μεταβάλλουσα, δεῖσθαι τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον ἐπανορθώσεως ἡμετέρας παρεσκεύασε.*

nitics and remedies of laws, according to the manners of the times, the divers forms of government, the regard of present conveniences, and the height of public enormities, are changed and fitted. They remain not in one and the same state; but, as the face of the weather and of the seas, are varied with the tempests of accidents and emergent occasions." So Tertullian: "If[y] there have been an error in the law, I hope it was conceived by a man; for from heaven surely it fell not: and is it any wonder that a man either should err in making of a law, or shew an after wisdom in rejecting it?" For "the[z] laws of nature indeed," saith Justinian, "which are equally observed among all nations, and as it were by God's providence appointed, do remain always firm and immutable; but those which every commonwealth maketh unto itself, use often to be changed, either by the tacit consent of the people, or by another law brought in afterward." As it fell out in Draco his laws; which, "because[a] they seemed to be sharp above measuse, were obliterated, not by any decree or command, but by a silent and unwritten agreement of the Athenians." And while the laws do stand in force, "It[b] is fit that sometimes the king's clemency should be mingled with the severity of them; especially when by that means the subjects may be freed from much

[y] "Si lex tua erravit, puto ab homine concepta est; nec enim de cœlo ruit: Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in reprobanda?" Tert. apol. cap. 4.

[z] "Naturalia quibem jura, quæ apud omnes gentes peræque observantur, divina quadam providentia constituta, semper firma atque immutabilia permanent: ea vero quæ ipsa sibi quæque civitas constituit sæpe mutari solent, vel tacito consensu populi, vel alia postea lege lata." Institut. lib. 1. de jur. natural. sect. 11. cum l. De quibus causis 31. D. de legibus.

[a] "Ejus leges, quoniam videbantur impendio acerbiores, non decreto jussoque, sed tacito illiteratoque Atheniensium consensu, obliteratæ sunt." A. Gellius, lib. 11. cap. 18. "Legum enim ipsarum jussa consensu tacito obliterantur." Idem, lib. 12. cap. 13.

[b] *Τῇ τῶν νόμων ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐγκαταμίξαι φιλανθρωπίαν ἐστὶν, ὅτι τῶν προσηκόντων καθέστηκε, καὶ μάλιστα ἡνίκα τοὺς ὑπηκόους πολλῆς ζημίας τε καὶ βλάβης ἐξαιρεῖται τοῦτο τὸ πραττόμενον.* Justin. junior imp. in præfatione constitut. 3.

detriment and damage:" "The[c] condition of the magistrates, whose sentence is held corrupt, if it be milder than the laws, being one thing; the power of princes, whom it becometh to qualify the sharpness of them, a far different matter." Wherein we may hear again, if you please, the opinion of John of Sarisbury: "I[d] do not," saith he, "take away the dispensing with the law out of the hands of the powers; but such precepts or prohibitions as have a perpetual right, are not, as I think, to be subjected unto their will and pleasure. In those things therefore only which are mutable, the dispensation with the letter of the law is to be admitted; yet so as by the compensation of honesty or utility the intention of the law may be entirely preserved."

The law both of God and the king is that wherein the commanded is a part of God's law; but the sanction[e] or civil punishment, whereby men are deterred from the breach thereof, is by the prince added thereunto. According to that which we read in the edict of king Artaxerxes: "Whosoever[f] will not do the law of God and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him; whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment:" and that place in St. Augustine: "How[g] do kings serve God in fear,

[c] "Alia est conditio magistratuum, quorum corruptæ videntur esse sententiæ, si sint legibus mitiores; alia dominorum principum potestas, quos decet acrimoniam severi juris inflectere." Symmachus, lib. 10. epist. ult.

[d] "Nec tamen dispensationem legis subtraho manibus potestatum; sed perpetuam præceptionem aut prohibitionem habentia, libito eorum nequaquam arbitror supponenda. In his itaque duntaxat quæ mobilia sunt, dispensatio verborum admittitur; ita tamen ut compensatione honestatis aut utilitatis mens legis integra conservetur." Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. lib. 4. cap. 7.

[e] "Legum eas partes quibus pœnas constituimus adversus eos qui contra leges fecerint, sanctiones vocamus." Institut. lib. 2. de rerum divis. sect. 11. "Sanctio legum novissime certam pœnam irrogat iis qui præceptis legis non obtemperaverint." Papinian. in lib. 41. D. de pœnis.

[f] Ez. chap. 7. ver. 26.

[g] "Quomodo ergo reges Domino serviunt in timore, nisi ea quæ contra jussa Domini fiunt, religiosa severitate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim servit quia homo est, aliter quia etiam et rex est. Quia homo est, ei servit vivendo fideliter; quia vero etiam rex est, servit, leges justa præcipientes

but when, with a religious severity they forbid and punish, those things which are done against the commandment of God? For as a man, he serveth God one way, as a king, another way: As a man he serveth him by his own living well, as a king by setting out and backing with power fitting such laws as command just things, and forbid the contrary." In laws of this nature, to the precept itself, as coming from God, the king is bound to yield obedience as well as others: but from the penalty annexed thereunto he is exempted. The reason is, because the inflicting of punishment is an act of a superior to an inferior: and therefore, though a father or master were never so faulty, none would be so absurd as to think, that their servants or children might chastise them. But to make any one upon earth superior to the supreme governor, would imply a manifest contradiction: so that we must of necessity come to that conclusion of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, that "of[h] a free monarch none may be judge but God alone." Which is the same which before we have heard from Rabbi Jeremiah, that "No creature may judge the king but God:" and is confirmed not only by Ecphantas the Pythagorean, who maketh it the privilege, first[i] of God, and then of the king under him, "not to be ruled by any;" but also by the general consent of the ancient Christians. For such was the profession of Tertullian: "We[k] worship the emperor as a man next unto God, and who hath obtained of God whatsoever he is, and is less than God only." "In[l] whose power alone he is, from whom he is the second, and after whom he is the

et contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore sanciendo." August. epist. 50. ad Bonifacium Comitem.

[h] Περὶ τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. Xiphilin. excerpt. ex Dionis M. Aurelio.

[i] Ἐντὶ μὲν τῷ Θεῷ, ἐντὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, αὐτῷ μὲν ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι δ' ὑπ' οὐδενός. Ecphant. apud Stobæum, serm. 46.

[k] "Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum; et quicquid est, a Deo consequutum, et solo Deo minorem." Tertull. ad Scapul. cap. 2.

[l] "In cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi." Idem, in apolog. cap. 30.

first." And of Optatus: "There[m] is none above the emperor but God alone, who made the emperor:" he being "the[n] top and head of all men upon earth," as Chrysostom: and "having[o] none higher than himself upon earth," as Agapetus speaketh. "If[p] any of the people commit a fault," saith Cassiodorus, "he sinneth to God and the king; but when the king offendeth he standeth guilty unto God alone, because he hath no man who is to be judge of his doings." "Every[q] one who liveth under authority," saith Arnobius, "when he offends, sinneth against God, and the laws of this world also; but the king, as living under God alone, and having no power above his own to fear but God's only, when he sinneth, offendeth God alone and none other." Upon which grounds Constantinus Harmenopulus, the Greek abridger of the civil law, declareth "the[r] king not to be subject to the laws, because offending against them he is not punished." The same reason is also rendered by St. Ambrose, why "kings[s] are tied by no laws, because they are not called to punishment by them, being warranted by the power of their empire." As Symmachus saith of factors[t] employed in remote countries, that they live as it

[m] "Super imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus, qui fecit imperatorem." Optat. adversus Parmenian. lib. 3.

[n] *Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων.* Jo. Chrysost. homil. 2. ad pop. Antioch.

[o] *Οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐτοῦ ὑψηλότερον.* Agapet. Paræn. cap. 21.

[p] "De populo si quis erraverit, et Deo peccat et regi; Nam quando rex delinquit, soli Deo reus est, quia hominem non habet qui ejus facta dijudicat." Cassiodor. in Psal. 50.

[q] "Omnis qui sub judicio vivit, cum deliquerit peccat Deo, peccat et legibus mundi: Hic autem rex sub nullo alio nisi sub Deo solo agens, ipsum solum super potestatem suam metuens, Deo soli peccavit." Arnobius junior in eundem Psalm.

[r] *Ὁ βασιλεὺς νόμοις οὐχ ὑπόκειται, ἤγουν ἁμαρτήσας οὐ κολάζεται.* Harmenopul. epitom. juris, lib. 1. tit. 1. sect. 48.

[s] "Peccavit David, quod solent reges, sed pœnitentiam gessit, &c. indulgentiam petebat, qui nullis tenebatur legibus HUMANIS." Ambros. apolog. David. cap. 4. "Rex utique erat, nullis ipse legibus tenebatur; quia liberi sunt reges a vinculis delictorum; Neque enim ullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tuti imperii potestate." Ambros. apolog. David. cap. 10.

[t] "Actores absentium, quibus res longinqua remittitur, tanquam soluti legi-

were loosed from the laws, because that being so far off, they stand not in any fear of their masters.

For to this end, saith Isidorus Hispalensis: "Were[u] laws made, that by fear of them the boldness of men might be restrained, and that innocency might be safe among the wicked; and that in the wicked themselves, the power of doing hurt might be bridled by the fear of punishment." Which end having no place in the king, who, as St. Hierom also noteth, "stands[w] not in fear of any other," this difference herein he observes between him and his people, that "they[x] in occasion of offence have the judge to fear, and the laws to curb them; the king hath nothing but the fear of God and the terror of hell, to restrain him from running headlong" into all vice. So that kings, wanting this help, which others have, of containing them within their duties, what they in this point do, doth not proceed from the fear of any civil punishment, but from the fear of God.

Hereupon Agapetus giveth this grave advice to the emperor Justinian: "Impose[y] upon thyself a necessity of observing the laws, because there is none on earth that can constrain thee: Not only what respect thou bearest to them will appear, if thou first thyself reverence them;

bus vivunt, quoniam procul positis nullus dominorum terror incurrit." Symmach. lib. 9. epist. 6. Illud Ulpiani in leg. Princeps D. de leg. "Princeps legibus solutus est;" intelligunt de pœnariis legibus, ad quas princeps non tenetur; ut in lege Julia et Papia de pœna Caduci, de qua ibi agit Ulpianus. Cujac. lib. 15. observ. 30. Connan. lib. 1. Comment. jur. cap. 16. Vasquez lib. 1. Controv. illustr. c. 2. n. 1. Christinæ decis. 9. n. 13.

[u] "Factæ sunt leges, ut earum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque sit inter improbos innocentia; et in ipsis improbis, formidato supplicio, refrænetur nocendi facultas." Isidor. Origin. lib. 5. cap. 20.

[w] "Rex erat, alium non timebat." Hieron. epist. 18. ad Eustochium, et 90. ad Rusticum.

[x] "Populi peccantes judicem metuunt, et a malo suo legibus coercentur: Reges autem, nisi solo Dei timore metuque gehennæ coerceantur, libere in præceps proruunt." Isidor. Sentent. lib. 3. cap. 50.

[y] *Σαυτῷ τὴν φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους ἐπίθες ἀνάγκην, ὡς μὴ ἔχων ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν δυνάμενον ἀναγκάζειν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξεις τὸ σέβας, αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τούτους αἰδούμενος, καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις φανήσεται τὸ παρανομεῖν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον.* Agapet. Paræn. cap. 27.

but the subjects will then plainly see how dangerous it will be to break them." So also Isidore: "It[z] is just that the prince should obey his own laws; for let him then make account that his laws shall be observed by all, when he himself shall shew reverence unto them." And St. Ambrose, to the emperor Valentinian: "What[a] thou hast prescribed unto others, thou hast prescribed also unto thyself; for the emperor maketh laws which he himself should first keep." To which purpose likewise Xenophon putteth this among the greatest[b] benefits which Agesilaus king of the Spartans brought unto "his country, that being the most powerful in the state, to the laws he was most obsequious: for who," saith he, "would be disobedient to them, when he saw the king himself submit to them." But what speak I of Agesilaus, a petty prince, not worthy of a king's title, in comparison of that potent and absolute monarch Cyrus? whom the same Xenophon, as a most perfect pattern in this kind, thus propounds unto us: "Those[c] which were in his view he thought by this means he might best excite unto good and laudable actions, if he himself, being their prince, did endeavour to declare himself unto his subjects to be more adorned with virtue than all of them. For this observation he made, That by the written laws indeed men were made better; but he esteemed a good prince to be a see-

[z] "Justum est principem legibus obtemperare suis: Tunc enim jura sua ab omnibus custodienda existimet, quando et ipse illis reverentiam præbet." Isid. Sentent. lib. 3. cap. 51.

[a] "Quod cum præscripsistis aliis, præscripsisti et tibi: leges enim imperator fert, quas primus ipse custodiat." Ambros. lib. 2. epist. 3.

[b] Ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τόδε ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δυνατώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει, φανερὸς ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. Τίς γαρ ἂν ἠθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν, ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον; Xenoph. orat. de Agesilao.

[c] Τοὺς δὲ παρέχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ παρορμᾷν ἔργα (ἐπείπερ ἦν ἄρχων αὐτῶν) εἰ αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸς ἐπιδεικνύειν πειρῷτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πάντων μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ· αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τοὺς γραφομένους νόμους βελτίους γενομένους ἀνθρώπους, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμιζεν, ὅ τι καὶ τάττειν ἱκανός ἐστι καὶ ὁρᾷν τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ κολάζεῖν. Xenoph. de institut. Cyri, lib. 8.

ing law unto men, as being able both to order matters, and both to behold and punish such as behaved themselves disorderly." "Shewing[d] moreover moderation in himself, he made all others to exercise that virtue the more. For when he who may be most insolent appears regular, the meaner sort will have more care not to be disordered."

And generally, that is most true which is observed by Tully, that "As[e] by the unbridled affections of the magistrate, the city usually is infected, so is it amended and rectified by his moderation:" according to that of Seneca:

> Rex[f] velit honesta, nemo non eadem volet,
>
> If the prince just things respect,
> Subjects will the same affect.

And Ovid:

> Sic[g] agitur censura, et sic exempla parantur;
> Si judex alios quod monet ipse facit.
>
> Rulers prove censors, and for patterns stand,
> When first themselves observe what they command.

"For[h] the life of the prince is a censure, and that a perpetual one. To it we direct, to it we turn, ourselves; having not so much need of command as of example. For fear is no such trusty teacher of right; men are better instructed by examples, which have this good in them especially, that they give proof that the things commanded

[d] *Καὶ σωφροσύνην δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεικνὺς, μᾶλλον ἐποίει καὶ ταύτην πάντας ἀσκεῖν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁρῶσιν ᾧ μάλιστα ἔξεστιν ὑβρίζειν, τοῦτον σωφρονοῦντα, οὕτω μᾶλλον οἵγε ἀσθενέστεροι ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ποιοῦντες φανεροὶ εἶναι.* Xenoph. de institut. Cyri, lib. 8.

[e] "Ut enim cupiditatibus principum et vitiis infici solet tota civitas, sic emendari et corrigi continentia." Cic. lib. 3. de legib.

[f] Senec. in Thyeste, act. 2. [g] Ovid. Fast. lib. 6.

[h] "Nam vita principis censura est, eaque perpetua: ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur: nec tam imperio nobis opus est quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magister est metus; melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ imprimis hoc in se boni habent, quod approbant quæ præcipiunt fieri posse." Plin. Panegyr.

may be done." So saith Pliny in his panegyric to Trajan, where he noteth, that "we[i] are flexible every way to follow whither the prince shall lead us." And so after him Claudian, in his panegyric upon the fourth consulship of Honorius:

> ——————— Tunc observantior æqui
> Fit populus, nec ferre negat cum viderit ipsum
> Auctorem parere sibi. Componitur orbis
> Regis ad exemplum; nec sic inflectere sensus
> Humanos edicta valent quam vita regentis.
>
> Laws are best kept by subjects, when they find
> The giver keeps them first. All themselves bind
> To his example: nor can edicts sway
> Men's minds so much as rulers that obey.

As Tacitus also noteth, in the example of Vespasian, that "the[k] desire of pleasing and imitating the prince wrought more than either punishment of laws, or fear:" and on the other side, Mecænas in Dio, telleth Cæsar, that "if[l] the people should once discover that he prescribed one thing to them, and did himself another, they would not fear his threats, but imitate his actions."

Kings therefore are said to be above the laws whereby they govern their people, partly in respect of others: of others, inasmuch as they have power to judge according[m] to their own conscience, and not according to the letter of the law; as also to[n] dispense in some cases with the very obedience, in some with the punishment required by the law. As when a man is thereby condemned unto banish-

[i] "Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur a principe; atque ut ita dicam, sequaces sumus." Plin. Panegyr.

[k] "Obsequium in principem, et æmulandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus, et metus." Tacit. annal. lib. 3.

[l] *Ὥστε ἂν ἅπαξ καταμάθωσί σε ἄλλα μὲν αὐτοῖς προαγορεύοντα, ἄλλα δὲ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλάς σου φοβηθήσονται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.* Dio, hist. Rom. lib. 52.

[m] "Princeps est supra legem; adeo quod secundum conscientiam suam judicare potest." Cynus, in lib. Rescript. Cod. de precib. imper. offerend.

[n] "Est etiam princeps supra legem; in quantum si expediens fuerit, potest legem mutare, et in ea dispensare pro loco et tempore." Thom. in 1. 2. quæst. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

ment, the prince, if he see cause, may revoke him from thence: and therein "his[o] own will," saith Accursius, is accounted "a great and just cause." As also, for the recalling of the sentence of death itself, we meet with this passage in Themistius: "We[p] have seen men returned to life from the gates of death: whom the law indeed sent thither, but the lord of the law brought back from thence again; as knowing that one thing becometh a judge, another a king; that the one is tied to follow the laws, but the other hath power to correct the laws themselves, and to qualify the severity and harshness of them, as being himself a living law, and not confined to unchangeable and unalterable letters. For to this end, it seemeth, God did send from heaven this regal power into the earth, that men might have a refuge from that dead and unmoveable law to this living one." Wherewith we may compare that briefer expression of Hilary the Roman deacon, or whoever else was the author of the questions upon the Old and New Testament, wrongly fathered upon St. Augustin: "To[q] judges it is prescribed not to revoke the sentence passed upon a guilty person: but the emperor himself is under no such law. For he alone hath power to revoke that sentence, and to absolve the man condemned to die, and to grant a pardon to him." That saying indeed of the emperor Valentinian the third, is much commend-

[o] "Magna et justa causa est ejus voluntas." Accurs. gloss. in lib. 4. D. de pœnis.

[p] Εἴδομεν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ᾄδου προθύρων εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἐπανιόντας, οὓς ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐκεῖσε ἀπῆγεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανήγαγε, γινώσκων ὅτι ἄλλη μὲν δικαστοῦ, ἄλλη δὲ βασιλέως ἀρετή· καὶ τῷ μὲν προσήκει ἕπεσθαι, τῷ δὲ ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ τὸ ἀπηνὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμείλικτον παραδεικνύναι, ἅτε νόμῳ ἐμψύχῳ ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀμεταθέτοις καὶ ἀσαλεύτοις· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, βασιλείαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅπως ἂν εἴη καταφυγὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀκινήτου ἐπὶ τὸν ἔμπνουν καὶ ζῶντα. Themist. orat. 5. de humanitate Theod.

[q] "Judicibus statutum est ne liceat in reum datam sententiam revocare. Nunquid et ipse imperator sub hac erit lege? Nam ipsi soli licet revocare sententiam, et reum mortis absolvere et ipsi ignoscere." Quæst. 115. ex vet. et nov. Testam. tom. 3. oper. Augustini.

ed: "It[r] is a voice worthy of the majesty of him that reigneth, that the prince should profess himself to be bound by the laws." But, "although[s] it be a fair thing to say so, yet is it not to be maintained that the emperor is subject to the laws, when he is loosed from them;" saith Æneas Silvius. "For there is a certain other thing, to which the emperor is more obnoxious than to the law; and that is equity; which is not always found written. For equity is that which is just beyond the written law: now if the law doth command one thing, and equity persuade another, it is fit the emperor should temper the rigour of the law with the bridle of equity, as he who alone may and ought to look unto that interpretation, which lieth interposed between law and equity. Especially, seeing no decree of the law, although weighed with never so considerate counsel, can sufficiently answer the varieties and unthought on plottings of man's nature. And seeing the condition of human law is such, that it runneth always without stint, and there is nothing in it which can be at a perpetual stand; it is manifest, that in tract of time, the

[r] "Digna vox est majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se principem profiteri. Lib. 4. Cod. de legib. et constitut. princ.

[s] "Quod quamvis pulchrum est dicere, non tamen asserendum est imperatorem legibus esse subjectum, cum sit solutus. Est enim aliud quiddam cui plus quam legibus obnoxius est imperator; hoc ipsum æquitas est, quæ non semper invenitur scripta. Æquitas enim est, quod præter legem scriptam justum est: quod si aliud lex jubet, aliud æquitas suadet, convenit imperatorem juris vigorem æquitatis fræno temperare, cui soli inter æquitatem jusque interpositam interpretationem licet et incumbit inspicere. Præsertim cum nulla juris sanctio, quantumcunque digesto perpensa consilio, ad varietates humanæ naturæ et machinationes ejus inopinabiles sufficiat. Cumque humani juris conditio semper in infinitum decurrat, nihilque sit in ea quod stare perpetuo possit (multis enim formas eadem natura novas deproperat, et secundum tempora statuta variantur humana) manifestum est ævi cursu, quæ leges olim justæ fuerunt, injustas reddi, fierique nunc inutiles, nunc duras, nunc iniquas. Ad quas moderandas opus est principe, qui legum dominus est. Nam si quid in eis latum fortassis obscurius fuerit, imperatorem convenit declarare, duritiemque legum suæ humanitati contrariam et incongruam emendare. Quod enim dicitur, legem quamvis duram esse servandam, inferiores judices non Cæsarem respicit; in quo est vis illa moderandarum legum, quam ἐπιείκειαν vocant, quæ tam annexa est summo principi, ut nullis possit humanis evelli decretis." Æneas Silvius, de ortu et authoribus imperii, cap. 20, 21.

laws which before were just, prove afterwards to be unjust, and become now unprofitable, now harsh, now unrighteous: for the moderating whereof there is need of the prince, who is Lord of the laws. For if it fall out, that any thing hath been more obscurely delivered therein, it is fit the emperor should clear it, and amend that harshness of the laws which he shall find to be contrary and disagreeable to his humanity. For where it is said, that a law, although it be hard, should yet be observed; that respecteth the inferiör judges, and not the emperor; in whom is that power of moderating the laws which they call *ἐπιείκεια*, or equity, which is so annexed to the supremacy of the prince, that by no decrees of man it can be pulled from it." Thus far Æneas Silvius.

In regard of themselves, kings are said to be exempted from subjection to the laws, both because they are not tied (otherwise than for conveniency and good example's sake) to the observance of such as are mere positive and temporary laws; and because they are not liable to the civil punishments set down for the breach of any law, as having no superior upon earth that may exercise any such power over them: whereunto, for the later times, that of Otto, Frisingensis may be referred: "Whereas[t] there is no man found in the world which is not subject to the laws of the world, and by that subjection kept within compass; kings alone, as being set above the laws, and reserved to God's examination, are not restrained by any secular laws." And for the elder, that speech of Gregory, bishop of Tours unto the French king Chilperick: "If[u] any of us, O king, transgress justice, you may correct us; but if you do exceed your bounds, who shall restrain you? We indeed

[t] "Cum nulla inveniatur persona mundialis, quæ mundi legibus non subjaceat, subjacendo coerceatur; soli reges, utpote constituti supra leges, divino examini reservati, seculi legibus non cohibentur." Otto Frising. præfat. chronic. ad imp. Frising. præfat. chronic. ad imp. Frideric. 1.

[u] "Si quis de nobis, O rex, justitiæ tramitem transcendere voluerit, a te corrigi potest; si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet? Loquimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis; si autem nolueris, quis te condemnabit nisi is qui se pronunciavit esse justitiam?" Gregor. Turonens. hist. Francor. lib. 5. cap. 18.

speak unto you, and if you will, you listen unto us; but if you do not, who can condemn you, but he who hath declared himself to be righteousness"? that is, God himself alone. Together with that common interpretation which hath been given unto those words of David in the fifty first Psalm: "Against thee, thee only have I sinned:" whereof Euthymius giveth this paraphrase: "Forasmuch[x] as I am a king, and so have thee the only judge of the crimes committed by me, against thee only I appear to have sinned, that is, I am subject to no other judge but unto thee alone, for of all the rest I am myself the lord." Nicephorus, this: "In[y] respect that I am a king, and subject to thee alone, against thee only have I sinned. Injury, I confess, otherwise I did unto Urias; but the sin of itself reached unto thee, because I did transgress thy laws." So likewise Didymus: "Inasmuch[z] as he was a king, he was not subject to any human law, and so sinned against none of those law-makers." And Ambrose: "Being[a] upheld with the regal eminency, as a lord of the laws, in respect of the laws he was not guilty; to God alone he stood obnoxious, who is the Lord of principalities." And Lyranus: "Because[b] he was a king he had no superior judge which might

[x] "Cum rex sim, et te solum commissorum a me scelerum judicem habeam, tibi soli peccasse videor, hoc est, tibi soli judici subjicior: cæterorum enim omnium ego dominus sum." Euthym. in Psalm.

[y] "Rex cum ego sim, tibique soli subjectus, tibi soli peccavi. Alioquin Uriam injuria affeci; sed peccatum ipsum ad te transiit, quoniam leges tuas transgressus sum." Nicephor. in catena Græc. doctorum in Psalmos Latine a Dan. Barbaro edit.

[z] "Quatenus rex erat non subjiciebatur humanæ legi; unde nulli ex legum conditoribus peccavit." Didym. in catena Græc. doctorum in Psalmos Latine a Dan. Barbaro edit. *Ὅσον ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπέκειτο ἀνθρωπίνῳ νόμῳ, ὅθεν οὐδενὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν ἥμαρτεν, οὐδ' ἐνώπιόν τινος αὐτῶν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐποίησεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τῷ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεοσεβὴς εἶναι βούλεται, ὑπέκειτο τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμῳ· διὸ καὶ ἥμαρτε μόνῳ Θεῷ, καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε.* Didym. in catena Græc. doctorum in Psal. Lat. a Dan. Barb. ed. et in catena Græca MS. in bibliotheca Bodl. et Novi Collegii Oxon.

[a] "Regali subnixus fastigio, quasi legum dominus legibus reus non erat: soli Deo obnoxius tenebatur, qui dominus est potestatum. Ambros. lib. 2. epist. 7. ad Simplicianum.

[b] "Quia erat rex, non habebat judicem superiorem qui posset eum punire nisi Deum." Nicol. de Lyra in Psal. 50.

punish him but God." As Isidorus Pelusiota likewise writeth of another who was an heathen: that "being[c] a king he was not to expect any judicial sentence from men; forasmuch as such were subject to God's judgment only." And Cyril of Alexandria in the general: "Who[d] dare violate the decrees of terrene kings, or attempt to dissolve the laws enacted by princes, unless he himself be one of those who are invested with regal dignity? for in such, the charge of transgressing the law hath no place at all." And by this we may easily understand what Aristotle's meaning was when he said, that "a[e] king tied to the laws doth make no new kind of government." For if the people may call him to account for the breach of the law, the state is plainly democratical; if the peers, it is aristocratical; if either or both of them, it cannot any way be accounted monarchical. To all which we may add likewise that declaration of Thomas Aquinas: "The[f] prince is said to be loosed from the law, forasmuch as concerneth the coactive force of the law. For no man is properly constrained by himself; and the law hath no force coactive but from the power of the prince. Thus, therefore, the prince is said to be loosed from the law, because no man can give sentence of condemnation against him, if he do any thing against the law. But in respect of God's

[c] *Βασιλεὺς ὢν, καὶ εὐθύνας παρ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ μέλλων ἀπαιτεῖσθαι· τῇ γὰρ θείᾳ δίκῃ μόνον ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑπεύθυνος.* Isidor. Pelus. lib. 5. epist. 383. ad Petrum Correctorem.

[d] *Τὶς τοῖς θεσπίσμασι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς βασιλέων ἐξουσιαστικῶς ἐπιφύεται, καὶ παραλύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων συντεταγμένα ψήφου τε καὶ γνώμης, εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις εἴη τυχὼν τῶν τὴν βασιλίδα περικειμένων τιμήν τε καὶ δόξαν; τόπον γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἔχει τῆς παρανομίας τὰ ἐγκλήματα.* Cyril. comment. in Johan. lib. 12.

[e] *Ὁ κατὰ νόμον λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος πολιτείας.* Aristot. Politic. lib. 3. cap. 12.

[f] "Princeps dicitur esse solutus a legibus, quantum ad vim coactivam legis. Nullus enim proprie cogitur a seipso; lex autem non habet vim coactivam nisi ex principis potestate. Sic igitur princeps dicitur esse solutus a lege, quia nullus in ipsum potest judicium condemnationis ferre, si contra legem agat, &c. Unde quantum ad Dei judicium, princeps non est solutus a lege quantum ad vim directivam ejus, sed debet voluntarius, non coactus, legem implere." Thom. 1. 2. quæst. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

judgment, the prince is not loosed from the law, forasmuch as concerneth the directive power thereof; but he ought voluntarily, and not constrainedly, to fulfil the law." And of Joannes Sarisburiensis: "The[g] prince is said to be absolved from the obligation of the law, not because unjust things may be lawful to him, but because he ought to be one, who, not for the fear of punishment, but for the love of justice, should regard equity, procure the profit of the commonwealth, and in all things prefer the benefit of others before his own will and pleasure." And so, as the apostle speaketh in another case, "having[h] not the law, is a law to himself: being[i] not without law to God, but under the law to Christ."

The king therefore is not hereby made lawless, nor hath liberty given unto him to do whatever him listeth. For God's Word and right reason must "give[k] a law to the lawgivers themselves;" as Gregory Nazianzen speaketh to the emperors of his time. "Greatness[l] of spirit indeed," said Themistius to the emperor Theodosius, "is requisite in a king: but it is fit also that this great spirit of his should be obsequious and easily persuaded to yield to reason." "None[m] being able," as Agapetus addeth in his admonitions to Justinian, "to correct him who is in so high authority, but that very reason of his, which is moved by the conscience of himself offending." And "although[n] the king hath the laws so in his power," saith

[g] "Princeps legis nexibus dicitur absolutus, non quia ei iniqua liceant, sed quia is esse debet qui non timore pœnæ, sed amore justitiæ, æquitatem colat, reipublicæ procurat utilitatem, et in omnibus aliorum commoda privatæ præferat voluntati." Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. lib. 4. cap. 2. Sic et Soto de Just. et jur. lib. 1. qu. 6. art. 7. conclus. 4. Covarruvias ad c. alma mater pag. 1. sect. 1. n. 3. Navarr. ad c. si quando. de rescript. except. 8. n. 12. Menoch. de arbitr. Jud. quæst. 7. n. 10. 20. Budæus, in annot. ad lib. Princeps. D. de leg.

[h] Rom. chap. 2. ver. 14.

[i] 1 Cor. chap. 9. ver. 21.

[k] Νομοθετήσει γὰρ καὶ νομοθέταις ὁ λόγος. Greg. Naz. orat. 27.

[l] *Δεῖ μὲν καὶ θυμοῦ μέγεθος ἐνυπάρχειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ μέγαν ὄντα τὸν θυμὸν εὐήκοον εἶναι προσήκει, ὥστε εὐμετάπειστον εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ.* Themist. orat. 9.

[m] *Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἰσχύει τὸν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τηλικαύτῃ παιδεύειν, εἰ μὴ λογισμὸς οἰκεῖος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλεμμελοῦντος κινούμενος.* Agapet. Paræn. cap. 36.

[n] "Rex etsi leges in potestate habet, ut impune delinquat, Deo tamen sub-

St. Ambrose, "that without fear of punishment he may offend, yet is he subject to God, who oweth nothing unto any; and to whom more by him is owed, unto whom more by him hath been committed."

> Regum[o] timendorum in proprios greges,
> Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis.
>
> Over subjects kings command,
> Kings are under Jove's high hand.

And therefore "Whatsoever[p] they shall unjustly, and wickedly, and in a tyrannical manner practise against the law, to the overthrow of right, therein," saith Irenæus, "they shall perish by the just judgment which cometh equally upon all, and in none, or nothing, is deficient." Whereupon that famous Eremite, Anthony, writing unto Constantine the Great, and his sons Constantius and Constans, gravely advised them, "not[q] to esteem their present estate to be great, but rather to remember the judgment which was to come:" which also the Catholic bishops afterward were not unmindful to put Constantius in remembrance of, when he laboured so earnestly to propagate the Arrian heresy. And the prelates assembled in an Italian synod, five hundred years after that, do "humbly[s] sug-

ditus est, qui nulli debet; imo plus ipse debet, cui plus commissum est." Ambr. in Psal. 118. serm. 86.

[o] Horat. carm. lib. 3. Od. 1. vide et Sueton. in C. Jul. Cæsare, cap. 16. ex Cæsare ipso, in Juliæ amitæ laudatione funebri.

[p] "Quæcunque ad eversionem justi, inique et impie contra legem, et more tyrannico exercuerint, in his et peribunt, justo judicio Dei ad omnes æqualiter perveniente et in nullo deficiente." Iren. adv. hæres. lib. 5. cap. 24.

[q] Μὴ μεγάλα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μνημονεύειν τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως. Athanas. in vita Antonii.

[r] Ἠπείλουν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως. Athanas. in epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

[s] "Cavendum summopere principibus, ut quia minime nunc judicantur, ne in futuro judicio ab omnipotenti Deo gravius judicentur: secundum apostolum: Etenim horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis. Nos vero qui debitores sumus ut fideliter annunciemus, idcirco humiliter suggerimus, quod silere non audemus." Synod. Regiaticin. anno 850. habit. cap. 16. Wherewith that of Otto Frisingensis also may be compared, in his preface before his history unto the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, "Cum enim, juxta apostolum, omni mortali

gest" the same unto princes, which (in respect of their calling) they profess "they dare not be silent in;" that "they should take special heed because they are not now judged, that in the judgment to come, they be not more severely judged by Almighty God: according to that of the apostle: It[t] is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."

The same apostle in his epistle to the Colossians, speaking of the mutual duties of servants and masters, setting this down as a general axiom: "He[u] that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no respect of persons:" and then presently subjoineth: "Masters[x], give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven." And in his epistle to the Ephesians, treating of the same argument, when he had laid the like general ground for the recompence of well-doing, as he did in the other for doing of wrong: "Whatsoever[y] good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free;" he addeth in like manner: "Ye masters do the same thing unto your servants, forbearing threatenings; knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him." The reason is universal, you see; and so is applicable as well to the prince in the commonwealth, as to the master in the private family. Whereupon the Scripture elsewhere telleth us in express terms, that God "accepteth[z] not the persons of princes;" that "he[a] leadeth princes away spoiled, and overthroweth the mighty;" that "he[b] changeth the times and the seasons, he removeth kings, and setteth up kings;" that "he[c] cutteth off the spirit of princes, and is terrible to the kings of the earth."

horrendum sit incidere in manus Dei viventis, regibus tamen, qui nullum præset ipsum supra se habent quem metuant, eo erit horribilius, quo ipsi cæteris possunt peccare liberius."

[t] Heb. chap. 10. ver. 31.
[u] Col. chap. 3. ver. 25.
[x] Col. chap. 4. ver. 1.
[y] Ephes. chap. 6. ver. 8, 9.
[z] Job, chap. 34. ver. 19.
[a] Ibid. chap. 12. ver. 19.
[b] Dan. chap. 2. ver. 21.
[c] Psalm 76. ver. 12.

Upon the consideration of which judgments of God, (oftentimes inflicted by him even in this world, but most infallibly in the world to come) King David groundeth this admonition of his unto those great ones : "Be[d] wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth, serve the Lord with fear." Whereof if you will have a more large paraphrase, you may take this out of the sixth chapter of the Book of Wisdom; "Hear therefore, O ye kings, and understand; learn ye that be judges of the ends of the earth. Give ear, you that rule the people, and glory in the multitude of nations. For power is given you of the Lord, and sovereignty from the Highest; who shall try your works, and search out your counsels? Because being ministers of his kingdom, you have not judged aright, nor kept the law, nor walked after the counsel of God. Horribly and speedily shall he come upon you: for a sharp judgment shall be to them that be in high places. For mercy will soon pardon the meanest; but mighty men shall be mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over all shall fear no man's person, neither shall he stand in awe of any man's greatness; for he hath made the small and great, and careth for all alike." But leaving God to his own work, (which he in his infinite wisdom knoweth best how to order) let us look to what concerns ourselves, and consider that subjection which God hath charged us to yield unto our governors.

[d] Psalm 2. ver. 10, 11.

PART II.

THE OBEDIENCE

OF THE

SUBJECT.

OBEDIENCE to authority is by Æschylus rightly termed "The[a] mother of felicity;" by Philo the Jew, "The[b] best and most profitable thing in our whole life." And therefore Theopompus[c], king of the Lacedemonians, hearing one attribute the safety of Sparta to the skill which their kings had in government, made answer, that this was to be ascribed rather to the obedience which the people so cheerfully rendered unto their governors. For in Sparta[d], above all other places, the most powerful citizens shewed themselves most obsequious unto the magistrates, and by

[a] *Πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐπραξίας μήτηρ.* Æschyl. in Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, ver. 203.

[b] *Ἄρχεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βιωφελέστατον.* Philo, in lib. de Joseph.

[c] *Θεόπομπος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα σώζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην, διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς ὄντας.* Plutarch. in præceptis gerendæ reip.

[d] *Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρχονται μάλιστα τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ τῷ ταπεινοὶ εἶναι μεγαλύνονται, καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται, τρέχοντες, ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες, ὑπακούειν· νομίζοντες, ἢν αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι, ἕψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται.* Xenoph. de Lacedæm. repub.

their example drew the rest to do the like: as "knowing[e] obedience to be the greatest good, both in cities, in armies, and in private families." So writeth Xenophon, in his book of the commonwealth of the Lacedæmonians: which elsewhere he amplifieth more largely, in this speech which he makes Chrysantas use to his countrymen the Persians: "Consider[f], I pray, what town of their enemies can they take who will not obey? What city of their friends can they keep that are disobedient? What army that is irregular and tumultuous can obtain a victory? What readier way can men make to receive an overthrow in battle, than when every one shall begin severally to consult of his own safety? What other good thing can be effected by those that do not obey their superiors? What cities can be well governed? What houses can be preserved? How can ships be brought to the coast whereunto they are bound? By what means more have we ourselves acquired those good things which we now enjoy, than by obeying our prince? For hereby it came to pass that by day and by night we did both speedily come unto the place appointed, and with our whole forces following our prince carried all before us; while we left none of those things half done, which were enjoined unto us. And therefore as it is apparent, that obedience to our governor is the greatest means to purchase good things; so assure yourselves likewise, that the very same

[e] Ἐπείπερ ἔγνωσαν τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν πόλει, καὶ στρατιᾷ, καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ. Xenoph. de Lacedæm. repub.

[f] Ἐννοήσατε γὰρ δὴ, τὶς ἂν πόλις πολεμία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων ἁλοίη; τίς δ' ἂν φιλία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθεμένων διαφυλαχθείη; ποῖον δ' ἂν ἀπειθούντων στράτευμα νίκης τύχοι; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἡττῶντο ἄνθρωποι, ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἄρξωνται ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος περὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ σωτηρίας βουλεύεσθαι; τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν τελεσθείη ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ πειθομένων τοῖς κρείττοσι; ποῖαι δὲ πόλεις νομίμως ἂν οἰκήσειαν; ἢ ποῖοι οἶκοι σωθείησαν; πῶς δ' ἂν νῆες ὅποι δεῖ ἀφίκοιντο; Ἡμεῖς δ' ἃ νῦν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπράξαμεν, ἢ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι ἔδει παρεγινόμεθα, ἀθρόοι δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι ἑπόμενοι, ἀνυπόστατοι ἦμεν, τῶν δ' ἐπιταχθέντων οὐδὲν ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. Εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τἀγαθὰ, οὕτως εὖ ἴστε ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸ διασώζειν ἃ δεῖ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν ἐστι. Xen. lib. 8. κύρου παιδείας.

will prove the best means to preserve those things which are convenient for you."

For to govern and to be governed are of so near a relation, the one unto the other, that from the composition of them together, as Crito[g] the Pythagorean well noteth, ariseth both the strength and the concord of the whole state: the like necessity being of both, and arising from the same spring of the law of nature. To which purpose that part of Julius Cæsar's speech, in Dio, is very pertinent: "Two[h] both necessary and wholesome things hath nature established among men, to rule, and to be ruled: without which it is impossible that any thing for never so small a time should hold out. Wherefore it behoveth him that hath the government of any, to find out such things as are fitting, and to enjoin them: as also him that is subject to the other's authority, to yield obedience to him without all excuses, and to use all diligence in the performing of the thing that is commanded."

And of the two, Whether the want of government or the want of obedience would prove more pernicious to a state, is a point that S. Chrysostome maketh very questionable. "An[i] anarchy is an evil thing indeed," saith he, "and the ground of the subversion of a state. But the disobedience of those that are under government is an evil no less than that: and bringeth the matter to the self same pass. For a people that doth not obey their governor, is like unto a people that hath no governor: and peradventure worse too. For there they have some excuse for

[g] Ἐν πόλει [ἀσυναρμογὰ] τῶν ἀρχομένων ποτὶ τὼς ἄρχοντας ἀποτελεῖς κράτος καὶ ὁμόνοιαν. Crito, apud Stobæum, serm. 1.

[h] Φύσει γὰρ ἀναγκαῖά τινα καὶ σωτήρια, τῷ μὲν, ἄρχειν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τῷ δὲ, ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται. καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν καὶ ὁποσονοῦν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντί τινος, ἐκφροντίζειν τὲ τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν· τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ, πειθαρχεῖν ἀπροφασίστως, καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον. Dio, hist. Roman. lib. 41.

[i] Κακὸν μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀναρχία, καὶ ἀνατροπῆς ὑπόθεσις. κακὸν δὲ οὐχ ἧττον καὶ ἡ ἀπείθεια τῶν ἀρχομένων· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ γίνεται πάλιν. λαὸς γὰρ ἄρχοντι μὴ πειθόμενος, ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι· τάχα δὲ καὶ χείρων. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμην ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀταξίας· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκέτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κολάζονται. Chrysost. in epist. ad Hebr. homil. 34.

their disorder; here they not only have none, but are punishable:" and that both from God and from man, as the same father, in another place, doth thus express the matter: Subjection to the higher powers is a thing which "God[k] hath ordained, and he is a sore punisher of those who make light thereof. No common penalty will be inflicted on thee if thou be disobedient, but an exceeding great one: and nothing shall exempt thee in this thy contradiction, but both thy punishment from men will be heavy, and none shall stand up in defence of thee, and thou wilt provoke God in an higher manner." And Photius, after him: "Thou[l] art a gainer by being a subject; not only because thou fulfillest the command; but also because thou dost honour God likewise, whilst thou honourest the power ordained by him, and him into whose hand he hath committed it. Happy is he that in this manner, and for these respects, doth honour the power, and submit himself unto it: as miserable on the other side he is, who for these regards will not be subject. For he must undergo a double judgment: the one from God, because he doth contemn the government ordained by him; the other from the magistrates that are despised."

St. Jude, speaking of such as did "despise[m] dominion, and speak evil of dignities," says that they "perished in the gainsaying of Core." This Core, or Korah, was a Levite; who by his office was to have "taught[n] Jacob

[k] *Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ σφοδρός ἐστι τιμωρὸς καταφρονουμένων τούτων. οὐ γὰρ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀπαιτήσει δίκην παρακούσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα μεγίστην· καὶ οὐδέν σε ἐξαιρήσεται ἀντιλέγοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑποστήσῃ τιμωρίαν χαλεπωτάτην, καὶ οὐδεὶς προστήσεται, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν παροξυνεῖς μειζόνως.* Chrysost. in epist. ad Roman. homil. 23.

[l] *Κερδαίνεις κᾀντεῦθεν [ὑποτασσόμενος, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἐντολὴν πληροῖς, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τιμᾷς, τιμῶν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεταγμένην ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸν ταύτην χειρίζοντα.* Μακάριος ὁ οὕτως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τιμῶν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενος, ὥσπερ ἄθλιος ὁ διὰ ταῦτα μη ὑποκείμενος. καὶ γὰρ διπλοῦν ἀποφέρεται κρίμα· πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεταγμένην καὶ ὁρισθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἐξουθενεῖ· δεύτερον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἠτιμασμένων ἀρχόντων. Phot. in cap. 13. ad Roman. apud Oecumenium.

[m] Jude, vers. 8. 11.

[n] Deut. cap. 33. ver. 10.

God's judgments, and Israel his law:" but he, being one of those who "corrupted[o] the covenant of Levi," drew[p] first three principal men of the tribe of Reuben, and then "two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown," into his confederacy; and having gathered his associates together against Moses and Aaron, stuck not to affront them thus unto their faces: "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them: wherefore then lift you up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?" as if they had "taken[q] this honour unto themselves," and had not been "called of God" unto it. But by these men's strange perishing in this gainsaying of theirs, even women did plainly see, that in opposing Moses and Aaron after this manner, they opposed God himself, the ordainer of their authority. For so the daughters of Zelophehad could say: "Our[r] father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the Lord in the company of Korah." Nay the very words of the spirit of God, concerning Dathan and Abiram are express to this purpose: These were "famous[s] in the congregation, who strove against Moses and against Aaron in the company of Korah, when they strove against the Lord." "And[t] the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up together with Korah, when that company died; what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men: and they became a sign."

A dreadful sign indeed unto all them which afterwards should follow their steps: to whom, St. Jude saith is "re-

[o] Malach. chap. 2. ver. 8.
[p] Numb. chap. 16. ver. 1, 2, 3.
[q] Heb. chap. 5. ver. 4.
[r] Numb. chap. 27. ver. 3.
[s] Ibid. chap. 26. ver. 9, 10.
[t] Psalm 106. ver. 17, 18. "Terra statim fauces suas in populi divisores aperuit, et contemptores mandatorum Dei avido ore absorbuit. Intra momenti spatium ad transglutiendos prædictos terra patuit, rapuit, clausa est. Et ne beneficium de mortis compendio consequi viderentur, dum non essent digni vivere, iis nec mori concessum est: tartareo carcere subito clausi, ante sunt sepulti quam mortui." Optat. lib. 1. contra Parmenian.

served[u] the blackness of darkness for ever." For what other end may they expect, that dare adventure upon the like turbulent and seditious courses? The Levite begins the faction; he by false persuasions draws the nobles after him: his main motive being this, that the ruler assumeth too much unto himself, and invadeth the people's rights and liberties; others that will not run with them in that strain, being censured for temporizers, and such as have men's persons in admiration because of advantage. And without all doubt, this is that *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* wherewith the father of lies laboureth to work discontentment in the minds of subjects, and to steal away their hearts from the willing performance of that duty which they owe unto their governors; to put into their heads, that others give, and they take upon themselves, a kind of a transcendent power and authority fitted for their own ends, which God never intended his people should subject themselves unto. Whereas no soul may exempt itself from that express declaration of his: "Whosoever[x] resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation." Upon which we may very well conclude here with Gamaliel: "If this counsel, or this ordinance, be of GOD, ye cannot overthrow it; lest[y] haply ye be found even to fight against God:" like those giants, whom the poets feign to have assaulted heaven; from whose stock Plato[z] is pleased to derive their pedigree who shew themselves adverse unto the magistrates. For "It[a] is the pleasure of God," saith Chrysostom, "that the magistrate, whom he hath stamped with his own image, should have also his own power."

[u] Jude, ver. 13. with 2 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 10. 17.

[x] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 2.

[y] *Μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε.* Act. chap. 5. ver. 39.

[z] "Noster vero Plato Titanum e genere statuit eos, qui, ut illi cœlestibus, sic hi adversentur magistratibus." Cicero, lib. 3. de Legib.

[a] *Ὁ Θεὸς οὕτω βούλεται ἵνα ὁ ἄρχων ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ τυπωθεὶς, τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν ἔχῃ.* Chrysost. in epist. ad Roman. serm. 23. tom. 9. pag. 689. E.

And "he[b] that obeyeth not him, maketh war in a sort with God who hath appointed these things." "Let[c] us not therefore invert this order, nor fight with God; demonstrating by our deeds that saying of the apostle, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

Gregory Nazianzen telleth the governor of his province that "together[d] with Christ" he did rule the people and administer the office committed to his charge: that "from him he had received the sword;" and in that respect was to be accounted as "the image of God." Which if it have place in a subordinate magistrate, how much more in the prince? from whom under God, the magistrate derives the power which he hath. For so St. Augustine layeth it down in the case of Pilate, that "Cæsar[e] was the author of his power; God[f] indeed having given him a power, but yet such a one as should be under the power of Cæsar." And therefore Epiphanius, when he had declared, that "in every kingdom there are many magistrates, but under one king;" and proved out of the thirteenth to the Romans, that all "those powers were ordained by God;" he thus then buildeth upon that foundation: "You[g] see that this worldly power is con-

[b] Ὁ μὴ ὑπακούων ἐκείνῳ, τῷ Θεῷ πολεμεῖ τῷ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντι. Chrysost. in epist. ad Roman. serm. 23. tom. 9. pag. 687. B.

[c] Μὴ τοίνυν τὴν τάξιν ἀνατρέπωμεν, μηδὲ τῷ Θεῷ πολεμῶμεν, τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐκεῖνο διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν. Chrysost. in serm. 1. de David et Saul, tom. 4. pag. 758. A.

[d] Χριστῷ συνάρχεις, Χριστῷ καὶ συνδιοικεῖς, παρ' ἐκείνου σοὶ τὸ ξίφος, &c. εἰκὼν εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 17. ad cives timore perculsos.

[e] "Non sic potuit contemnere Cæsarem authorem potestatis suæ, quemadmodum legem gentis alienæ." Aug. in evang. Johan. tract. 116.

[f] "Talem quippe Pilato Deus dederat potestatem, ut etiam esset sub Cæsaris potestate." Aug. in evang. Johan. tract. 116.

[g] Ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἡ ἐξουσία αὕτη ἡ κοσμικὴ ἐκ Θεοῦ τέτακται, καὶ μαχαίρας ἔλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν (οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν δέ ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ) εἰς ἐκδίκησιν· καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα λέγειν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐν κόσμῳ, τὸν βασιλέα τούτων μὴ εἶναι βασιλέα· ἀλλὰ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐν κόσμῳ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτων βασιλέα. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ γῆς ὁρῶμεν, δέδεικται οὐκ ἐναντίας τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' ὑποτεταγμένας εἰς διοίκησιν

stituted by God, and from none but him hath received the sword for punishment. And we may not say, because there are principalities and powers in the world, that there is no king over them: but that there are indeed such principalities and powers in the world, and yet they have a king above them." And upon this he infers, that these "powers are not opposite to the king, but subordinate unto him, for the administration of the whole kingdom, and the well ordering of the land:" there being no greater disorder that can be brought into a commonwealth, than the making of these subordinates to be transcendents, by giving them allowance to make head against their head, upon any pretext whatsoever.

Where the Word of God therefore would have us "put[h] in mind *ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι*, to be subject to principalities and powers;" this *ὑποταγὴ* implyeth in it a subordination and orderly subjection to every one in his own proper rank and several degree. Thus the centurion acknowledgeth in the Gospel, that he was "a[i] man set under authority;" yet so, as he had also soldiers under him, who were as obedient to his commands, as he was to the injunctions of his superiors. "I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doth it." For, as Otho speaketh in Tacitus, "The[k] authority of generals and rigour of military discipline is of that nature, that many things must be simply enjoined by the centurions and colonels: If when commands are given out it be allowed to dispute and question the matter, obedience failing, government will fall to ground also." Neither in

παντὸς τοῦ βασιλείου, καὶ εἰς εὐταξίαν γῆς. Epiphan. contra Archontic. hæres. 40.

[h] Tit. chap. 3. ver. 1. with Rom. chap. 13. ver. 1. 5. and 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 13.

[i] Luke, chap. 7. ver. 8.

[k] "Ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinæ habet, ut multa per centuriones tribunosque tantum juberi expediat. Si ubi jubeantur quærere singulis liceat; pereunte obsequio, etiam imperium intercidit." Tacit. histor. lib. 1.

the camp alone, but in the civil state likewise, this kind of subordination must necessarily be observed: this universal principle also being here fit to be taken into consideration: "That[l] by which every thing is such, must itself much more be such." Which is thus applicable to our particular; if we yield honour and obedience to our magistrates, for that authority which we see the prince hath been pleased to impart unto them; it standeth with all reason that before and above all them, the prince himself should be much more honoured and obeyed. And if we are to submit ourselves to the subaltern and supreme governor "*διὰ τὸν Κύριον*, for the Lord," as we have heard out of St. Peter[m], it will follow necessarily that the Lord's own commands must in the first place be observed by us, whatsoever any magistrate or king shall say to the contrary. Whereupon Gregory Nazianzen giveth this admonition to courtiers and such as were in high places of authority: "Continue[n] faithful to your kings: but first of all to God; and for him to them also, unto whom you have been concredited and committed by him."

For any man to take[o] upon him the administration of a public office without the grant of the prince; or yet to cross[p] the authority, or call[q] in question the worthiness of that officer which he is pleased to make choice of, is by the imperial law accounted a kind of sacrilege. Now "If[r]

[l] *Ἀεὶ γὰρ δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει· οἷον, δι' ὃ φιλοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον φίλον.* Aristot. Analytic. Poster. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[m] 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 13.

[n] *Πιστοὶ μένετε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι· Θεῷ δὲ πρότερον, δι' ὃν καὶ τούτοις, οἷς ἐπιστεύτε, καὶ οἷς παραδέδοθεσθε.* Gregor. Nazianz. orat. 27. quæ 12. est in Latina Jo. Lewenklavii edit. ubi Gregorii interpres, Elias Cretensis episc. "Nam propter Deum etiam illis ipsis fidi eritis quibus commissi a Deo, et ab eodem traditi estis. At qui propter Deum? quia si Deum metuetis et studiose dabitis operam ut ejus mandata servetis, fideles his etiam Dei causa eritis."

[o] L. 4. C. de crim. sacrileg. [p] L. 5. C. de divers. rescript.

[q] L. 3. C. de crim. sacrileg.

[r] *Εἰ γὰρ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους τοὺς ὑπὸ βασιλέως χειροτονουμένους, κἂν πονηροὶ, κἂν κλέπται, κἂν λησταὶ, κἂν ἄδικοι, κἂν ὁτιοῦν ὦσιν ἕτερον, δεδοίκαμεν καὶ πεφρίκαμεν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν καταφρονοῦντες αὐ-*

we reverence and fear those magistrates that are elected by the king," saith St. Chrysostom, "although they be wicked, although they be thieves, although they be robbers, although they be unjust, or whatever they be; not despising them for their wickedness, but standing in awe of them for the dignity of him that did elect them: much more ought we thus to do in the case of God," and of the king chosen by him, how unworthily otherwise he may hap to prove. Neither may we omit here that gradation which St. Augustine maketh, for the illustration of that subordinate power whereof we have spoken: "If[s] thy curator command thee any thing, must it not be done?" yes questionless, "and yet if the proconsul countermand," and thou obey him, "thou despisest not the power of thy curator, but servest a greater. Neither ought the lesser to be angry if the greater be preferred before it. Again if the proconsul himself does command one thing, and the emperor does command another; is there any doubt but that, contemning the one, we are to serve the other? Then if the emperor does command one thing, and God another: what do you judge" should be done?" Namely that which in another place he himself resolveth: "As[t] in the powers of human society the greater in point of obedience is preferred before the lesser, so must God be before all." Agreeable to the answer which Socrates made to the Athenians: "I[u] will obey God rather than you:" and Peter and John to the rulers of the

τῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ χειροτονήσαντος δυσωπούμενοι· πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Chrysost. serm. 1. de David et Saul.

[s] "Si aliquid jusserit curator, nonne faciendum est? Tamen si contra proconsul jubeat, non utique contemnis potestatem, sed eligis majori servire. Nec hinc debet minor irasci si major prælata est. Rursum, si aliquid ipse proconsul jubeat, et aliud jubeat imperator, nunquid dubitatur, illo contempto, illi esse serviendum? Ergo si aliud imperator, et aliud Deus; quid judicatis?" August. de verbis Domini, serm. 6.

[t] "Sicut in potestatibus societatis humanæ major potestas minori ad obediendum præponitur, ita Deus omnibus." August. lib. 3. Domini, Confession, cap. 8.

[u] *Πείσομαι τῷ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν.* Plato, in apolog. Socratis.

people and elders of Israel, "Whether[x] it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye:" And all the apostles afterward, jointly and peremptorily: "We[y] ought to obey God rather than men:" concerning which thus Bernard: "It[z] is a very perverse thing to profess thyself to be obedient in that wherein thou art known to dissolve a superior for an inferior, that is, a divine for a human obedience. For what? The thing that man commandeth, God forbiddeth: and shall I hear man, and turn the deaf ear to God. So did not the apostles: for they cried out, saying, It is better to obey God than man."

Upon the same grounds also, if any man shall think that he hath received hard measure from the inferior magistrate, he may, without breach of obedience, appeal unto the superior: and if the superior right him not, he may seek relief from the supreme. As we see in the case of St. Paul, who from the provincial governor "was[a] constrained to appeal unto Cæsar," and "to[b] be referred unto his hearing." But if it so fall out, that he who is our highest judge upon earth will be so far from doing justice, that he himself shall do us open wrong; reason itself tells us that there may not be a processus ad infinitum: and therefore if our humble supplications cannot prevail with him to change his mind, there is nothing left, but that we commit[c] ourselves and our causes to God "that judgeth righteously." So Athanasius in his apology to the emperor Constantius: "If[d] I had been ac-

[x] Act. chap. 4. ver. 19. [y] Ibid. chap. 5. ver. 29.

[z] "Valde perversum est profiteri te obedientem, in quo nosceris superiorem propter inferiorem, id est, divinam propter humanam, solvere obedientiam. Quid enim? Quod jubet homo, prohibet Deus: et ego audiam hominem, surdus Deo? Non sic apostoli: clamabant quippe dicentes, Melius est obedire Deo quam hominibus." Bernard. Epistol. 7.

[a] Act. chap. 28. ver. 19. [b] Ibid. chap. 25. ver. 21.

[c] 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 23. with Psalm 17. ver. 5, 6.

[d] Εἰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἄλλοις ἤμην διαβληθεὶς, τὴν σὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπεκαλούμην· ὡς ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπεκαλέσατο τότε τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ πέπαυται τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλή. 'Επειδὴ δὲ παρὰ σοὶ τετολμήκασι κατειπεῖν, τίνα ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπικαλέσομαι; τὸν πατέρα τοῦ λέγοντος, 'Εγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· ἵνα σοῦ τὴν καρδίαν εἰς εὐμένειαν κλίνῃ. Athanas. apol.

cused before others," saith he, "I would have appealed unto your Majesty; as the apostle appealed unto Cæsar, and his enemies' plots against him ceased. But seeing they have taken the boldness to calumniate me before thee, to whom shall I appeal from thee? but to the Father of him who said: I am the truth; that he may incline thine heart unto gentleness." And Æneas Silvius: "Although[e] it be lawful to inform the prince by way of supplication, and humbly to petition for the restitution of our right; yet we may not clamour, nor disgrace or oppose him, if he persist: forasmuch as there is no man that may take cognizance of his temporal acts. That which the prince doth, although unjustly, we are patiently to tolerate; and either to expect amends from his successor, or else the correction of the heavenly Judge, who doth not suffer violences and injuries to be perpetual." Such an appeal as this did David use in his parley with Saul, when he so eagerly sought after his life without a cause, and God had delivered him into his hand, that he might have done to him what he pleased: "The[f] Lord judge between me and thee, and the Lord avenge me of thee: but mine hand shall not be upon thee. (As saith the proverb of the ancients, Wickedness proceedeth from the wicked; but mine hand shall not be upon thee.) After whom is the King of Israel come out? after whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog, after a flea. The Lord therefore be judge, and judge between me and thee; and see, and plead my cause, and deliver me out of thine hand." And when he had fallen into his danger the second time: "The[g] Lord render to every man his righte-

[e] "Quamvis liceat eum per viam supplicationis informare, humiliterque petere restitutionem, non tamen reclamare licet, vituperare, vel impugnare, si perseveret; cum nemo sit qui de suis factis temporalibus possit cognoscere. Tolerandum est patienter quod princeps facit, quamvis inique, expectandaque est successoris emendatio, vel superni correctio Judicis, qui violentias atque injurias non sinit esse perpetuas." Æn. Silv. lib. de ortu et authorit. imperii, cap. 16. Vide etiam ibid. cap. 21. et 23. de appellationibus ab imperatoris sententia non admittendis.

[f] 1 Sam. chap. 24. ver. 12, 13. &c.

[g] 1 Sam. chap. 26. ver. 23, 24.

ousness and his faithfulness: for the Lord delivered thee into my hand to day, but I would not stretch forth mine hand against the Lord's anointed. And behold as thy life was much set by this day in mine eyes, so let my life be much set by in the eyes of the Lord, and let him deliver me out of all tribulation." Hereupon the author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament (in the third tome of St. Augustine's works) demandeth, "For[h] what reason David did call Saul, the Lord's anointed, and did honour unto him after that Saul had departed from him?" and maketh answer, "That David being not ignorant that there was a divine ordinance in the office of a state regal, did therefore honour Saul, who as yet had the privilege of that ordinance; lest he might seem to offer injury unto God, who had decreed honour to be given to those of this rank." Optatus brings David in, thus speaking, while he had his enemy at so great an advantage: "Victory[i], thou provokest me without cause: in vain, Occasion, thou invitest me to triumph. 'Tis true I had a desire indeed to overcome my enemy: but chiefly I must look to the keeping of God's commandments. I will not stretch forth mine hand against the Lord's anointed. Upon this he drew back his hand and sword," saith Optatus, "and whilst he reverenced his anointing, spared his enemy." Such another speech doth Basil of Seleucia attribute unto him: "God[k] hath delivered up mine enemy unto me: but I will not stain the

[h] "Qua ratione David Saul, postquam Deus ab eo recessit, Christum Domini vocat, et honorem defert ei? Non nescius David divinam esse traditionem in officio ordinis regalis, idcirco Saul in eadem adhuc traditione positum honorificat; ne Deo injuriam facere videretur, qui his ordinibus honorem decrevit." Quæst. 35. ex Vet. et Nov. Test.

[i] "Sine causa me, victoria, provocas: frustra me, occasio, in triumphos invitas. Volebam hostem vincere: sed prius est divina præcepta servare. Non, inquit, mittam manus in unctum Domini. Repressit cum gladio manum: et dum timuit oleum, servavit inimicum." Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

[k] Παρέδωκε τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζω τὸ δῶρον τῷ φόνῳ, οὐ μολύνω τὴν χάριν τοῖς αἵμασι. Ζητείτω πάλιν καὶ διωκέτω· τοῦ φονεύειν τὸ ὑπομένειν λυσιτελέστερον· κἂν πάλιν διώκῃ, τὸ φεύγειν μεμετήκαμεν. κἂν οὗτος διώκῃ, Θεὸς οὐκ οἶδε διώκεσθαι. Basil. Seleuc. orat. 16. sive in David serm. 4.

gift with slaughter, I will not pollute the favour with blood. Let him seek after me again, let him persecute me. It is better to suffer than to kill. And if he again persecute me, we have resolved to fly: although he persecute me, God cannot be persecuted." And Chrysostom: "He[l] is wicked, you will say, exceeding wicked, full of innumerable vices, and bent against us with all extremity. True; but he is a king, a prince, one to whose hands the government of us is committed. Nor yet doth he say, king; but what? that he is the Lord's anointed: thereby making him venerable, not from the honour he had here below, but from the approbation which he had from above: as if he should have said, Dost thou despise thy fellow-servants? yet reverence the Lord. Dost thou make light account of him who is chosen? yet fear him by whom he was chosen."

To this election of his the Gibeonites also had respect, even then when they sought for a revenge of that bloody act, which he had committed against their house: "The[m] man that consumed us, and that devised against us that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel; let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul, whom THE LORD DID CHOOSE." Wherewith we may compare that part of the Sacred History wherein the first public inauguration of Saul is thus laid down: "And[n] Samuel said to all the people, See ye him whom THE LORD HATH CHOSEN, that there is none like him among all the people? And all the people shouted, and said, God save the king. Then Samuel told the

[l] Τί λέγεις; ὅτι μιαρὸς καὶ παμμίαρος καὶ μυρίων γέμων κακῶν, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα ἡμᾶς διαθείς; ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλὰ ἄρχων, ἀλλὰ τὴν προστασίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐνεχειρίσθη. καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, βασιλεύς· ἀλλὰ τί; ὅτι Χριστὸς Κυρίου ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κάτωθεν τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνωθεν ψήφου ποιήσας αἰδέσιμον. Καταφρονεῖς τοῦ συνδούλου, φησίν; αἰδέσθητι τὸν δεσπότην. διαπτύεις τὸν κεχειροτονημένον; φοβήθητι τὸν χειροτονήσαντα. Chrys. serm. 1. de David et Saul.

[m] 2 Sam. chap. 21. ver. 5, 6.

[n] Ibid. chap. 10, ver. 24, 25, &c.

people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord: and Samuel sent all the people away, every man to his house. And Saul also went home to Gibeah: and there went with him a band of men, whose hearts God had touched. But the children of BELIAL said, How shall this man save us? and they despised him." Wherein it is a thing very considerable, that Samuel was not more careful to see the rights of the crown entered into a book and laid up before the Lord, than the Lord himself was provident, to record the different affections of these men toward their king in his own book; "That[o] it might be for the latter day," (or, the time to come,) for ever and ever.

Some despised him in their hearts, and disgraced him in their words, saying, "How shall this man save us?" which is interpreted, as if they had spoken in plain terms: "Shall[p] Saul reign over us?" and these are censured by the Holy Ghost to be "children of Belial," that is, "men without yoke, or naughty persons." For "the[q] worst of men," as one well noteth, "do of all others with most repugnancy admit a governor." Which induced the Roman judges in the case of him who was found to have neglected the respect due to Servilius Isauricus, easily to "believe[r], that he who knew not to reverence the prime men of state, would run without scruple into any disorder whatsoever." Whereof that excess of filthiness and riot, wherewith St. Peter[s] and St. Jude[t] do charge those presumptuous persons who "despised dominion," and "spake evil of dignities," may serve for a sufficient demonstration.

Thus Sheba the son of Bichri, who first attempted the drawing of the cities of Israel to revolt from David their king, is by God's spirit branded in the forehead with this

[o] Isai. chap. 30. ver. 8. [p] 1 Sam. chap. 11. ver. 12.

[q] "Pessimus quisque asperrime rectorem patitur." Sallust. Orat. 1. de Republ. ordinanda, ad C. Cæsarem.

[r] "Eum qui venerari principes nesciret: in quodlibet facinus procursurum crediderunt." Valer. Maxim. lib. 8. cap. 5.

[s] 2 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 10. [t] Jude, ver. 6.

note of being "a[u] man of Belial:" and they who afterwards gathered themselves unto "Jeroboam the son of Nebat," and, with a success answerable unto their designs, "strengthened themselves against Rehoboam," David's grandchild, "when he was young and tender-hearted and could not withstand them," are stiled by king Abiah, "vain[x] men, the children of Belial:" which in effect is as much as if it had been said, that they were of their "father[y] the Devil;" if St. Paul's application of the word may be admitted, in that question of his, "What[z] concord hath Christ with Belial?" And surely, if they who honoured their king, had their "hearts[a] touched by God," as we have heard, such as bend their endeavours another way, should do well to lay their hand upon their heart, and consider with fear and trembling, whether they find not there some touch of "the[b] spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience."

But to return to Saul: the only motive, we see, that restrained David from stretching his hand against him, was this consideration, that he was "the[c] anointed of the Lord." Which lest any should think to have proceeded, not so much out of the staidness of his judgment, as out of the facility of his disposition, he peremptorily doth thus lay down the resolution of the point in the general, "Who[d] can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" And maketh this the ground of that sentence of death which he pronounced afterwards upon the Amalekite, who took the killing of Saul upon himself: "How[e] wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand, to destroy the Lord's anointed? Thy blood be upon thy head: for thy mouth hath testified thee, saying, I have slain the Lord's anointed."

[u] 2 Sam. chap. 20. ver. 1.

[x] 2 Chron. chap. 13. ver. 7.

[y] Josh. chap. 8. ver. 44.

[z] 1 Cor. chap. 6. ver. 15.

[a] 1 Sam. chap. 10. ver. 26.

[b] Ephes. chap. 2. ver. 2.

[c] 1 Sam. chap. 24. ver. 6. 10. and chap. 26. ver. 11. 23.

[d] 1 Sam. chap. 26. ver. 9.

[e] 2 Sam. chap. 1. ver. 14. 16. "Et cum compleret observantiam vindicavit occisum." Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

And this indeed must be made the main foundation, not only of the observance, but also of all the other branches of that allegiance which we do owe unto our prince: that with the right which he hath obtained by election or succession here below, we be careful to conjoin that unction and ordination which he hath received from above. Both which, in this present case of Saul, are by Samuel thus linked together: "Behold[f] the king whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have desired: And behold the Lord hath set a king over you." So "God[g] chose Solomon, and all the congregation made him king, and anointed him to the Lord to be the chief governor:" whereupon ensued that obedience, both of the commons and the great ones, which in the Scripture is thus expressed: "Then[h] Solomon sate on the throne of the Lord, as king instead of David his father and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him: and all the princes and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the king;" or, as the Hebrew hath it, "gave the hand under him." For the kingdom being God's own, and "by[i] him given to whomsoever he will;" it will follow, that unto our "Prince[k], who beareth the place of God, we are to be subject as unto God himself:" as by the author of the commentaries upon St. Paul's epistles, attributed to St. Ambrose, is well observed.

Neither is it for nothing, that we find in the Scripture God and the king so nearly joined together: once indeed in two several sentences; "Fear[l] God, honour the king;" but more ordinarily in the self-same period; with one

[f] 1 Sam. chap. 12. ver. 13.

[g] 1 Chron. chap. 29. ver. 1. 20. 22.

[h] 1 Chron. chap. 29. ver. 23, 24.

[i] Dan. chap. 4. ver. 17. 25. 32.

[k] "Principi suo, qui vicem Dei agit: sicut dicit Daniel propheta, Dei est enim, inquit, regnum; et cui vult dabit illud. Unde et Dominus, Reddite, ait, quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari. Huic ergo subjiciendi sunt, sicut Deo." Ambros. in Rom. cap. 13.

[l] 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 17.

verb relating to them both. So for that former point of fear; we are elsewhere required to "fear[m] the Lord and the king:" and for the other of honour; we read, that all the congregation "worshipped[n] the Lord and the king." As for the contrary likewise, in the prophesy of Isaiah: "They[o] shall curse their king and their God:" and in the false accusation contrived against Naboth: "Thou[p] didst blaspheme God and the king:" as if the honour or dishonour of the one were folded up and involved with the respect or disrespect of the other. Whereunto it were not much amiss, this also should be added; that the person of the king hath heretofore been accounted so sacred, that the crimes committed against him, are in the civil law parallelled with that which striketh at God himself immediately: I mean sacrilege. So in the places before quoted out of Justinian's code, a man may not assume an office, not granted unto him by the prince, "sine sacrilegii crimine:" and to oppose the officers placed by him, "sacrilegii instar est." By the same law, "He[q] that resisteth the prince's rescript, is to be punished as a sacrilegious person:" and "Treason[r] is accounted a crime next unto sacrilege," that is, the immediate violation of God's own majesty: as by the Greeks it is esteemed not a whit worse, who use no other term for the expression of treason against the prince, but "*ἀσέβεια*[s], impiety," and *καθοσί-*

[m] Prov. chap. 24. ver. 21. where the Septuagint read, "Fear, (or as it is cited in the epistle of Ignatius ad Smyrnens. and by Theophilus Antiochenus, lib. 1. ad Autolyc. Honour) God and the king, and to neither of them be thou disobedient."

[n] 1 Chron. chap. 29. ver. 20.

[o] Isai. chap. 8. ver. 21.

[p] 1 Kings, chap. 21. ver. 10. 13.

[q] Ὁ *οἱαδήποτε ἐναντιωθεὶς βασιλικῇ ἀντιγραφῇ, ὡς ἱερόσυλος τιμωρείσθω.* Eclog. Basilic. 2. tit. 5. cap. 23, 24.

[r] "Proximum sacrilegio crimen est, quod majestatis dicitur." L. 1. D. ad leg. Jul. majest.

[s] Dio, hist. Rom. lib. 59. de C. Caligula, *τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα παύσας.* et post, *τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα ἐπαναγαγὼν, εἰς στήλην αὖθις ἐγγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε.* et lib. 60. de Claudio, *τὸ ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε.*

ωσις[t], which Eustathius expounds, "An[u] opposing oneself against kings who are consecrated unto God;" "*παρὰ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ ὁσίου γίνεσθαι, ἤτοι τοῦ βασιλέως*, because it is committed against his sacred person, that is, the king," saith Suidas. And "What[x] is greater," saith Justinian, "what more sacred than imperial majesty? or who is puffed up with such a height of pride that he should contemn the king's sentence?"

From hence also it is, that others have held it "Unfit[y] for any so much as to pass their judgments upon princes," and their affairs. "In the very entrance," saith Nazarius, "that veneration which accompanies their majesty, presents itself, and repels busy inquirers: and if any have drawn nearer, the same hath befallen them, which hath done those who earnestly bend their eyes towards the sun; their sight is dazzled, and they lose the faculty of seeing." To this purpose M. Terentius, in his speech to the emperor Tiberius, touching the advancement of Sejanus: "To[z] us it belongs not to examine whom you advance above others, or upon what considerations. The sole and supreme disposal of things God hath given you:

[t] Philoxen. Glossar. ab H. Stephano edit. "Majestatis crimen *καθωσιώσεως, ἔγκλημα*." Glossar. Juris a Car. Labbæo edit. *τὸ περὶ καθωσιώσεως, τὸ περὶ προδοσίας καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς βασιλέως*. Eclog. Basilic. lib. 60. tit. 36. cap. 12. *Σβέννυνται τὰ ἐγκλήματα τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου, χωρὶς τοῦ περὶ καθωσιώσεως, ἀπὸ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς προδοσίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ βασιλέως ἐπιβουλῆς*. Vide ejusd. citat. cap. 17. et 20. et tit. 50. ejusd. libri, cap. 9. item Socrat. lib. 5. hist. Eccl. cap. 14. de Symmacho, et Suid. in *Καθοσίωσις*.

[u] *Ἀντίθεσις κατὰ τῶν ὁσίων τῷ Θεῷ βασιλέων*. Eustath. in Iliad. 3. pag. 647. ed. Rom.

[x] "Quid majus, quid sanctius imperiali est majestate? vel quis tantæ superbiæ fastidio (an fastigio potius?) tumidus est, ut regalem sensum contemnat?" Lib. 12. Cod. de leg. et constitut. princip.

[y] "Existimare quidem de principibus nemini fas est. Nam et in vestibulo suo inquirentem repellit objecta veneratio; et si qui propius adierunt, quod oculis in Solem se contendentibus evenit, præstricta acie, videndi facultate caruerunt." Nazar. Paneg. dict. Constantino imp.

[z] "Non est nostrum æstimare, quem supra cæteros, et quibus de causis extollas. Tibi summum rerum judicium Dii dedere; nobis obsequii gloria relicta est." Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. Where for that observable term of the glory of obedience, a like parallel may be noted in Pliny's panegyric to Trajan speaking of the empress his wife: "Uxori sufficit obsequii gloria."

to us left nothing but the honour of our obedience." Which honour or glory of obedience, seeing it appeareth "most[a] in that which a man hath least mind to do," as Pliny observeth in his panegyric unto Trajan, the ready way to attain thereunto, is to frame our wills to the cheerful performance of that duty which we owe unto our governors, according to that of Seneca: "He[b] who doth that willingly which he is commanded, escapes the most irksome thing that is in service; which is, to do that which he would not do. Not him who being commanded doth a thing, can we call miserable; but him who doth unwillingly what is commanded him."

We read that when the soldiers cried out unto Valentinian the elder, whom they had newly elected emperor, that he should take to himself an associate[c]; he made this answer unto them: "It[d] lay in you to choose me your governor: but now you have chosen me, what you desire is not in your own power, but in mine. It belongs to you, as subjects, to be quiet and rest contented; and to me, as your king, to consider what is fit to be done." And for the general duty of obedience to kings, we find the testimonies of God's word gathered together by the archbishops and bishops of France assembled in a national synod, held at Paris in the year of our Lord DCCCXXIX. under this title: "That[e] all subjects ought humbly and faithfully to obey the regal power, as being ordained by none but God:" the last whereof, taken out of Jeremiah, chap.

[a] "Major est obsequii gloria in eo quod quis minus velit." Plin. panegyr.

[b] "Qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbissimam servitutis effugit, facere quod nolit. Non qui jussus aliquid facit, miser est: sed qui invitus facit." Senec. epist. 61.

[c] "Quantulum refert deponas, an partiaris imperium? nisi quod difficilius hoc est." Plin. panegyr. ad Trajanum.

[d] Τὸ μὲν ἑλέσθαι με ἄρχειν ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐν ὑμῖν ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἵλεσθε, ὃ νῦν αἰτεῖτε, οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοί. καὶ χρὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένους ὑμᾶς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὡς βασιλέα τὰ πρακτέα σκοπεῖν. Sozomen. hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 6.

[e] "Quod potestati regali, quæ non nisi a Deo ordinata est, humiliter atque fideliter cuncti parere debeant subjecti." Concil. Paris. VI. lib. 2. cap. 8. tom. 2. concil. Galliæ, pag. 533.

29. ver. 7. is thus by them enforced: "If[f] Jeremy the prophet of God admonished them to pray for the life of Nebuchodonosor an idolatrous king; how much more ought humble supplications to be made by all sorts of men for the safety of Christian kings?" Which Optatus delivered long before them out of 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 1, 2. "Deservedly[g] doth Paul teach that we should pray for kings and those that are in authority, although the emperor were such as did live rather like a pagan than a Christian:" and Chrysostom, out of Rom. chap. 13. ver 7. "If[h] he prescribed these things, the governors being at that time infidels; much more ought this to be done under those who have received the faith." All which, by just analogy, may be deduced out of that rule which the apostle layeth down, in 1 Tim. chap. 6. ver. 1, 2. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren: but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit."

For the further declaration whereof, we may observe;

First, "A[i] household is a kind of a little commonwealth," and "a commonwealth a great household:" as is observed both by Aristotle in his politics, and by Eustathius upon that verse of Homer:

Αὐτὰρ[k] ἐγὼν οἴκοιο ἄναξ ἔσομ' ἡμετέροιο.

[f] "Sic (leg. Si) Hieremias propheta Dei pro vita idololatræ regis Nabuchodonosor orare admonet; quanto magis pro salute Christianorum regum ab omnibus ordinibus Deo est humiliter supplicandum?" Concil. Paris. VI. lib. 2. cap. 8. tom. 2. concil. Galliæ, pag. 534.

[g] "Merito Paulus docet, orandum esse pro regibus et potestatibus: etiamsi talis esset imperator qui gentiliter viveret." Optat. lib. 3. contra Parmenian.

[h] Εἰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ὄντων τότε τῶν ἀρχόντων ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτησε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι χρή. Chrysost. in epist. ad Rom. serm. 23.

[i] Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τίς οἰκίας ἐστὶν, οὕτως ἡ βασιλεία πόλεως, καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἢ πλείονος, οἰκονομία. Aristot. Polit. lib. 3. cap. 11. et in Stobæi Eclogis Ethicis (pag. 195. Edit. Plantin.) Μικρὰ γάρ τις ἔοικεν εἶναι πόλις, ὁ οἶκος.

[k] Hom. Odyss. ά. ver. 397. ad quem Eustathius, Ὅρα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν Ἰλιάδι,

And therefore what in the one a husband, a father, and a master may expect from those who have such relations to him; the like, by due proportion, is to have place in the other. For, "That[l] which the apostle speaketh of the master and the servant, is to be understood likewise of powers and kings, and of all the high estates of this world," saith St. Augustine.

Secondly, that as St. Paul elsewhere adviseth Christian servants to carry themselves as they ought to do toward their masters, "That[m] they might adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things:" so in this place he dissuadeth them from the contrary upon the same ground, "that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed;" as in that other place also he requires wives to be mindful of the duty they owe unto their husbands: "That[n] the word of God might not be blasphemed." Which St. Peter doth thus forcibly press for that subjection, which Christian subjects owe to their kings and governors: "For[o] so is the will of God," saith he, "that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." And why foolish? because there cannot be imagined a greater folly, than to charge the profession itself, or the doctrine of God, which utterly condemneth these disorders, with the contrary practice of the professors. Which cavil yet the apostle would have us really confute by our good behaviour: and so either stop the mouths of these fools altogether; or if they will needs open them, make them to do it with shame enough: "That[p] whereas they speak evil of us, as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ."

Thirdly, that how unworthy soever masters (and by the same reason parents and magistrates) be otherwise in re-

οὕτω καὶ ὧδε ἄνακτα τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην λέγει σεμνῶς, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸν οἶκον πόλιν εἶναι μικρὰν, ὥσπερ ἂν πάλιν τὴν πόλιν, οἶκον μέγαν.

[l] "Quod dixit de domino et servo, hoc intelligite de potestatibus et regibus, et de omnibus culminibus hujus seculi." August. in Psalm. 124.

[m] Tit. chap. 2. ver. 10.

[n] Tit. chap. 2. ver. 5.

[o] 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 15.

[p] 1 Pet. chap. 3. ver. 16.

spect of their personal defects: yet such as God hath placed under their authority, are to count them worthy not only of honour, but also of all honour: we being not herein so much to look unto their persons as unto the ordinance of God, who hath placed them over us; and wisely to consider, that in respect of that dignity and power received from above, not of their personal virtues, all this honour is due unto them. "Although[q] he be a contemner of the laws, and a wicked man, yet is he a father" notwithstanding, saith Justinian: and "the person[r] of the father," saith Ulpian, "ought always to be accounted honourable and sacred to the child." So for other governments: "He[s] that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." For "what kind of men those ought to be that do command, is not to be discussed by their subjects," saith the author of the book of the conflict betwixt vices and virtues. For "whether[t] the power be good or bad," saith Haymo, "whosoever doth resist it (by withdrawing his service from it, by denying tribute, and not giving unto it that honour which he ought to give) resisteth the ordinance and disposition of God, by whose appointment they bear rule." And thus even among the heathen, Marcellus, in Tacitus, professeth that he "prayed[u] and wished indeed for good princes;" but would tolerate them whatsoever they were: and Petilius Cerealis, in the same author, useth the like persuasion unto others: "As[x] you endure

[q] Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὑπερόπτης εἴη καὶ ἀσεβὴς, ἀλλὰ πατὴρ ὅμως ἐστὶ. Justin. Novel. 12.

[r] "Liberto et filio semper honesta et sancta persona patris ac patroni videri debet." l. Liberto. D. de obsequ. parent. et patron. præst.

[s] "Qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Quales enim esse debeant hi qui imperant, non est a subditis discutiendum." Lib. de conflictu vitior. et virtut. cap. 5. tom. 9. oper. Augustini.

[t] "Sive bona sit illa potestas, seu mala, quicunque ei resistit (subtrahendo servitium ab ea, denegando tributum, et honorem non præbendo quem ei debet præbere) Dei ordinationi resistit et dispositioni, cujus ordinatione isti principantur." Haymo, in Rom. chap. 13.

[u] "Bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare." Tacit. histor. lib. 4.

[x] "Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres, et cætera naturæ mala; ita lux-

sometimes barrenness and drought, and sometimes immoderate rain, and such other inconveniences of nature, so tolerate the riotous life, and avarice of your governors. As long as men are, faults will be. The comfort is, they are not continual, and are countervailed by the intervention of better things."

Fourthly, that difference of religion doth make no whit less due this honour to our superiors: for, not in regard of their religion do we owe it to them, but of their dignity, and the power God hath given them over us. And "hence[y] it is" (saith the author of the questions upon the Old and New Testament, thought to be the Roman deacon Hilary) "that we give honour unto a Pagan, if placed in authority; although he be in himself most unworthy of it, who, holding God's place, gives the devil thanks for it: but the honour we give to him, his place challengeth."

Lastly, that St. Paul in this place with honour doth couple service as the most considerable part thereof. Which maketh him elsewhere out of the commandment, "Honour[z] thy father and mother," to infer this duty of obedience, "Children obey your parents in the Lord: for it is right."

And yet, as "nothing[a] could be spoken so absurdly which was not maintained by some of the philosophers;" so wanted there not some of them, who endeavoured to overthrow this so great a right (and so deeply founded in the law of God, and the light of nature) with this poor and silly sophism: "Either[b] the father doth command that

um, vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines: sed neque hæc continua; et meliorum interventu pensantur." Tacit. histor. lib. 4.

[y] "Hinc est ut gentilem in potestate tamen positum honorificemus; licet ipse indignus sit, qui Dei ordinem tenens, gratias agit Diabolo. Potestas enim exigit, quia meretur honorem." Quæst. 35. ex Vet. et Nov. Test. tom. 3. oper. Augustini.

[z] Eph. chap. 6. ver. 1, 2.

[a] Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philosophorum. Cicer. lib. 2. de divinat.

[b] Aut recte, inquiunt, imperat pater, aut perperam. Si recte imperat; non quia imperat parendum, sed quoniam id fieri jus est, faciendum est: si perperam; nequaquam scilicet faciendum, quod fieri non oportet. Nunquam igitur est patri parendum quæ imperat. A. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 7.

which is right, or that which is wrong. If he command that which is right, it is to be obeyed; not because he commandeth it, but because justice requires it should be done: if what is wrong, surely because wrong, it ought not to be done. And therefore the father is not to be obeyed in any thing which he commandeth." To this frivolous[c] and vain argumentation (which taketh away all obedience as well in Church and Commonwealth as in private families) A. Gellius makes answer, that "this[d] proposition: Either the things which a father commandeth are good or bad, is imperfect; there wanting the third member in the disjunction," which compriseth such things as in themselves are neither good nor bad, but of a middle[e] and indifferent nature. Of this division tripartite, thus Bernard clearly and significantly: "Some[f] things are purely good, some purely evil. In these no obedience is due unto men: forasmuch as the former are not to be omitted, although they should be forbidden, nor the latter committed, although they should be commanded. But between these there are certain middle things which in respect of the manner, place, time or person, may be both good and evil. In these, the law of obedience takes place, as it were in the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which was in the midst of Paradise. And in things of this kind, it is not lawful for us to prefer our own minds before the pleasure of our masters."

So that if any man will be so perverse as to call in ques-

[c] "Argutiola quippe hæc frivola et inanis est. A. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 7.

[d] "Non integra est propositio dicenda, Aut honesta sunt quæ imperat pater, aut turpia. Neque ὑγιὲς νόμιμον διεζευγμένον videri potest; deest enim disjunctioni isti tertium, Aut neque honesta sunt neque turpia."

[e] "Quæ in medio sunt, et a Græcis tum ἀδιάφορα tum μέσα appellantur." A. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 7.

[f] "Sane hoc advertendum, quod quædam sunt pura bona, quædam pura mala: et in his nullam deberi hominibus obedientiam; quoniam nec illa omittenda sunt etiam cum prohibentur, nec ista vel cum jubentur committenda. Porro inter hæc sunt media quædam, quæ pro modo, loco, tempore, vel persona, et mala possunt esse et bona: Et in his lex posita est obedientiæ, tanquam in ligno scientiæ boni et mali, quod erat in medio Paradisi. In his profecto fas non est nostrum sensum sententiæ præscribere magistrorum." Bernard. epistol. 7.

tion the power which his superior hath to command, in things of this middle and indifferent nature; you see how easily he may be persuaded to shake hands with those libertines, who hold themselves not bound to give obedience to the commandments of man in any thing. Whereas, men of sound judgment have always been of the mind, that the authority of such as God hath placed over us should be esteemed so inviolable, that unless the thing by them commanded did certainly and evidently appear to be unlawful, we ought to yield obedience thereunto; and not to suspend or defer the doing thereof upon every idle scruple that may come into our heads, much less do otherwise than we are commanded, because we imagine we have better reason to lead us otherwise. And therefore when Crassus, having occasion to make a ram for the battery of the walls of a certain town in Asia, gave order that of two beams which he had seen, the greater should be sent to him; and the master of the works sent the smaller, as in his opinion more fit for the use intended, and much more easy for carriage; he caused the fellow to be soundly whipped for his labour, as well "knowing[h] that all power of command would be extinguished, if men should be permitted to satisfy what should be enjoined to them, not with obedience due to it, but counsel not desired of them."

And who seeth not what confusion would be brought, as well into a family as a state, if a son or a servant, or a subject might have liberty to stand upon terms and chop logic with his father master, or prince, and refuse to yield obedience to their commands, until he should see some reason for it? "When[h] the lawyers are consulted," saith Seneca, "their answers are received and stood to, although they come accompanied with no reasons." And

[h] "Corrumpi atque dissolvi officium omne imperantis ratus, si quis ad id quod facere jussus est, non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondeat." A. Gell. lib. 1. cap. 13. ubi τὸ desiderato ex primis Venetis editionibus Locatelli et Aldi est repositum: pro quo recentiores considerato legunt.

[h] "Jurisconsultorum valent responsa, etiamsi ratio don redditur." Senec. epist. 94.

ought not this much more to have place in the law itself? which should be accepted "as[i] a voice from God, that should command and not dispute." Whereunto that observation of Plutarch also might be added, that "men's[k] laws carry not with them always an apparent reason of the things commanded in them; but may oftentimes seem ridiculous and absurd to him that knoweth not the mind of the lawgiver, nor the cause why those laws at first were written:" together with that smart saying of St. Augustine: "Think[l] rather what course you are to take with those who will not obey, and how to handle them; than trouble yourself to make it appear to them that their disobedience is a thing unlawful."

Nay, for the preventing of these scrupulous questionings of the commands of our superiors and the curious enquiries into the reasons of them; the Spirit of God requires our obedience, not in something only (which we shall judge to be fitting in our own fancy) but indefinitely in all. For so do his precepts run: "Let[m] wives be subject to their own husbands in EVERY thing. Children[n], obey your parents in ALL things. Servants[o], obey in ALL things your masters." Agreeable whereunto is that profession, made by the Israelites unto Joshua their prince: "ALL[p] that thou commandest us we will do; and whithersoever thou sendest us we will go: according as we hearkened unto Moses in ALL things, so will we hearken unto thee." To which rules so general we may not add any other exception, but that wherewith the apostle qualifieth a like

[i] "Velut dimissa divinitus vox sit; jubeat, non disputet." Senec. epist. 94.

[k] *Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὓς ἄνθρωποι νόμους τίθενται, τὸ εὔλογον ἁπλῶς ἔχουσι καὶ πάντοτε φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ δοκεῖ κομιδῇ γελοῖα τῶν προσταγμάτων.* Et post, *Καὶ ὅλως πολλὰς ἂν τις ἐξείποι νόμων ἀτοπίας, μήτε τὸν λόγον ἔχων τοῦ νομοθέτου, μήτε τὴν ἀκτίαν συνιεὶς ἑκάστου τῶν γραφομένων.* Plutarch. in lib. de his qui sero a numine puniuntur.

[l] "Magis quid agas cum eis qui obtemperare nolunt cogitandum est, quam quemadmodum eis ostendas non licere quod faciunt." August. epist. 245. ad Possid.

[m] Ephes. chap. 5. ver. 24. with 1 Tim. chap. 2. ver. 11.

[n] Coloss. chap. 3. ver. 20.

[o] Coloss. chap. 3. ver. 22. with Tit. chap. 2. ver. 9.

[p] Josh. chap. 1. ver. 16, 17.

precept of our peaceable carriage toward all: "If[q] it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." This going also for a current rule in the civil law, that "Impossibilium[r] nulla obligatio est:" and in the canon, "Nemo[s] potest ad impossibile obligari."

Now among such things as cannot be done are reckoned not only those which are in their own nature impossible, (as that a man should pull down the moon) or in respect of one's particular condition fall to be such, (as to pay a greater sum of money than his ability or credit can reach unto:) but those also that are repugnant to the law of God and the known rules of piety and honesty. "Let[t] one do for the temporal preservation of men," saith St. Augustine, "what he is able. But when the matter is come to this pass that he cannot procure this preservation otherwise than by committing a sin, let him then think he CAN do nothing, when he shall see there is nothing left to do, but that which he cannot do with a good conscience." This passage is put by Gratian into the Decret, where thus the Gloss speaketh: "That[u] only we are thought we can do, which we can justly do:" and the Gloss upon the Regulæ in VI. in a like expression, "So[x] much it is esteemed we can do, as we can do lawfully." Papinian in the civil law more fully to the same effect: "Such[y] acts as wrong our piety, reputation, modesty, and, to speak generally, are done against good manners, it is not to be believed that we are able to do them."

[q] Rom. chap. 12. ver. 18.

[r] D. de Regul. juris, lib. 145. (al. 185.)

[s] Nemo potest, de Regul. juris in VI.

[t] "Faciat homo, etiam pro temporali hominum salute, quod potest. Cum autem ad hunc articulum ventum fuerit; ut tali saluti consulere, nisi peccando, non possit, jam se existimet non habere quid faciat, quando id reliquum esse perspexerit quod non recte faciat." Augustin. lib. contra mendacium, cap. 7.

[u] "Ex hoc cap. habes, quod solum illud dicimur posse facere, quod juste facere possumus." Gloss. 22. quæst. 2. c. Faciat.

[x] "Id dicimur posse, quod de jure possumus." Gloss. de Regul. jur. 68. in VI.

[y] "Quæ facta lædunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram, et (ut generaliter dixerim) contra bonos mores fiunt, nec facere nos posse credendum est." L. Filius. D. de. condit. institut.

Yea, the same Word of God which commandeth wives and children to be subject to their husbands and parents in ALL things omitteth not elsewhere to add hereunto this necessary limitation: "Children[z], obey your parents in the Lord. Wives[a], submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit, in the Lord:" and for the general: "Submit[b] yourselves one to another, in the fear of God." Whereupon, when Pharaoh had given order for the killing of the male children of the Hebrews, we find this commendation given to the parents of Moses, that they were "not[c] afraid of the king's commandment;" and to the Hebrew midwives, that they "feared[d] God, and did not as the king commanded them, but saved the men-children alive." Which is consonant to that precept of our Saviour: "Fear[e] not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." To which we may refer what St. Augustine hath by way of dialogue between the Pagan emperor and the Christian subject: "Pay[f] me my tribute, shew me thy obedience. Willingly: but not in the temple of idols: there I am forbidden to do it. Who forbids thee? A power far greater than your's. Be pleased therefore to excuse me. You threaten to cast me into prison, he into hell."

Hence come those restrictions in this kind, which we meet withal in others of the ancients: as in the constitutions attributed to Clement: "Be[g] subject to every king and governor, in such things wherein God is pleased:" and in the epistle to the Antiochians, fathered upon Ignatius: "Be[h] subject unto Cæsar, in such things wherein

[z] Ephes. chap. 6. ver. 1.
[a] Coloss. chap. 3. ver. 18.
[b] Ephes. chap. 5. ver. 21.
[c] Heb. chap. 11. ver. 23.
[d] Exod. chap. 1. ver. 17.
[e] Matt. chap. 10. ver. 28.

[f] "Solve tributum, esto mihi in obsequium. Recte: sed non in idolio. In idolio prohibet. Quis prohibet? Major potestas. Da veniam: tu carcerem, ille gehennam minatur." August. de verbis Domini, Sermon. 6.

[g] *Πάσῃ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἀρχῇ ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀρέσκει Θεῷ.* Const. Apost. lib. 4. cap. 12.

[h] *Τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή.* Epist. ad Antiochen.

your subjection may be without danger:" and in that speech which Polycarpus uttered unto the proconsul of Asia, immediately before his martyrdom: "We[i] are taught to give unto principalities and powers, ordained by God, such honour as befitteth them, and doth not hurt us." Whereunto you may add, if you please, that passage of Tertullian: "As[k] touching the honours due to kings or emperors, we have it sufficiently prescribed, that in all obedience we ought, according to the precept of the apostle, to be subject unto magistrates, princes and powers: but within the bounds of discipline, so far forth as we may separate ourselves from idolatry:" and the rule of St. Basil, that "we[l] ought to be subject to higher powers in such things as God's command hinders not."

This distinction therefore must necessarily be made in the divers commands of princes: that some are of such things as may and ought to be done, others of such as can not or ought not to be done. The former are of two sorts: either such as God hath tied us unto before, whether the prince had enjoined them or not, or such as otherwise being of a middle and indifferent nature, the prince, for reasons best known to himself, thinks fit to interpose his authority in. Of the one whereof St. Augustine writeth thus: "When[m] emperors command that which is good, it is Christ and none else that commandeth by them:" and "whosoever[n] will not obey the laws made by them for God's truth, incurreth a grievous judgment."

[i] *Δεδιδάγμεθα ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ἀπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον, τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμας ἀπονέμειν.* Epist. Eccles. Smyrnens. apud Euseb. lib. 4. Hist. Eccl. *κεφ. ιε'*. (cap. 14.)

[k] "Quod attinet ad honores regum vel imperatorum; satis præscriptum habemus, in omni obsequio nos esse oportere, secundum apostoli præceptum, subditos magistratibus et principibus, et potestatibus: sed intra limites disciplinæ, quousque ab idololatria separamur." Tertull. de Idololat. cap. 15.

[l] *Ὅτι δεῖ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐντολὴ Θεοῦ μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ.* Basil. in Ethicis, Regul. 79.

[m] "Cum bonum jubent imperatores, per illos non jubet nisi Christus." Augustin. epist. 105.

[n] "Quicunque autem legibus imperatorum, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium." Augustin. epist. 185.

Which elsewhere also he thus specifieth, in a larger manner: "When[o] emperors do profess the truth, they command for truth against error: and whosoever contemneth their commands, purchaseth to himself condemnation. For he shall both suffer punishment among men, and shall have no part with God; because he would not do that which truth itself by the king's heart commanded him to do." To the other we may refer that of the same father: "It[p] is lawful for a king, in the commonwealth where he reigneth, to command what neither any man before him, nor he himself before did command: and yet are not the liberties of the state impeached by obeying, but rather by not obeying the same:" and that likewise of Bernard: "There[q] are things of a middle nature, which in themselves are neither good nor evil: yet may indifferently, both well and ill, either be forbidden or commanded; but neither by the subjects be ill obeyed."

But how are subjects to carry themselves, when such things are enjoined as cannot or ought not to be done? Surely not to accuse the commander, but humbly to avoid the command; as Gratian[r] would have us do, if our prelates should go about to constrain us unto evil: or, as some of the heathen have more fully expressed it: "Even[s] those commands which we ought not to obey, mildly and

[o] "Quando autem imperatores veritatem tenent, pro ipsa veritate contra errorem jubent: quod quisquis contempserit, ipse sibi judicium acquirit. Nam et inter homines pœnas luit, et apud Deum sortem non habebit; quia hoc facere noluit quod ei per cor regis ipsa veritas jussit." Augustin. epist. 105.

[p] "Regi licet in civitate cui regnat, jubere aliquid, quod neque ante illum quisquam, nec ipse unquam jusserat: et non contra societatem civitatis ejus obtemperatur, imo contra societatem non obtemperatur." Augustin. lib. 3. Confess. cap. 8.

[q] "Sunt media, quæ quidem per se nec bona esse noscuntur nec mala: possunt tamen indifferenter, et bene pariter et male, vel prohiberi vel juberi; sed male nullatenus in his a subditis obediri." Bernard. epist. 7.

[r] "Non hoc exemplo probantur prælati accusandi a subditis: sed forma tantum datur humiliter renitendi prælatis, si forte eos ad malum cogere voluerint." 2. qu. 7. C. Nos si incompetenter.

[s] "Sed ea tamen, quæ obsequi non oportet, leniter et verecunde, ac sine detestatione nimia, sineque opprobratione acerba reprehensionis, declinanda sensim et relinquenda esse dicunt quam respuenda." A. Gell. lib. 2. cap. 7.

modestly, without too great detestation, and without any bitterness of upbraiding or of reproof, are to be declined gently, and rather as it were omitted than rejected." And, when nothing else will serve the turn, as in things that may be done, we are to express our submission by active, so in things that cannot be done, we are to declare the same by passive obedience, without resistance and repugnancy: such a kind of suffering being as sure a sign of subjection, as any thing else whatsoever.

When Pharaoh imposed an impossible task upon the Israelites, that they should get them straw where they could find it, and yet make up every day the same tale of bricks which they had done formerly, when they had straw given to them: their officers could not escape beating, for all the unreasonableness of that exaction. "And[t] the officers of the children of Israel," saith the text, "did see they were in evil case, after it was said, Ye shall not minish ought from your bricks of your daily task." In this so evil a case, where active obedience could in no wise be performed, passive must serve the turn. So when Darius was drawn to sign that ungodly decree, that "Whosoever should ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into the den of lions;" Daniel, being none of those who would "choose[u] iniquity rather than affliction," made no scruple at all "to[x] kneel upon his knees three times a day, and to pray and give thanks before his God, as he did aforetime:" and when afterward, "through[y] faith he had stopped the mouths of the lions," out of the bottom of that den he was able to say with a clear conscience: "Before[z] my God innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt."

He that consults with flesh and blood, will hardly be induced to admit this doctrine of passive obedience: and

[t] Exod. chap. 5. ver. 19.
[u] Job. chap. 36. ver. 21.
[x] Dan. chap. 6. ver. 10.
[y] Heb. chap. 11. ver. 33.
[z] Dan. chap. 6. ver. 22.

therefore, if he will learn this lesson, he must make choice of better masters; and listen in the first place to the advice of Solomon: "Trust[a] in the Lord with all thine heart: and lean not unto thine own understanding:" and to that oracle of the Son of God himself: "If[b] any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." Then must he raise up his thoughts to the height of that beatitude, which our Saviour's own mouth hath given assurance of to all such as will be ruled by him herein: "Blessed[c] are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets" which were before you. Where, for the recompence of the reward, he is to weigh with St. Paul how "our[d] light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory:" and for the precedent of the prophets, to give ear unto that exhortation of St. James: "Take[e], my brethren, the prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of suffering affliction," and of patience; and withal to cast his eye not only upon that "great[f] cloud of witnesses" in the time of the Old Testament, of whom some "were[g] tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection; others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonment; were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword," &c. but also upon that innumerable company of confessors and martyrs in the time of the New: the former of whom, "after[h] they were illuminated, endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst they were made a

[a] Prov. chap. 3. ver. 5.
[b] Matt. chap. 16. ver. 24.
[c] Matt. chap. 5. ver. 10, 11, 12.
[d] 2 Cor. chap. 4. ver. 17.
[e] James, chap. 5. ver. 10.
[f] Heb. chap. 12. ver. 1.
[g] Ibid. chap. 11. ver. 35, 36, 37.
[h] Heb. chap. 10. ver. 32, 33, 34.

gazing stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly, whilst they became companions of them that were so used, and took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance:" the other loved[i] not their lives unto the death, but laid down their "heads[k] for the witness of Jesus," and by that glorious "death[l] of theirs glorified God."

But above all we are to "look[m] unto Jesus" himself, the author and "finisher of our faith: who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God." With which highest example (of him, who "thought[n] it no robbery to be equal unto God," and yet "humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross") St. Peter closeth up those "forcible[o] words" of his, wherewith he thus presseth the performance of this passive obedience whereof now we speak: "This[p] is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps: Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously."

But those stiff spirits, that will not stoop unto this passive kind of obedience, if they can help it, think they have stricken the matter dead by proposing this case unto us: "Suppose," say they, "the king should command us to worship the Devil. Would you wish us here to lay

[i] Rev. chap. 12. ver. 11.
[k] Ibid. chap. 20. ver. 4.
[l] John, chap. 21. ver. 19.
[m] Heb. chap. 12. ver. 2, 3.
[n] Phil. chap. 2. ver. 6, 8.
[o] Job. chap. 6. ver. 25. "How forcible are right words!"
[p] 1 Pet. chap. 2. ver. 19, 20. &c.

down our heads upon the block; and not give us leave to stand upon our guard, and to the utmost of our power repel the violence of such a miscreant? If not, what would become of God's Church, and his religion?" As if this had been a new case, never heard of before: and the apostle had not sufficiently declared unto us, that "the[q] things which the Gentiles sacrificed, they sacrificed to devils and not to God." And yet when this devil-worship was so vehemently urged by the cruel edicts of the persecuting emperors, did the Christians ever take arms against them for the matter? or betook themselves to any other refuge but fervent prayers unto Almighty God, whom they acknowledged to be their prince's only superior, and patient suffering of what disgrace or punishment soever should be imposed upon them? To the cheerful undergoing whereof, see how St. Peter, in that fore-cited epistle, doth animate and encourage them: "Beloved[r], think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you. But rejoice, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the spirit of glory and of God resteth on you: who on their part is evil spoken, but on your part he is glorified. But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. Yet if any suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf."

Lo, "there[s] is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." Here are they that stuck not to "resist[t] unto blood, striving against sin:" and yet make conscience of resisting the power of their prince; as having learned that their obedience to God might well stand with their subjection to the authority placed by him in man.

[q] 1 Cor. chap. 10. ver. 20.
[r] 1 Pet. chap. 4. ver. 12, 13. &c.
[s] Rev. chap. 14. ver. 12.
[t] Heb. chap. 12. ver. 4.

Whereby so far off was it that "The[u] gates of hell (or death) did not prevail against the Church," that the blood of this noble army of martyrs became the fruitful seminary thereof. For "the[x] Christian faith, for many ages together, being distressed every way by nations, kings, laws, slaughters, crosses and deaths, and yet no manner of way repressed; yea, in the midst of these, and by the means of these, it grew," saith Paulus Orosius. "The[y] world raged," saith St. Augustine, "the lion lifted himself up against the lamb, but the lamb was found stronger than the lion. The lion was overcome by shewing cruelty, the lamb did overcome by suffering." And St. Hierome: "By[z] shedding of blood, and by suffering rather than doing injuries, was the Church of Christ at first founded: it grew by persecutions, and by martyrdoms was crowned."

But "if men's hands be thus tied," will some say, "no man's state can be secure: nay, the whole frame of the commonwealth would be in danger to be subverted, and utterly ruined, by the unbridled lust of a distempered governor."

I answer, God's word is clear on the point: "Whosoever[a] resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation:" and thereby a necessity is imposed upon us of being "subject, even for conscience' sake;" which may not be avoided by the pretext of any ensuing mischief whatsoever. For by this means we should have liberty given unto us to "speak[b] evil of the law, and to judge the law.

[u] Matt. chap. 16. ver. 18.

[x] "Christiana fides per multa retro secula, sævientibus undique adversum se gentibus, regibus, legibus, cædibus, crucibus ac mortibus, reprimi nullo modo potuit; imo inter hæc et per hæc crevit." P. Oros. histor. lib. 6. cap. 1.

[y] "Fremuit mundus, erexit se leo adversus agnum: sed fortior leone inventus est agnus. Leo victus est sæviendo, agnus vicit patiendo." Augustin. in Psalm. 149.

[z] "Fundendo sanguinem, et patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est Ecclesia: persecutionibus crevit, martyriis coronata est." Hieron. adversus errores Johan. Hierosol. epist. 39. op. tom. 4. pag. 338.

[a] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 2. 5.

[b] James, chap. 4. ver. 11.

But if thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law, but a judge," saith St. James. It becomes us in obedience to perform our part; and leave the ordering of events to God, whose part only that is.

Again, the ground of this objection is exceeding faulty; and standeth not with the rules of humanity or divinity, either of sound policy or true piety. For in the one, who of us have not heard of that common rule of our common law, that "a mischief is better than an inconvenience?" Not that our common lawyers were so void of common understanding, as to imagine that a mischief, in itself formally considered, should be preferred before an inconvenience: but that an inconvenience, the consequence whereof would reach unto the general, should much more be prevented than any mischief which might fall out in any particular case, or tend to the greatest detriment of any person individual.

Thus, for the determining of matters of fact, and the judgment depending thereupon, the law established by God himself is this: "At[c] the mouth of two witnesses, or three witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death." By the subordination of false witnesses it falleth out here that Naboth[d] who is not worthy of death, is yet put to death. The shedding of innocent blood, a very great mischief in that particular; but yet was to be given way unto, rather than the inconvenience should be admitted in the general, that nothing should be determined upon the testimony of two witnesses. So, in the defining of matters of right, sometimes it so falleth out, that by the unskilfulness, negligence or corruption of the judge, the cause of the righteous is overthrown, and judgment quite perverted: and yet is he, notwithstanding his miscarriage in such particulars, accounted still in the number of the gods[e]; and his tribunal graced with the honourable title of "the[f] place of judgment and the place of righteousness." And therefore, as our Sa-

[c] Deut. chap. 17. ver. 6.
[d] 1 Kings, chap. 21. ver. 13.
[e] Psalm 82. ver. 1, 2. 5. 6.
[f] Eccl. chap. 3. ver. 16.

viour speaketh in the former case: "It[g] is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is true," that is, as the former words of the law itself have it, "At[h] the mouth of two witnesses is the matter to be established:" so in this other it goeth for a rule in the civil law, that "a[i] thing adjudged is accepted for truth:" especially if it be freely, and without all colour of surreption, so adjudged by the prince, whose "sentence[k] is presumed always to be just," and therefore not to be appealed from. For if things should not be thus ended by the last sentence of the highest judge, this intolerable inconvenience would ensue thereupon in the general matter of judicature, that strifes would prove infinite, suits immortal, and all controversies indeterminable. To which purpose also Æneas Silvius writeth thus: "Although[l] sometime iniquity and unjust judgment do proceed from the highest tribunal; yet must not a place therefore be given unto an appeal; seeing there is no judge that may examine the temporal acts of the emperor. Besides it is more profitable to the commonwealth for the extinguishing of strifes, that the benefit of an appeal should be denied unto a few that are unjustly oppressed, than that the gates of complaints should be opened unto many that shall calumniate, after they have been justly condemned: seeing they are exceeding rare who will account themselves to have been justly condemned: and the lesser evil is always to be tolerated, that the greater may be avoided. Surely where

[g] John, chap. 8. ver. 17.

[h] Deut. chap. 19. ver. 15.

[i] "Res judicata pro veritate accipitur." Ulpian. in D. lib. 207. de Regul. juris et l. Ingenuum, de statu hom.

[k] "Principis sententia præsumitur semper justa: unde ab eo non appellatur." Cynus in lib. Rescripta, Cod. de precib. imper. offerend.

[l] "Quamvis a summo solio nonnunquam procedat iniquitas, injustumque judicium prodeat; non tamen idcirco locus est appellationi, cum nemo sit judex qui temporalia Cæsaris facta valeat examinare. Utilius insuper est reipublicæ ad extinguendas lites, paucis injuste oppressis appellationis beneficium denegari, quam multis calumniantibus, postquam juste damnati fuerint, querelarum januas aperire: cum rarissimi sint qui se juste reputent condemnatos; semperque minus malum tolerandum sit, ut evitetur majus. Nempe ubi licitum est appellare, ibi quoque lites sine fine reperiuntur; ubi sunt inimicitiæ, ibi contentiones, ibi nova dietim scandala." Æn. Silv. de ortu et authorit. imperii, cap. 23.

it is always lawful to appeal, there also are found strifes without end; there are enmities, there are new scandals every day."

When, "out[m] of a discomfited army, every tenth soldier is beaten with a cudgel, the lot falleth also upon the valiant. Every such great exemplary punishment hath somewhat that is unjust in it; which being in particular to the prejudice of some, is yet recompensed by the general profit of the whole," saith Cassius, in Tacitus; and Tully, speaking of the office of the plebeian tribunes: "I[n] confess," saith he, "that there is some evil in that government; but the good which is sought in it we could not have without that evil." And it is the part of a prudent man in matters of this nature to consider as well the inconveniences of the one side, as the conveniences of the other, and wisely to compare together the mischiefs that are like to break out on either side; and especially to take care that the remedy which is thought upon, do not in the end prove far worse than the disease for the helping whereof it was provided. As in the particular now in hand; that the people may oppose their kings, and withstand them even with arms, when they conceive the courses taken by them do tend to the dishonour of God, or the great detriment of the commonwealth, may seem to vulgar minds that look after nothing so much as their own liberty, to be a matter that standeth with very great reason: while in the time they take no notice at all of the high mischiefs rather than ordinary inconveniences, which are inseparable companions of such a desperate combination.

For what greater disorder[o] can fall out among men,

[m] "Ex fuso exercitu, cum decimus quisque fuste feritur, etiam strenui sortiuntur. Habet aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum; quod contra singulos, utilitate publica rependitur." Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.

[n] "Ego fateor in ista potestate inesse quiddam mali: sed bonum quod quæsitum est in ea, sine isto malo non haberemus." Cicer. lib. de Legib.

[o] Ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί.
Καὶ δίκη, καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται
Eurip. in Medea.

than to make the inferior overrule the superior, the subject the prince? Whereas Solomon might have taught such, that "delight[p] is not seemly for a fool; much less for a servant to have rule over princes." Besides, what more unreasonable thing can be thought upon, than to allow subjects to be accusers, and judges, and executioners too, and that in their own cause, and against their own sovereign? whereas one denied[q] it to be fit that the emperor himself should be admitted to be an accuser; considering that by all "laws of God and man none may be both an accuser and a judge." Again; what greater madness can there be, than to seek the preservation of the commonwealth by making a rent therein, and embroiling it in a civil war? than which no speedier means could have been devised to bring it unto utter ruin and desolation. For we know who hath said: "If[r] a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand:" and it is a folly to imagine, that when the subjects have once betaken themselves unto arms, the king will look on, and be content to sit still by the loss. "Arms[s] are irritated by arms," saith one, and "if[t] my kingdom were of this world," saith our Saviour, "then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews."

The king, you may be sure, will not want his party to join with him: and if he should be put unto any straight at home, this would but drive him to supply himself with auxiliary forces from abroad: this being found true by experience, as Tully observeth, that "the[u] afflicted states of kings do easily draw the helps of many unto pity, and

[p] Proverbs, chap. 19. ver. 10.

[q] "Taceo quod imperatorem accusatorem esse non conveniat, postremo, iisdem divinis humanisque legibus nemo possit esse accusator et judex." Symmach. P. Apologet. advers. Anastas. imp.

[r] Matt. chap. 3. ver. 24.

[s] "Arma armis irritantur." Plin. Panegyr. ad Trajan.

[t] John, chap. 18. ver. 36.

[u] "Hoc jam fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut reges sunt, aut vivunt in regno; quod regale iis nomen magnum et sanctum esse videatur." Cicer. Orat. pro lege Manil.

especially of them who are either kings themselves, or do live in a kingdom; the regal name being by them esteemed to be great and sacred." Which how ready a way it is to subvert the state of any such distracted kingdom, and to bring it under the subjection of foreigners, we need not seek further for proof than from our own Ireland. For when[x] one of the petit kings of this nation was by domestical dissension driven out of his country, Julius Agricola received him indeed under the colour of courtesy and friendship, but retained him only till occasion should serve, that he might use this as a means to subdue the whole island unto the Roman government. And howsoever that project then failed, by the recalling of Agricola unto Rome from his lieutenantship in Brittany; yet afterward, when, upon a like occasion, Dermot, king of Leinster, was forced by his rebellious subjects to crave the aid of king Henry II. for the restoring of him to his kingdom, this association produced that effect which now we see, that the Irish lost their dominion, and became subject to the crown of England even until this day.

Nay, to turn our eyes unto Rome itself, and to pass by that known ode[y] of Horace's, touching the effect of the civil wars there:

> Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,
> Suis et ipsa Romæ viribus ruit.
> Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi,
> Minacis aut Hetrusca Porsenæ manus, &c.

That of Sallust, or some other not much inferior to him, unto Julius Cæsar, a little before the changing of that state into a monarchy, is worth our consideration: "This[z]

[x] "Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat." Corn. Tacit. in vita Agricolæ.

[y] Epod. lib. Od. 16.

[z] "Ego sic existimo; quoniam orta omnia intereunt, qua tempestate urbi Romanæ fatum excidii adventarit, cives cum civibus manus conserturos: ita defessos et exsangues, regi aut nationi prædæ futuros. Aliter non orbis terrarum, neque cunctæ gentes conglobatæ, movere aut contendere queunt hoc imperium. Firmanda igitur sunt concordiæ bona, et discordiæ mala expellenda." Sallust. Orat. 1. de republ. ordinand. ad C. Cæsarem.

is my opinion: seeing all things that have a beginning must have an end, whensoever that fatal time of the destruction of the Roman city shall come, that citizens will fight with citizens, and so, having wearied themselves and lost their blood, will fall to be a prey unto some king or nation. Otherwise neither the whole world, nor all the nations gathered unto one heap, are able to move or quash this empire:" and much more that prognostic of Seneca, delivered not long after that the monarchy had been founded there by Cæsar; wherein he declareth that the denying of obedience unto that monarch would prove the undoing of that mighty empire. "Such[a] an accident as this," saith he, "will be the bane of the Roman peace; it will bring the fortunes of so great a people unto utter ruin. So long shall the people be free from that danger, as long as it knoweth how to endure the reins: which if at any time it shall break, or, when shaken off by any chance, it shall not suffer to be put on again, the union and contexture of this high empire will fall in pieces, and the dominion of this city will expire together with her obedience. For Cæsar heretofore did so enbosom and enweave himself into the commonwealth, that the one cannot be disjoined from the other without the destruction of them both: for as he hath need of forces, so have they of a head."

But,

O[b] curvæ in terras animæ, et cælestium inanes!

Have we not read that which was spoken unto us by God? "The[c] Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice: let

[a] "Hic casus Romanæ pacis exitium erit; hic tanti fortunam populi in ruinas aget. Tamdiu ab isto periculo aberit hic populus, quamdiu sciet ferre frænos: quos si quando abruperit, vel aliquo casu discussos reponi sibi passus non erit; hæc unitas et hic maximi imperii contextus in partes multas dissiliet; idemque huic urbi dominandi finis erit qui parendi fuerit, &c. Olim enim ita se induit reipubl. Cæsar, ut diduci alterum non posset sine utriusque pernicie. Nam ut illi viribus opus est, ita et huic capite." Senec. de Clementia, lib. 1. cap. 4.

[b] Pers. Satyr. 2. et ex eo Lactant. Div. instit. lib. 2. cap. 2.

[c] Psalm 97. cap. 1.

the many," or great, "ISLES," whereof we are, "be glad thereof:" or must we yet be turned a grazing with Nebuchadnezzar, until we have learned his lesson? "That[d] the most high God ruleth in the kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomsoever he will." For the fuller declaration whereof, it will not be amiss to consider, first, how God doth appoint men over kingdoms according to his own pleasure; and then, how he doth rule in and with them therein. Touching the first, we may observe, that God doth sometime give a king unto a people out of love, sometime out of anger. "Because[e] the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king," to do judgment and justice, saith the queen of Sheba to Solomon. And on the other side: "I[f] gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath," saith the Lord himself, by the mouth of his prophet Hosea. Whereby we are further also given to understand, that God's wrath may shew itself in the taking away of a king, as well as his anger in giving him: his wrath, I say, not against the king himself alone, as it fell out in the case of Saul, but even against the people also, as it appeareth by that acknowledgment of theirs, which went before in the same prophet: "We[h] have no king, because we feared not the Lord:" and by a more strange effect of his wrath against them, in permitting good kings sometimes to take evil courses for their punishment; according to that which we find recorded in Scripture: "And[i] again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and David was moved," by Satan, "against them to say, Go number Israel and Judah:" even that David, to whom God had given this testimony: "I[k] have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will."

[d] Dan. chap. 5. ver. 21. and chap. 4. ver. 17. 25. 32.
[e] 1 Kings, chap. 10. ver. 9. [f] Hos. chap. 13. ver. 11.
[g] 1 Chron. chap. 10. ver. 13, 14.
[h] Hos. chap. 10. ver. 3.
[i] 2 Sam. chap. 24. ver. 1. with 1 Chron. chap. 21. ver. 1.
[k] Acts, chap. 13. ver. 22.

"God[l]," saith St. Augustine, "giveth bliss in the kingdom of heaven to the godly alone, but this earthly kingdom both to the godly and ungodly, as it pleaseth him, whom nothing unjustly can please. He that gave the government to Marius, gave it to Cæsar; he who gave it to Augustus, gave it also to Nero; he who gave it to the Vespasians, father and son, most sweet and loved emperors, gave it likewise to that man of cruelty, Domitian: and, not to recount the rest of them, he who gave it to that Christian prince Constantine, gave it to that wretch Julian the apostate. These things without doubt that one and that true God doth rule and govern as he pleaseth, by causes, although hidden, yet not unjust." And this lesson hath been generally taught by Irenæus[m], Origen[n], Synesius[o], Theodoret[p], Olympiodorus[q], Anastasius Sinaita[r],

[l] "Dat felicitatem in regno cœlorum solis piis, regnum vero terrenum et piis et impiis; sicut ei placet, cui nihil injuste placet, &c. Qui Mario, ipse Caio Cæsari; qui Augusto, ipse et Neroni; qui Vespasianis, vel patri vel filio, suavissimis imperatoribus, ipse et Domitiano crudelissimo: et (ne per singulos ire necesse sit) qui Constantino Christiano, ipse apostatæ Juliano. Hæc plane Deus unus et verus regit et gubernat, ut placet. Et si occultis causis, numquid injustis?" August. de civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 21.

[m] "Quidam illorum ad correctionem et utilitatem subjectorum dantur, et conversationem justitiæ; quidam autem ad timorem, et pœnam, et increpationem; quidam autem ad illusionem, et contumeliam, et superbiam, quemadmodum et digni sunt: Dei justo judicio in omnibus æqualiter superveniente." Irenæ. lib. 5. cap. 24.

[n] "Non semper princeps populi et Ecclesiæ judex per Dei arbitrium datur; sed prout merita nostra deposcunt. Si mali sunt actus nostri, et operamur malignum in conspectu Domini, dantur nobis principes secundum cor nostrum." Origen. in lib. Judic. Homil. 4.

[o] *Ὅταν δεῖται κολαστῇ* [*ὁ Θεὸς*] *χρῆται νῦν μὲν ἔθνει βαρβάρων, νῦν δὲ ἄρχοντι πονηρῷ.* Synes. epist. 57.

[p] "Cum vult eos qui peccant castigare, eos etiam a malis magistratibus regi permittit." Theodoret. in Rom. cap. 13.

[q] *Πολλάκις τῷ σχήματι φαινόμενον ἀγαθὸν συγχωρεῖ εἰς βασιλέα ἀναγορευθῆναι, ἐφ' ᾧ κακωθῆναι βούλεται δι' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δυσκολίαν καὶ κακοπραγίαν.* Olympiodor. in Job. apud Anastas. Sinait. quæst. 16. pag. 186. edit. Græco-Lat. Ingolstad. Jac. Gretseri: conferend. cum pag. 508. Catenæ Græcō-Lat. in Job. edit. Patr. Junil.

[r] *Τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγοντος, Δώσω ὑμῖν ἄρχοντας κατὰ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, εὔδηλον ὅτι οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων ὡς ἄξιοι τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ προχειρίζονται· οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἀνάξιοι ὄντες πρὸς τὸν ἄξιον λαὸν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀναξιότητος, κατὰ Θεοῦ συγχώρησιν ἢ βούλησιν, προχειρίζονται.* Anastas. quæst. 16. init. pag. 182.

Gregory[s], Isidore[t], and others of the ancient (to speak nothing of Æneas Silvius[u], and others of later times) that according to the quality of the people God useth to fit them with princes: and therefore, when either evil ones are placed over them, or in their progress they prove worse than they were at their beginning, they should turn their thoughts from the discontent they conceive against the present government, unto the consideration of their own sins, and the wrath of God punishing the same by this means at which they do repine. It being their duty rather in this case to "humble[x] themselves under the mighty hand of God," saying with David, "I[y] was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it:" and with the Church, in the prophet Micah: "I[z] will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him."

Touching the second, we may observe with St. Augustine, that "the[a] Almighty doth work in the hearts of men

[s] "Quid ergo illos in nobis præesse despicimus, quorum super nos regimina ex Domini furore suscipimus. Si igitur, irascente Deo, secundum nostra merita rectores accipimus, in illorum actione colligimus, quid ex nostra æstimatione pensemus." Et paulo post: "Sic ergo secundum merita subditorum tribuuntur personæ regentium; ut sæpe, qui videntur boni, accepto regimine permutentur: sicut Scriptura sacra de Saule intulit, quia cor cum dignitate mutavit." Gregor. Moral. in Job. lib. 34. cap. 14.

[t] "Quo manifestius elucet, bonam malamque potestatem a Deo ordinari: sed bonam propitio, malam irato. Reges quando boni sunt, muneris est Dei: quando vero mali, sceleris est populi. Secundum enim meritum plebium disponitur vita rectorum, testante Jobo: Qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi. Job. cap. 34. ver. 30. juxta Septuaginta. Irascente enim Deo, talem rectorem populi suscipiunt, qualem pro peccato mereuntur. Nonnunquam pro malitia plebium etiam reges mutantur, et qui ante videbantur esse boni accepto regno fiunt iniqui." Isidor. Hispal. Sentent. lib. 3. cap. 48. qui locus laudatur etiam in Concilio Paris. VI. lib. 2. cap. 1. (tom. Concilior. Galliæ, pag. 529.) licet ibi perperam insertum sit lemma illud, Gregorius in Moralibus: cum in cap. 5. pag. 529. rectius oppositum habeaturnomen Isidori.

[u] "Deus sæpe propter peccata subditorum depravari permittit vitam rectorum; Ex quo fit, ut occulto Dei judicio apud Deum justa nonnunquam reperiantur, quæ nobis videntur injusta." Æn. Silv. de ortu et author. imp. cap. 16.

[x] 1 Pet. chap. 5. ver. 6.

[y] Psalm 39. ver. 9.

[z] Micah, chap. 7. ver. 9.

[a] "Agit omnipotens in cordibus hominum etiam motum voluntatis eorum;

even the motion of their own will; that he may work by them that which he hath a mind to work, who knoweth not at all unjustly to will any thing." Whereunto we may refer that which God speaketh concerning the king of Assyria: "O[b] Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the staff in their hand is mine indignation. I will send him against an hypocritical nation; and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few. Wherefore[c] it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Sion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks:" and concerning the king of Babylon after him: "Israel[d] is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, behold I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria."

Themistius, a Heathen orator[e], doth more than once commend this sentence, taken, as he saith, out of the writings of the Assyrians: "that the king's heart is kept in the hand of God:" by the Assyrians, in all probability, meaning the Hebrews: and that saying in their books, which Gregory Nazianzen thus citeth: that "the[f] king's heart is in the hand of God, is both said and believed." And so indeed was it said by the wisest of kings, and so believed

ut per eos agat quod per eos agere voluerit, qui omnia injuste aliquid velle non novit." Aug. de gratia et libero arbitr. cap. 21.

[b] Isaiah, chap. 10. ver. 5, 6, 7. [c] Id. ibid. ver. 12.

[d] Jer. chap. 15. ver. 17, 18.

[e] *Πεπίστευκε γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, ὃς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ βασιλέως λέγει (εὖ λέγων) ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ δορυφορεῖσθαι.* Themist. Orat. 5. *Ἀλλ' ἐγώ ποτε ὑπησθόμην καὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων ταυτὸ τοῦτο κομψευομένων, ὡς ἄρα ὁ νοῦς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ δορυφορεῖται.* Id. in orat. 9.

[f] *Καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ εἴρηται καὶ πιστεύεται.* Greg. Nazianz. orat. 27. quæ in Latina Jo. Lewenklavii, edit. 12. est.

by all faithful people, "The[g] king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water; he turneth it whithersoever he will." For proof whereof we read in the book of Ezra, that "the[h] Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom," for the freeing of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity: that he "turned[i] the heart of Darius unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God;" and that he "put[k] in the heart of king Artaxerxes to beautify the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem." And what a hand he hath in the restraining them from doing evil unto his servants, we may perceive by that speech which he useth unto Abimelech king of Gerar, concerning Sarah the wife of Abraham: "I withheld thee from sinning against me; therefore suffered I thee not to touch her." As by that watchful eye which he had over our head, all his poor members may gather this comfort; that all the potentates upon earth are not able to touch them, until he give them power so to do; and that, at such a time, and in such a place, and in such measure, as he shall be pleased to limit them unto.

The consideration hereof made the apostles to lift[l] up their voice "to God with one accord," and say, "Of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done." And our Lord Jesus himself here upon earth, being[m] warned by some of the Pharisees to get him out of Galilee, because Herod would kill him; told them that "he must walk to day and tomorrow, and the day following," and that "it could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem:" shewing that it lay not in the power of Herod to appoint either the time of his

[g] Prov. chap. 21. ver. 1.
[h] Ezra, chap. 1. ver. 1.
[i] Ezra, chap. 6. ver. 22.
[k] Ibid. chap. 7. ver. 27.
[l] Acts, chap. 4. ver. 24. 27, 28.
[m] Luke, chap. 13. ver. 31, 33.

death, nor yet the place; which was not to be in Galilee, where his jurisdiction lay, but in Jerusalem, which was then in the power of Pilate the Roman governor. And when Pilate himself did afterwards insolently brag, that he "had[n] power to crucify him, and had power to release him;" he returned him this answer again: "Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above." Which St. Augustine compareth with that other saying of the apostle: "There[o] is no power but of God:" and out of both deduceth this conclusion: "A[p] man may have lust to hurt of his own: but power, if God do not give it, he hath none. For that there is no power but of God, is the definitive sentence of the apostle. He did not say, There is no lust but of God; for there is an evil lust which is not of God: but because that evil lust can hurt no man if he do not permit, he saith: There is no power but of God. Whereupon God made man, standing before a man, said: Thou couldst have no power against me, except it were given thee from above. The one did judge, the other did teach. When he was judged he did teach: that he might judge those whom he did teach. Thou couldst have no power, saith he, against me, except it were given thee from above. What is this? Hath a man only no power, unless he receive it from above? What hath the Devil himself? Durst he take away as much as one sheep from the holy man Job, before he had first said: Put forth thine hand,

[n] John, chap. 19. ver. 10, 11. [o] Rom. chap. 13. ver. 1.

[p] "Cupiditatem nocendi potest homo habere propriam: potestatem autem, si ille non dat, non habet. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: definita sententia apostoli est. Non dixit, Non est cupiditas nisi a Deo; est enim mala cupiditas, quæ non est a Deo: sed quia ipsa mala cupiditas nulli nocet, fi ille non permittat, Non est, inquit, potestas nisi a Deo. Unde Deus homo stans ante hominem, Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi data fuisset tibi desuper. Iste judicabat, ille docebat. Cum judicabatur docebat, ut judicaret quos docuerat. Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi esset data tibi desuper. Quid est hoc? Homo tantum non habet potestatem, nisi cum acceperit desuper? Quid ipse Diabolus? Ausus est vel unam oviculam tollere viro sancto Job, nisi prius diceret, Mitte manum tuam, hoc est, da potestatem? Ille volebat, sed ille non sinebat. Quando ille permisit, ille potuit. Non ergo ille potuit, sed qui permisit." Augustin. in Psal. 32. Conc. 2.

that is, give me power? He had a will to do it, but God did not suffer him. When he did suffer him, the other was able to do it. It is not he therefore that was able, but he that permitted him, even God: from[q] whom are all powers; howsoever all men's wills are not from him."

To the same purpose, the same father writeth very excellently in an other place: "Not[r] whatsoever we do suffer from our enemies, is to be imputed to our enemies, and not to our Lord God: forasmuch as our Mediator, even in his own example, hath demonstrated unto us that, when he from above doth permit men to hurt us, not the will, but the power of hurting is given from above. For every evil man hath in himself the will to hurt: but to have ability to hurt, he hath not in his power. In that he hath the will, he is already guilty; but that he should have the ability, it is permitted by the hidden dispensation of God's providence, toward some for punishment, toward some for trial, toward some for the obtaining a crown. For punishment: as

[q] "A quo sunt omnes potestates, quamvis ab illo non sint omnium voluntates." Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 8.

[r] "Non quicquid passi ab inimicis fuerimus, hoc inimicis deputandum est, et non Domino Deo nostro. Quandoquidem in ipso suo exemplo Mediator demonstravit, quando nobis desuper permittit homines nocere, non voluntatem nocendi desuper dari, sed potestatem. Unusquisque enim malus apud se habet voluntatem nocendi: ut autem possit nocere, non habet in potestate. Ut velit, jam reus est: ut possit, occulta dispensatione providentiæ divinæ, in alium permittitur ad pœnam, in alium permittitur ad probationem, in alium permittitur ad coronam. Ad pœnam: quomodo permissi sunt ἀλλόφυλοι, id est, alienigenæ, capere populum Israel, quia peccaverunt in Deum. Ad probationem autem permissus est Diabolus in Job: probatus est autem Job, confusus est Diabolus. Ad coronam vero permissi sunt persecutores in martyres. Occisi sunt martyres; quasi vicisse se arbitrati sunt persecutores: illi in manifesto falso triumphaverunt, illi in occulto vere coronati sunt. Ergo in quem permittitur, occultæ dispensationis est providentiæ Dei; ut autem velit nocere ipsius hominis est: non enim continuo quem vult occidit. Itaque ipse Dominus, judex vivorum et mortuorum, stans ante hominem judicem (præbens nobis humilitatis exemplum et patientiæ documentum; non victus, sed militibus pugnandi exemplum demonstrans) minanti judici, tumenti superbia (et dicenti, Nescis quia potestatem habeo dimittendi et occidendi te?) abstulit typhum inflantis, et tanquam reddens exufflationem qua detumesceret, Non haberes, inquit, in me potestatem, nisi data tibi esset desuper." Augustin. præfat. in enarrat. 2. Psalmi 29. Vide etiam eund. ad Simplicianum, lib. 2. quæst. 1. cum Retractat. lib. 2. cap. 1.

the Philistines were permitted to subdue the people of Israel, because they had sinned against God. For trial, the devil was permitted to assault Job: but Job was tried, the devil confounded. For the winning of the crown, the persecutors were let loose against the martyrs. The martyrs were slain, the persecutors thought they had gotten the day: these did falsely triumph in public, the other were truly crowned in secret. Therefore, that he is permitted to deal against any, proceedeth from the hidden dispensation of God's providence; but that he hath a will to hurt, cometh from the man himself: for he cannot kill presently whomsoever he willeth. Whereupon the Lord himself, the judge of the quick and the dead, standing before a man that was his judge (delivering therein unto us an example of humility, and a document of patience; not being himself overcome, but shewing unto his soldiers a pattern of fighting) from that judge threatening and swelling with pride, (and saying, Knowest thou not that I have power to release thee, and to kill thee?) took away the tumour which blew him up, and giving it a puff as it were to make it grow down, Thou couldst, said he, have no power against me, except it were given thee from above."

Hereunto we may add likewise that place of Johannes Sarisburiensis: "That[s] which the prince hath ability to do, is so from God, that the power doth not depart from the Lord: but he useth it by an under-posed hand, shewing in all things a document either of his mercy or of his justice. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, who hath the authority of conferring it, and, when he pleaseth, of taking away or diminishing it. For it is not in the power of a great man to exercise cruelty upon those that are under his government, when he listeth; but it is of God's own dispensa-

[s] "Quod princeps potest, ita a Deo est ut potestas a Domino non recedat: sed ea utitur per suppositam manum; in omnibus doctrinam faciens clementiæ aut justitiæ suæ. Qui ergo resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit, penes quem est auctoritas conferendi eam, et, cum vult, auferendi et minuendi eam. Neque enim potentis est, cum vult, sævire in subditos; sed divinæ dispensationis, pro beneplacito suo punire vel exercere subjectos." Joh. Sarisburiens. Polycratic. lib. 4. cap. 1.

tion, to punish or exercise the subjects according to his good pleasure." Out of all which we may learn, that not only the ability which princes have of doing every particular thing in their government, but also the ordering the ends thereof, either to the good or evil of the party to whom it is done, dependeth altogether upon the pleasure of God, who oftentimes bringeth light out of darkness, and disposeth of events to far other purposes than we at first would have conceived them to tend unto. Which the very Heathen did partly take notice of, who said: "The[t] condition of mortal men hath these kinds of vicissitudes, that adverse things do arise out of prosperous, and prosperous out of adverse. God doth hide the seeds of both; and the causes of our good and evil accidents do oftentimes lurk under a far different show."

"The Lord knoweth," saith St. Peter, "how[u] to deliver the godly out of temptations; and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished." And although "the[x] wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God:" yet doth God so order the matter, that "The[y] wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath shall be restrained by him." Whereupon St. Augustine when he had declared, that "The[z] power even of hurtful kings is from none but God;" for the justifying of his proceeding therein he addeth, that "It is not unjust that naughty men receiving power to hurt, both the patience of the good should be tried, and the iniquity of the wicked persecutors should be punished." For, as he elsewhere also noteth: "When[a] emperors do make evil

[t] "Habet has vices conditio mortalium, ut adversa ex secundis, ex adversis secunda nascantur. Occultat utrorumque semina Deus; et plerumque bonorum malorumque causæ sub diversa specie latent." Plin. Panegyr. ad Trajan.

[u] 2 Peter, chap. 2. ver. 9.

[x] James, chap. 1. ver. 20.

[y] Psalm 76. ver. 10.

[z] "Etiam nocentium potestas non est nisi a Deo: sicut scriptum est, loquente sapientia: Per me reges regnant, et tyranni per me tenent terram, &c. Injustum enim non est ut improbis accipientibus nocendi potestatem, et bonorum patientia probetur, et malorum iniquitas puniatur." Aug. lib. de natura boni, adversus Manich. cap. 32.

[a] "Imperatores quando pro falsitate contra veritatem constituunt malas leges, probantur bene credentes, et coronantur perseverantes." Aug. lib. de nat. hom.

laws for falsehood and against the truth, the right believers are tried, and such as persevere are crowned." And again: "The[b] terror of the temporal powers, when it doth oppose the truth, is to the just and strong a glorious trial, but to the weak a dangerous temptation: but when it proposeth the truth to such as err, and are at discord; to men of understanding it proveth a profitable admonition, and to such as are not sensible thereof an unprofitable affliction. And yet there is no power but of God; and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: for rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise for the same. For whether power favouring the truth, doth correct any man, he that is amended hath praise thereby; or being enemy to the truth, doth use cruelty against any, he that receiveth the crown for obtaining the victory hath praise for the same." And therefore, saith he: "If[c] thy governor be good, he is thy nourisher: if he be evil, he is thy tempter. Receive thy nourishment willingly, and approve thyself in temptation. Be thou gold: consider this world as the furnace of the workman. In one narrow

advers. Manich. epist. 185. "Imperatores si in errore essent, pro errore suo contra veritatem leges darent, per quas justi et probarentur et coronarentur, non faciendo quod illi juberent, quia Deus prohiberet." Augustin. epist. 105.

[b] "Terror temporalium potestatum, quando veritatem oppugnat, justis fortibus gloriosa probatio est, infirmis periculosa tentatio: quando autem veritatem prædicat errantibus et discordantibus; cordatis utilis admonitio est, et insensatis inutilis afflictio. Non est tamen potestas nisi a Deo: qui autem resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit; principes enim non sunt timori bono operi, sed malo. Vis autem non timere potestatem? bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa. Sive enim potestas veritati favens aliquem corrigat, laudem habet ex illa qui fuerit emendatus; sive inimica veritati in aliquem sæviat, laudem habet ex illa qui victor fuerit coronatus." Aug. lib. de natur. hom. advers. Manich. epist. 93. "Non ait, Bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa, vel cum eam in obsequium Dei lucratus fueris, vel cum ejus persecutione coronam merueris." Aug. in exposit. quarund. proposit. ex epist. ad Roman.

[c] "Bonus si fuerit qui tibi præest, nutritor tuus est; malus si fuerit, tentator tuus est. Et nutrimenta libenter accipe, et in tentatione approbare. Esto aurum: attende mundum istum tanquam fornacem artificis. In uno angusto loco tria sunt; aurum, palea, ignis. Ad illa duo ignis apponitur: palea uritur, aurum purgatur." Aug. de verbis Domini, serm. 6.

place there are three things: gold, chaff, and fire. The fire is put unto the other two: the chaff is burned, the gold is purged." To which kind of "fiery[d] trial" those passages of Scripture are to be referred: "When[e] he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold." "That[f] the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be so found unto praise, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ." "Many[g] shall be purified and made white and tried." "Blessed[h] is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him."

To draw them to a conclusion of this point. "Either[i] thou dost justly, and the just power will praise thee; or thus doing justly, although the unjust power should condemn thee, the just God will crown thee;" is the saying of Primasius. And, "If[k] the king doth punish thee when thou art nocent, give place to justice; if when thou art innocent, give place to fortune," was of old the advice of sage Seneca. Now if a Heathen could bring his mind to such a temper, by yielding unto bis blind fortune; how much more should a Christian arm himself with patience, by giving way to the all-seeing providence of our most wise God? who so "worketh[l] all things after the counsel of his own will," that he causeth "all things to work," not only severally but also "jointly[m], for good to them that love him:" making their temporal evil an occasion of their eternal good: according to that of St. Augustine: "Princes[n] are to be suffered by their people,

[d] 1 Peter, chap. 4. ver. 12.
[e] Job, chap. 23. ver. 10.
[f] 1 Peter, chap. 1. ver. 7.
[g] Dan. chap. 12. ver. 10.
[h] James, chap. 1. ver. 12.

[i] "Aut juste agis, et justa potestas laudabit te: aut juste agentem, etiamsi potestas injusta damnet te, Deus justus coronabit te." Primas. in Rom. chap. 13.

[k] "Rex est? si nocentem punit, cede justitiæ; si innocentem, cede fortunæ." Senec. de Ira, lib. 2. cap. 30.

[l] Ephes. chap. 1. ver. 11.

[m] Πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν. Rom. chap. 8. ver. 28.

[n] "Ita et a plebibus principes, et a servis domini sunt ferendi, ut sub exerci-

and masters by their servants: that in the exercise of their patience temporal things may be borne, and eternal hoped for" by them. Whereof his scholar Prosper maketh this paraphrase in his epigrams:

Reddendum est quicquid mundi bene postulat ordo,
  Propositumque piæ non violat fidei.
Mitibus et sanctis nulla est spernenda potestas:
  Æquum servire est regibus et dominis.
Ut Christi famulis ad verum prosit honorem,
  Dilexisse bonos, et tolerasse malos.

And so much both of the active obedience, which, in all things that may be done, we are bound to perform unto our sovereigns; and of the passive, which, in other cases, with all Christian fortitude we are tied to undergo, without the least carnal thought either of resisting their authority, or conspiring against their person, state or dignity.

It followeth that we should here also say somewhat touching the oath[o] of God: than which no[p] bond hath been esteemed so straight to bind men's faith, as in all other matters, so especially in this particular of fidelity[q] and obedience to be performed by subjects unto their princes. Wherein a double kind of oath may be taken

tatione tolerantiæ sustineantur temporalia, et sperentur æterna." Prosp. senten. 34. ex August.

[o] Ὅρκος δὴ πίστωσις ἐμμέσῳ Θεῷ. Gregor. Nazian. in ὅροις sive definitionib. rerum simplicib. Ὅρκος δέ ἐστι μετὰ θείας παραλήψεως φάσις ἀναπόδεικτος. Aristotel. Rhetoric. ad Alexan. cap. 18.

[p] "Nullum vinculum ad stringendam fidem jurejurando majores arctius esse voluerunt. Id indicant leges in XII. tabul. indicant sacra, indicant fœdera quibus etiam cum hoste devincitur fides; indicant notiones animadversionesque censorum, qui nulla de re diligentius quam de jurejurando judicabant." Cicer. Offic. lib. 3.

[q] "Non ignarus alioquin, nemini religiosius quod juravcrit custodiendum, quam cujus maxime interest non pejerari." Plin. de Trajano in Panegyrico suo. Ad quem Lipsius: "Nam principum status et salus juramento nitebatur, quod quotannis, ipsis Kalendis Januariis, senatus præstabat."

into consideration; the one tacit, the other express. For as in matrimony the covenant[r] made between man and wife is in the Scripture styled "the covenant[s] of God;" because thereby they have not only impledged themselves the one unto the other upon earth, but also to God in heaven, who is both a witness of that contract, and a severe revenger of the breach thereof: so this being "the[t] general covenant of human society," as St. Augustine speaketh, "to obey our kings;" God sheweth himself to be so far interested therein, as if an attestation had been interposed of his own glorious and fearful name. Upon which ground Solomon doth counsel, or rather charge us (for the principal verb is wanting in the original; as if no word could be found significant enough to express the deepness of the charge) "To[u] keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God." the very being in the condition of a subject, carrying with it by implication a silent kind of oath of fidelity, and due obedience.

But princes, for their better security, beside this tacit and implicit, thought fit their subjects should be further charged with express and direct forms of oaths. Examples whereof we have: one, that which the emperor Justinian[x] required of those who bore office under him; another, taken[y] by the subjects of Charles the Great; divers required[z] both of the clergy and the laity, by Carolus Calvus; the[a] oath of fidelity made unto Frederick Barbarossa and king Henry his son by the cities of Lombardy, Marchia and Romandiola, and with us not only the oaths of supremacy and allegiance ordained by latter

[r] Malach. chap. 2. ver. 14. [s] Prov. chap. 2. ver. 17.

[t] "Generale pactum est societatis humanæ, obedire regibus suis." Augustin. lib. 3. confess. cap. 8.

[u] Eccles. chap. 8. ver. 2. [x] Justinian. Novel. 9. tit. 3.

[y] Marculph. Formul. a Frid. Lindenbrogio edit. num. 40.

[z] Capitul. Caroli Calvi, cap. 13. 32. et 38. (pag. 117. 165. et 387. edit. Paris. ann. 1623.

[a] De pace Constantiæ (in fine corporis juris civilis.)

statutes; but also the oath[b] of ligeance, which every subject above the age of twelve years is tied to take in the Tourn or Leet, by the ancient common law. The violation of which sacred bonds, how heinously God doth take, even as a despising of his own oath and a breaking of his own covenant, these terrible threats of his against Zedekiah, that "rebelled[c] against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God," do sufficiently demonstrate. "Behold[d], the king of Babylon is come to Jerusalem, and hath taken the king thereof, and the princes, and led them with him to Babylon. And hath taken of the king's seed, and made a covenant with him, and hath taken an oath of him: he hath also taken the mighty of the land. That the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand. But he rebelled against him, in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people. Shall he prosper? shall he escape that doth such things? or shall he break the covenant and be delivered? As I live, saith the Lord God, surely in the place where the king dwelleth that made him king, whose oath he despised, and whose covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die. Neither shall Pharoah with his mighty army and great company make for him in the way by casting up mounts, and building forts, to cut off many persons. Seeing he despised the oath, by breaking the covenant (when lo, he had given his hand) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, As I live, surely MINE oath that he hath despised, and MY covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompense upon his own head. And I will spread my net upon him, and he shall be taken in my snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his trespass that he hath trespassed against ME. And all his fugi-

[b] Coke 7. Report. fol. 6. and 7. in Calvin's case, and in his Institutes, sec. 94. and 259.

[c] 2 Chron. chap. 36. ver. 13.

[d] Ezek. chap. 17. ver. 12, 13. &c.

tives with all his bands shall fall by the sword, and they that remain shall be scattered towards all winds: and ye shall know that I the Lord hath spoken it."

And the sentence is very solemn which Isidore, that famous archbishop of Seville, with threescore and ten other bishops assembled in the fourth council of Toledo, did pronounce against such rebellious persons as made no conscience of the performance of that oath of fidelity which they had taken for the preservation of the safety of their king and country: "Whosoever[e] of us, or of the people throughout all Spain, shall from henceforward, by any kind of conspiracy or practice, violate the oath of fidelity which he hath taken for the safeguard of the country and Gothish nation, or the preservation of the king's majesty, or shall attempt the king's death, or deprive him of the government of his kingdom, or by tyrannical presumption usurp the regal throne; let him," say they in the first place, "be accursed before God the Father and the angels, be cast out of the Catholic Church which by his perjury he hath profaned, and excommunicated from the company of all Christian men, together with all the complices of his impiety: it being fit that they should be liable to the same penalty, who are found involved in the error of the like conspiracy." And, in the second place: "Let[f] him be accursed before Christ and his apostles, be cast out of the Catholic Church, &c. and be damned in God's future judgment, together with

[e] "Quicunque amodo ex nobis, vel totius Hispaniæ populis, qualibet conjuratione vel studio, sacramentum fidei suæ, quod pro patriæ gentisque Gothorum statu, vel conservatione regiæ salutis (vel incolumitate regiæ potestatis) pollicitus est, temeraverit, aut regem nece attrectaverit, aut potestate regni exuerit, aut præsumptione tyrannica regni fastigium usurpaverit, anathema in conspectu Dei Patris et angelorum, atque ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus et ab omni cœtu Christianorum alienus, cum omnibus impietatis suæ sociis: quia oportet ut una pœna teneat obnoxios, quos similis error invenerit implicatos." Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.

[f] "Anathema in conspectu Christi et apostolorum ejus sit, atque ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, et ab omni consortio Christianorum alienus, et damnatus in futuro Dei judicio habeatur, cum participibus suis: quia dignum est ut qui talibus sociantur, ipsi etiam damnationis eorum participatione obnoxii teneantur." Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.

his partakers: it being just that they who are associated to such, should likewise be held obnoxious to the participation of their condemnation." And, the third time also: "Let[g] him be accursed before the HOLY GHOST and the martyrs of Christ, be cast out of the Catholic Church, &c. and let him have no portion with the just, but be condemned to eternal punishments with the Devil and his angels, together with those that are combined in the same conspiracy; that they may be tied in the same penalty of perdition, who were joined in the same wicked society of sedition." Which sentence of the bishops, three times thus denounced, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, was seconded by this general acclamation of the whole clergy and people that were present: "Whosoever[h] shall presume against this definition of yours, let him be Anathema Maranatha, that is, accursed unto the coming of our Lord; and let them have their part with Judas Iscariot, both they and their associates."

This provision[i] for the safety and behoof of princes, was confirmed likewise in the fifth council of Toledo; and this canon enacted therein, for the time to come: "In[k] regard of the facility of evil-affected minds, and the forgetfulness

[g] "Anathema sit in conspectu Spiritus Sancti et martyrum Christi, atque ab Ecclesia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, et ab omni communione Christianorum alienus: neque partem habeat justorum, sed cum Diabolo et angelis ejus æternis suppliciis condemnetur, una cum iis qui eadem conjuratione nituntur; ut par pœna perditionis constringat, quos in pernicie prava societas copulat." Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.

[h] "Ab universo clero et populo dictum est, Qui contra hanc vestram definitionem præsumpserint, Anathema Maranatha, hoc est, perditio in adventum Domini sint; et cum Juda Iscarioth partem habeant, et ipsi et socii eorum. Amen." Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.

[i] "Hæc nostri concilii communiter considerata defertur sententia; ut servetis quæcunque in universali et magna synodo provisa conscriptaque circa principum salutem et utilitatem sunt." Concil. Toletan. V. cap. 2.

[k] "Propter malarum mentium facilitatem et memoriæ oblivionem, hoc sacratissima statuit synodus; ut in omni concilio episcoporum Hispaniæ, universalis concilii decretum quod propter principum nostrorum est salutem constitutum, peractis omnibus in synodo, publica voce debeat pronunciari: quatenus sæpe replicatum auribus, vel assiduitate iniquorum mens territa corrigatur, quæ ad prævaricandum et oblivione et facilitate perducitur. Concil. Toletan. V. cap. 7.

of memory, this holy synod hath ordained, that in every council of the bishops of Spain, the decree of the national council which was made for the safety of our princes, after all things are finished in the synod, should with a public voice be pronounced: that being often represented unto men's ears, even by this very assiduity the mind of evil men being terrified may be corrected, which by their forgetfulness and facility would otherwise be drawn to disloyalty." Whereunto, in the tenth council of Toledo, this canon also was afterwards added, for the deposition of such of the clergy as should violate those oaths that were generally taken for the preservation of the safety of the king and country. "Whereas[1], both by the sanctions of certain decrees of the fathers, and by legal constitutions, it hath been provided, that none should attempt to devise any thing contrary to the safety of our prince, nation or country; this one thing is now added, specially to be observed, that if any religious person, from the bishop unto the meanest of the clerical or monastical order, shall be found with a profane intendment to have violated those general oaths that have been taken for the safety of the king, nation, or country, he shall be presently deprived of his dignity, and be excluded both from his place and honour; this hope of mercy being only reserved, that it shall be left in the power of the prince, whether he shall repossess either his place, or his honour, or both of them." Thus far the fathers of Toledo.

The first we find that stiffly stood against the taking of these general oaths of fidelity, were the Pharisees, who

[1] "Cum et quorundam paternorum sanctionibus decretorum et institutionibus sit legalibus cautum, ne contra salutem principum gentisque aut patriæ quisquam meditari conetur adversum; hoc unum specialiter nunc depromitur observandum; ut siquis religiosorum, ab episcopo usque ad extremum ordinis clericorum sive monachorum, generalia juramenta, in salutem regiam gentisque aut patriæ data, reperiatur violasse voluntate profana, mox propria dignitate privatus, et loco et honore habeatur exclusus; eo miserationis obtentu tantummodo reservato, ut an locum, an honorem, an utraque possideat, concedendi jus licentiamque principalis potestas obtineat." Concil. Toletan. X. cap. 2.

being of "the[m] strictest sect" of the Jewish religion, did indeed "outwardly[n] appear righteous unto men," but within "were full of hypocrisy and iniquity." Yet by this outward show of religion they gained such a reputation with the people, that "they[o] were able by that means to do much hurt unto those that hated them, and to give great furtherance unto such as stood friendly affected toward them; being strongly believed by the multitude, even when for mere envy they did speak hardly of any man:" so far, that "if[p] they did speak any thing against the king himself, or against the high priest, they were presently believed." Of them thus writeth Josephus: "These[q] were called Pharisees, such as were able openly to practise against kings; being very subtle, and presuming by their motions to raise war against them, and to annoy them. Whereas, therefore all the Jews had by oaths obliged their fidelity to Cæsar Augustus, and to the estate of King Herod, these men would not swear at all, being above six thousand in number. Whereupon the king having imposed a fine upon them, the wife of Pheroras, Herod's brother, paid it for them. For which cause, they intending to requite her kindness, and being esteemed by their intercourse with God to have obtained the knowledge of things to come, foretold her that God had determined to bring the government of Herod and

[m] Acts, chap. 26. ver. 5.

[n] Matt. chap. 23. ver. 27, 28. with Luke, chap. 12. ver. 1.

[o] *Δύνασθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε, βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας, καὶ φίλους διακειμένους ὠφελῆσαι· μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν ἂν καὶ φθονοῦντές τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσι.* Alexander rex, apud Joseph. lib. 13. antiqu. cap. 23. vide et cap. sequ. et lib. 18. cap. 2.

[p] *Τοσαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τῷ πλήθει, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὶ λέγοντες, καὶ κατὰ ἀρχιερέως, εὐθὺς πιστεύεσθαι.*

[q] *Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, κἀκ τοῦ προύπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι. Παντὸς οὖν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι᾽ ὅρκων ἦ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν, ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι. καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέως ζημιώσαντος χρήμασιν, ἡ Φερώρου γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει,* &c. Joseph. lib. 17. cap. 3.

his posterity to an end, and that the kingdom should be transferred to her and Pheroras, and the children begotten of them both." But Herod, having discovered the conspiracy of these false prophets, put the principal contrivers thereof unto death, and all those of his household servants that were of their faction.

Not long after these, "rose[r] up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him:" but with the like success: for "he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed," as is related by Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles. This[s] Judas, with Sadduc the Pharisee his associate, solicited the people to rebellion: "alleging that the taxing brought with it a plain confession of their servitude, and exhorting them to maintain their liberty," and brought in a new sect among the Jews; the followers whereof did "in[t] all other things agree with the opinions of the Pharisees, but had a most constant love of liberty, accounting God alone to be their prince and Lord. Insomuch that they make little account of undergoing exquisite kinds of deaths, or of the punishments of their kinsfolks, and friends, rather than they would call any man their Lord." Whereas, on the other side, the Essenes would admit none to any near communion with their sect, before he had first bound himself by a solemn oath, "ever[u] to keep his faith unto all, but especially unto princes; considering that no man doth attain to that power without God's own appointment." And

[r] Acts, chap. 7. ver. 37.

[s] Σαδδοῦκον φαρισαῖον προσλαμβανόμενος, ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει· τήν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀντικρὺς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος. Joseph. lib. 18. antiqu. cap. 1.

[t] Τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμῃ τῶν Φαρισαίων ὁμολογοῦσι, δυσκίνητος δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἔρως ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν Θεὸν ὑπειληφόσι. θανάτων τε ἰδέας ὑπομένειν παρηλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τίθενται, καὶ συγγενῶν τιμωρίας καὶ φίλων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν δεσπότην. Joseph. lib. 18. cap. 2.

[u] Τὸ πιστὸν ἀεὶ παρέξειν πᾶσι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ δίχα Θεοῦ περιγίνεσθαί τινι τὸ ἄρχειν. Joseph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 7.

the people of the Jews generally had been so far this way instructed out of God's word, that when Sejanus intended his conspiracy against Tiberius, he first "endeavoured[x] to remove this nation out of the way: which he knew would either alone or most of all oppose his ungodly counsels and practices, for the endangering the life of the emperor." Whereupon commandment was given by Tiberius, afterwards unto all the presidents of the provinces, that they should "take[y] into their protection, both the men themselves as persons of a peaceable disposition, and their laws likewise as things much tending to the settlement of public tranquillity."

So, upon his death, the people of the Jews with the first took their oath[z] of fidelity to his successor Caius; and offered solemn[a] sacrifices at the temple of Jerusalem for his safety: Who are therefore represented by king Agrippa to Caius himself as a nation "from[b] the beginning most religiously and piously affected toward his family. For in what things they may," saith he, "and are permitted to do by the laws of their religion, they come no ways short of any people either of Asia or Europe, in

[x] Σηϊανοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα ᾔδει βουλαῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀντιβήσομενον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρασπονδηθῆναι κινδεύνευσαντος αὐτοκράτορος. Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

[y] Παρακαταθήκην ἔχειν τοῦς τε ἄνδρας ὡς εἰρηνικοὺς τὰς φύσεις, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ὡς ἀλείφοντα πρὸς εὐστάθειαν. Philo, in legat. ad Caium.

[z] Ὥρκισε τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῷ Γαΐου. Joseph. antiqu. lib. 18. cap. 7. de Vitellio Syriæ præside, Hierosolymis tum agente.

[a] Πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς Γαΐου θυσίας. Philo, legat. ad Caium. Ἐθύσαμεν, καὶ ἑκατόμβας ἐθύσαμεν, ὧν τὸ αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περισπείσαντες τὰ κρέα οὐκ εἰς θοίνην καὶ εὐωχίαν οἴκαδε ἐκομίσαμεν· (ὡς ἔθος ἐνίοις ποιεῖν) ἀλλ' ὁλόκαυτα τὰ ἱερεῖα παραδόντες τῇ ἱερᾷ φλογί. Philo, legat. ad Caium.

[b] Εὐσεβέστατα καὶ ὁσιώτατα διακείμενον ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον. Ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἐφεῖται καὶ ἔξεστι μετὰ νόμων εὐσεβεῖν, οὐδενὸς οὔτε τῶν Ἀσιανῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ λείπεται τὸ παράπαν, εὐχαῖς, ἀναθημάτων κατασκευαῖς, πλήθει θυσιῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἑορτὰς ἀναγομέναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντελεχέσιν· ἐξ ὧν οὐ στόματι καὶ γλώσσῃ μηνύουσι τὸ ἀσεβὲς μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς ἀφανοῦς βουλεύμασιν, οἱ μὴ λέγοντες ὅτι φιλοκαίσαρές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντες ὄντως. Philo, legat. ad Caium.

prayers, erection of donaries, and multitude of sacrifices, not only in their public celebrities, but also in their daily devotions. Whereby they do declare this pious respect of theirs, not so much with their mouth and tongue, as with the willingness of their inward soul: not saying that they are the friends of Cæsar, but being so in truth and in deed." Thus Agrippa wrote unto Caius, being incensed against the Jews for not giving way to the dedicating his statue in their temple, with the title which he had assumed unto himself of New Jupiter. In the carriage of which unhappy business, it will not be amiss to consider that notable example of passive obedience shewed at that time by this people.

The inhabitants of Jerusalem and all the rest of the country no sooner had notice of these woful tidings, but presently as one man, leaving their towns and castles, and houses, they presented themselves in Phœnicia before Petronius the president of Syria, unto whom Caius had committed the execution of this wicked command of his. Where the old men, young folks and boys distributed into three ranks, and the old women, younger women and virgins divided into three other, at one instant fell down unto the ground before the president, with a lamentable kind of howling. Being commanded to arise and to draw nearer, with much ado they did so; and being covered with dust, and beblubbered with tears, came with both their hands drawn behind their backs after the manner of condemned persons, causing their mind to be delivered by their spokesmen to this effect: "We[c] are unarmed, as

[c] Ἄοπλοι ἐσμὲν ὡς ὁρᾷς, παραγενομένους δὲ αἰτιῶνταί τινες ὡς πολεμίους· ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις ἑκάστῳ προσένειμεν ἀμυντήρια μέρη, χεῖρας, ἀπεστρόφαμεν, ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι δύνανται, παρέχοντες αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα πρὸς εὐσκόπους τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι βολάς. Γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γενεὰς ἐπηγαγόμεθά σοι, καὶ διὰ σοῦ προσπεσούμεθα Γαΐῳ, μηδένα οἴκοι καταλιπόντες, ἵνα ἢ περισώσητε πάντας, ἢ πάντας πανωλεθρίᾳ διαφθείρητε, &c. Πυνθανόμεθα πεζὰς καὶ ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις ηὐτρεπίσθαι καθ' ἡμῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἀντιβαίημεν. οὐδεὶς οὕτω μέμηνεν, ὡς δοῦλος ὢν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεσπότῃ. Παρέχομεν ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τὰς σφαγὰς ἄσμενοι. κτεινέτωσαν, ἱερευέτωσαν. κρεωνομείτωσαν ἀμαχεὶ καὶ ἀναιμωτί· πάντα ὅσα κεκρατηκότων ἔργα δράτωσαν, &c. Ἀποθανόντων τὸ ἐπίταγμα γινέσθω· μέμψαιτ' ἂν οὐδὲ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρων στοχαζομένους, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εὐλαβείας,

thou seest; though some did give out that we were come in an hostile manner. And our hands, the members which nature hath given unto every man for his defence, we have put behind us, that they are able to do nothing: presenting our own bodies as a fair mark to be shot at, to those that have a mind to kill us. Our wives and our children and our families we have brought unto thee, and by thee do prostrate ourselves before Caius; having left none at home, to the end that you might either save us all, or cut us off all by a common destruction. We hear that foot and horse forces are prepared against us, if we give impediment to this dedication. There is none so mad, that being a servant he would oppose himself against his master. We are ready to undergo our slaughter most willingly. Let them kill us, sacrifice us, cut us in pieces without fight or any loss of the least drop of their own blood, let them put in execution whatsoever conquerors use to do. This shall be our last will, when we are a dying; that neither God himself may find fault with us for having a respect to both these, the reverence we owe unto our prince, and the observance due unto our most sacred law."

Petronius, at that time being not able to prevail with them, removed from Ptolemais to Tiberias in Galilee; where fifty days together were spent in the treaty of this matter: the Jews the mean while neglecting their seed time, and "crying[d] out, that before their law should be violated, they were ready to suffer any thing." To whom Petronius: "Are you then minded to fight against Cæsar?" Their answer was, that "Twice every day

καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς καθωσιωμένους νόμους ἀποδοχῆς. Philo, legat. ad Caium.

[d] *Πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πᾶν ἐβόα, πρὸ τοῦ νόμου πάσχειν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν. καταστείλας δὲ ὁ Πετρώνιος αὐτῶν τὴν βοὴν, Πολεμήσετε, εἶπεν, ἄρα Καίσαρι; καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, Περὶ μὲν Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ δημοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν ἔφασαν. εἰ δὲ βούλεται τὰς εἰκόνας ἐγκαθιδρύειν, πρότερον αὐτὸν δεῖν ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος προθύσασθαι· παρέχει δὲ σφὰς αὐτοῦς ἑτοίμους εἰς σφαγὴν, ἅμα τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν.* Joseph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 17. (al. 9.)

they did offer sacrifice for Cæsar and the people of Rome: but if he would needs erect those images, he must first offer the whole nation of the Jews for a sacrifice; they being ready to present themselves to the slaughter, together with their wives and children." With which carriage of theirs the president was so moved, that he stayed the execution of the business: wherewith the emperor was so highly offended, that he threatened death unto him, for being so slow in the performance of his commandments. But seven and twenty days before those minatory letters came unto his hands, Petronius received others that certified him of the death of that bloody tyrant; who was so professed an enemy not only to the Jewish nation, but also to his own, that he "wished[e] the people of Rome had but one neck," that he might cut it off with one blow."

There were living at that time three of the sons of Judas of Galilee, James, Simon and Manahem: who, no doubt, would not let slip such an opportunity as this, to stir up those seditious spirits that adhered unto their father's sect, unto an open defection from the Roman government. But sure it is, that the two[f] former, for such practices as these, were not long after crucified by Tiberius Alexander the Roman governor. The third lived to be a chief captain of the rebellious rout, that under pretence of recovering their liberty, made that war against the Romans which brought themselves and their country unto utter ruin: Agrippa the king, and Josephus the priest labouring in vain to dissuade them from those seditious attempts. For, said Agrippa to them, "Now[g] to desire liberty is unseasonable: you ought at first to

[e] "Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet." Sueton. in C. Caligula, cap. 30. Dio, histor. lib. 59. P. Oros. lib. 7. cap. 5.

[f] Joseph. lib. 20. antiquit. cap. 3.

[g] Ἀλλὰ μὲν τόγε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄωρον· δέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον. ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπὴ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ἄρξασθαι ταύτης ὁ ἀγὼν δίκαιος· ὁ δὲ ἅπαξ χειρωθεὶς, ἔπειτα ἐφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δοῦλός ἐστιν, οὐ φιλελεύθερος. Joseph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 28. (al. 16.)

have striven, that you might not lose it; considering that the admittance of slavery is a heavy thing, and that it may not at all begin is a just cause of war. But he who being once subdued doth afterwards revolt, sheweth himself to be a contumacious servant, rather than a lover of liberty." Which Josephus also put them in mind of afterward; that although "it[h] be a good and commendable thing to fight for liberty, yet that was to be done in the beginning: but for those that were once brought into subjection, and for a long time had undergone the same, to shake off the yoke afterward, would be the part of those that were desirous of a shameful death, rather than of such as would be accounted the lovers of liberty."

The prime foundation[i] of this cruel war was laid by Eleazar the son of Ananias the high priest; who, with his complices, rejected the sacrifice that was to be offered for Cæsar, and with him for the Romans, notwithstanding that divers of the chief priests and others of the best esteem did earnestly request them not to intermit that custom of sacrificing for their governors; telling them thereby, merely "to[k] provoke the arms of the Romans, and," as it were, "to wed a war from them, they had brought in a new kind of religion: it[l] being to be feared, that such as rejected the sacrifices which were for them, should be forbidden any more to sacrifice for themselves;

[h] Εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλὸν, χρῆναι τὸ πρῶτον. τὸ δ' ἅπαξ ὑποπεσόντας, καὶ μακροῖς εἴξαντας χρόνοις, ἔπειτα ἀποσείεσθαι τὸ ζυγὸν, δυσθανατώντων οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. Joseph. lib. 6. Bell. Jud. cap. 26. (al. cap. 11.)

[i] Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου καταβολή. τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων θυσίαν Καίσαρος ἀπέῤῥιψαν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων παρακαλούντων, μὴ παραλιπεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔθος, οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν. Joseph. lib. 2. cap. 30. (al. cap. 17.)

[k] Αὐτους δὲ νῦν ἐρεθίζοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα, καὶ μνηστευομένους τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνων πόλεμον, καινοτομεῖν θρησκείαν ξένην. Joseph. lib. 2. cap. 30. (al. 17.)

[l] Δεδοικέναι μέντοι μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἀποῤῥίψαντες θυσίας, κωλυθῶσι θύειν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν, γένηταί τε ἔκασπονδος τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ ταχέως σωφρονήσαντες ἀποδώσουσι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἐφ' οὓς ὑβρίκασι τὴν φήμην, διορθώσονται τὴν ὕβριν. Joseph. lib. 2. cap. 30. (al. cap. 17.)

and that the city of Jerusalem should be outlawed by the empire, if quickly gathering their wits together they did not accept Cæsar's sacrifices, and rectify this contumely before the fame thereof should come unto those whom they had wronged thereby." The mischief was brought to the full height by those turbulent persons, who assumed to themselves the name of Zelots[m]: and did indeed, saith Josephus, "by[n] their works make good their name: for there was no evil work which they did not imitate, nor any evil practised within the memory of man, wherein they shewed not themselves zealous: howsoever they took their name from such as were zealous in goodness." But in the end they brought desolation[o] upon their city, ruin upon their nation, and the severity[p] of God's just judgment upon themselves. "For as many punishments as it is possible for man's nature to endure were heaped upon them, even to the last expiring of their life; which with variety of tortures they miserably finished."

The tail of this smoking firebrand was kindled afterward by that captain of the Jewish rebellion, who named himself Barcochebas, the "son of the star," (as if that part of Balaam's prophesy, "There[q] shall come a star out of Jacob," had been meant of him) but was by the Jews, when they found their expectation deceived by him, termed Barcozba, the "son[r] of a lie." This lewd im-

[m] *Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ ζηλώσαντες τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὑπερβαλλόμενοι.* Joseph. lib. 4. cap. 12. (al. 5.)

[n] *Τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπηλήθευσαν. πᾶν γὰρ κακίας ἔργον ἐξεμιμήσαντο, μήδ' εἴτι πρότερον προυπαρχθὲν ἡ μνήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτοὶ παραλιπόντες ἀζήλωστον· καίτοι τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ζηλυμένων ἐπέθησαν.* Joseph. lib. 7. cap. 30. (al. 28.)

[o] *Ἡ γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ζηλωτῶν ἐπίθεσις κατῆρξεν ἁλώσεως τῇ πόλει.* Joseph. lib. 6. cap. 1.

[p] *Προσῆκον ἕκαστοι τὸ τέλος εὕροντο, τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν βραβεύσαντος. ὅσας γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δύναται φύσις κολάσεις ὑπομεῖναι, πᾶσαι κατέσκηψαν εἰς αὐτοὺς, μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, ἣν ὑπέμειναν ἐν πολυτρόποις αἰκίαις ἀποθανόντες.* Joseph. lib. 7. cap. 30.

[q] Num. chap. 24. ver. 17.

[r] "Cochebas dux Judaicæ factionis nolentes sibi Christianos adversum Ro-

postor, because he could not draw the Christians from their allegiance, nor persuade them to join arms with the Jewish faction against the power of the Romans, inflicted all the tortures upon them that he could devise. For the heresy of Judas of Galilee had by this time fully possessed the Jews; a people who "neither[s] pleased God," and were contrary to all men; not only "denying[t] that they were any way tied by the Roman laws," but also accounting it a crime to obey them. And now the spirit of obedience did pass from the synagogue of those "which[u] say they are Jews and are not," to the "Church[x] of the living God," which did so wait for the kingdom hoped for at the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that it detracted nothing in the mean time from that subjection our Lord himself, both by his precept and example, had prescribed to be given by his followers unto all earthly kings and governors.

And yet were the Pagans so mistaken herein that, "When[y] they heard the Christians did expect a kingdom, they undiscreetly supposed that they meant a worldly one, not that which hereafter they should have with God," at the second coming of our Saviour. Which the emperor Domitian is therefore said to have no less feared[z], than Herod did the first. Whereupon he caused some that remained of the kindred of our Lord according to the flesh to be presented before him, who being "demanded[a] touching Christ and his kingdom, what kind of thing it

manum militem ferre subsidium, omnimodis cruciatibus necat." Euseb. in Chronico. Vid. et P. Oros. hist. lib. 7. cap. 13.

[s] 1 Thess. chap. 2. ver. 15.

[t] "Cum ipsi Romanis legibus teneri se negent, ita ut crimina leges putent; nunc velut Romanis legibus se vindicandos putent?" Ambros. lib. 5. epist. 29.

[u] Rev. chap. 2. ver. 9. and chap. 3. ver. 9.

[x] 1 Tim. chap. 3. ver. 15.

[y] Ὑμεῖς, ἀκούσαντες βασιλείαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκρίτως ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τὴν μετὰ Θεοῦ λεγόντων. Justin. Martyr. pro Christianis apolog. 2.

[z] Ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. Hegesippus apud Euseb. lib. 3. hist. eccles. cap. 20.

[a] Ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὁποία τις εἴη, καὶ πότε, καὶ ποῖ φανησομένη, λόγον δοῦναι, ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ'

was, and when and where it should appear, they returned for answer, that it was neither worldly nor earthly, but celestial and angelical; and that it should be at the consummation of the world, when that he coming in glory shall judge the quick and the dead, and render unto every man according unto his works." Upon which it is said, that Domitian condemned them not, but despising them as mean persons, did both let them go free, and by edict stayed the persecution then raised against the Church.

But our Saviour himself had long since resolved this doubt in that "good[b] confession which he witnessed before Pontius Pilate;" when he plainly declared, that "his[c] kingdom was not of this world." Whereupon St. Augustine maketh this loud proclamation: "Hear[d] Jews and Gentiles, hear circumcision, hear uncircumcision, hear all kingdoms upon earth. I do not hinder your government in this world. My kingdom is not of this world:" and then biddeth them "not[e] to fear with that most vain fear, wherewith Herod was so troubled, when news was brought him that Christ was born, and killed so many infants, that death might come upon him; being made more cruel by fearing than by being angry." Of whom Maximus Taurinensis also thus: "The[f] king was troubled, fearing, I believe, his kingdom should be

ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει· ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένη, ὁπηνίκα ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ. Ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότα τὸν Δομετιανὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐτελῶν καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν. Hegesippus apud Euseb. lib. 3. hist. eccles. cap. 20.

[b] 1 Tim. chap. 6. ver. 13. [c] John, chap. 18. ver. 36.

[d] "Audite Judæi et Gentes, audi circumcisio, audi præputium, audite omnia regna terrena. Non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo: regnum meum non est de hoc mundo." Augustin. in Evang. Johan. tract. 115.

[e] "Nolite metuere metu vanissimo, quo Herodes ille major, cum Christus natus nunciaretur, expavit, et tot infantes, ut ad eum mors perveniret, occidit; timendo magis quam irascendo crudelior." Augustin. in Evang. Johan. tract. 115.

[f] "Turbatur rex, regno (credo) metuens suo: nesciens quia Christus non veniebat regnum ejus invadere, sed salvare; et quod nulli inferret mortem, qui est vita cunctorum." Maxim. Taurin. homil. 4. in Epiphania Dom. See the book of the religion of the ancient Irish, toward the end of the eleventh chapter. Works. vol. 4. pag. 371.

touched: not knowing that Christ came not to invade his kingdom, but to save it; and that he intended not to bring death upon any, who is the life of all men."

And whereas, after the ascension of our Saviour, there had been "a[g] great fame spread abroad, which charged his apostles with sedition and innovation, as if they had directed all their actions" and speeches to the subversion of the common laws; St. Paul therefore was very careful to "give[h] order unto the Church of God, that without making any opposition to secular princes and powers, in quietness and tranquillity of life, it should exercise the work of justice and piety." For "if we should admit, for example," saith Origen, "that such as believed in Christ would not be subject to the secular powers, nor render tribute, nor pay customs, nor give fear or honour unto any: should not they by this means deservedly turn the arms of governors and princes against themselves, and thereby make their persecutors excusable, but themselves culpable? For now it would appear that they were impugned, not for their faith, but for their contumacies' sake, and to have a cause indeed of death, but a merit of death very unworthy" of their profession.

Which apostolical lesson the Christians, which endured the brunt of the first ten persecutions, had learned so exactly, that none in the whole world were found so dutiful unto their princes as they: as appeareth both by their known practice, and their own professions in their public apologies. "For[i] if we did expect an earthly

[g] *Καὶ γὰρ πολὺς περιεφέρετο λόγος τότε, ἐπὶ στάσει καὶ καινοτομίᾳ διαβάλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τῶν κοινῶν νόμων ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας καὶ λέγοντας.* Chrysost. in epist. ad Roman. homil. 23.

[h] "Ordinat quidem per hæc Paulus Ecclesiam Dei, ut nihil adversi principibus et potestatibus seculi gerens, per quietem et tranquillitatem vitæ, opus justitiæ et pietatis exerceat. Si enim ponamus, verbi gratia, credentes Christo potestatibus seculi non esse subjectos, tributa non reddere, nec vectigalia pensitare, nulli timorem, nulli honorem deferre; nonne per hæc rectorum et principum merito in semetipsos arma converterent; et persecutores quidem suos excusabiles, semetipsos vero culpabiles redderent? Non enim jam fidei sed contumaciæ causa impugnari viderentur: et esset eis causa quidem mortis, meritum vero mortis indignum." Origen. lib. 9. in epist. ad Roman. cap. 13.

[i] *Εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον βασιλείαν προσεδοκῶμεν, κἂν ἠρνούμεθα ὅπως μὴ*

kingdom," saith Justin Martyr to the emperor Antonius, we would deny our religion, that we might escape death; and we would labour to conceal ourselves that we might attain our expectation. But because we have not our hopes fixed upon the things of this life, we care nothing for those that slay us; being otherwise assured that we must certainly die. And as for the preservation of peace, we yield to you more help and assistance than all other men." And for "tributes[k] and collections, we endeavour every where before all others, to bring them in unto the officers appointed under you: as we have been taught by our Lord himself," commanding us to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. "Whence we worship indeed God alone, but in other things we cheerfully do service unto you, acknowledging you to be the kings and princes of men." So Theophilus, bishop of Antioch: "Honour[l] the king, honour him by wishing well unto him, by being subject unto him, and by praying for him. For in doing thus thou shalt do the will of God: for the law of God saith, My son, honour God and the king; and be disobedient to neither of them." And again: "The[m] word of God commandeth us to be subject to principalities and powers, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life." So likewise Athenagoras, in his apology to M. Aurelius and his son Commodus, having

ἀναιρώμεθα, καὶ λανθάνειν ἐπειρώμεθα ὅπως τῶν προδοκωμένων τύχωμεν. ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ νῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν, ἀναιρούντων οὐ πεφροντίκαμεν, τοῦ καὶ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὀφειλομένου. Ἀρωγοὶ δ' ὑμῖν καὶ συμμαχοι πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐσμὲν πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων. Justin. Martyr. apolog. 2.

[k] *Φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ* [Χριστοῦ] &c. *ὅθεν Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν, βασιλεις καὶ ἄρχοντες ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες.* Justin. Martyr. apolog. 2.

[l] *Τὸν βασιλέα τίμα, τίμα εὐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτῷ, εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ποιεῖς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ. λέγει γὰρ ὁ νόμος. Τίμα, υἱὲ, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπειθὴς ᾖς·* Theophil. ad Autolyc. lib. 1.

[m] *Ἔτι μὲν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελεύει ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν.* Theophil. ad Autolyc. lib. 3.

declared that the Christians were "of[n] all others most piously and justly disposed toward God and their empire; and wished them to[o] make enquiry touching their life, doctrine, observance and obedience toward them, together with their house and empire:" concludeth his whole discourse with this profession: "We[p] pray for your empire that the son (as it is most just) may in the kingdom succeed the father, and that your empire may increase and flourish, all being made subject unto you; which would be much for our good; that we, leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your commands."

Tertullian is full to the same purpose; "Thou[q] that thinkest we have no care of the safety of Cæsar, look into the Word of God, I mean our books, which neither we ourselves do suppress, and many chances bring to foreigners. Know, that by them we are commanded for the shewing the redundancy of our charity to pray unto God even for our enemies, and to wish well unto our persecutors. Now who are more enemies and persecutors of Christians than they, the neglect of whose majesty we

[n] Πάντων εὐσεβέστατα διακειμένους καὶ δικαιότατα πρός τε τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν βασιλείαν. Athenagor. legat. pro Christian.

[o] Πρὸς ὑμῶν λοιπὸν, ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι βίου, δογμάτων τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σπουδῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς. Athenagor. legat. pro Christian.

[p] Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχόμεθα, ἵνα ταῖς μὲν παρὰ πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαιότατον διαδέχηται τὴν βασιλείαν, αὔξησιν δὲ καὶ ἐπίδοσιν ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ὑποχειρίων γιγνομένων, λαμβάνῃ. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευμένα προθύμως ὑπηρετοῖμεν. Athenagor. legat. pro Christian.

[q] "Qui putas nihil nos de salute Cæsarum curare, inspice Dei voces, literas nostras; quas neque ipsi supprimimus, et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scito ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste, Orate, inquit, pro regibus et pro principibus et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint. Vobiscum enim concutitur imperium: concussis etiam cæteris membris ejus, utique et nos (licet extranei a turbis æstimemur) in aliquo loco casus invenimur." Tertull. apolog. cap. 31, 32.

are brought to answer for as a crime? But beside, by name and expressly, pray, saith the Scripture, for kings and for princes and powers, that all things may be peaceable. For together with you is the empire shaken: and the rest of the members thereof being so shaken, surely we also (although esteemed strangers from such troubles) will be found partakers of that fall." And "therefore[r] do we sacrifice for the safety of the emperor, but to our God and his, and in such sort as God himself hath commanded, with pure prayer. So that we pray for the emperor's safety more than you, asking it of him who is able to give it." And again: "We[s] pray for emperors, for their officers and magistrates. For[t] the emperors' safety we call upon the eternal God, the true God, the living God; whom the emperors themselves would wish before all others should be propitious unto them. They know who gave them their empire, and they know, as they are men, who gave them their soul: they understand that he only is God, in whose power alone they are. Having[u] our arms therefore thus spread out unto God, let the hooks tear us, the crosses hang us, the fires lick us up, the swords cut our throats, the beasts leap upon us: the posture of a Christian praying is prepared for all kind of torment. Go to now, you good presidents, wrest out the soul that is a supplicating for the emperor."

[r] "Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius: sed quomodo præcepit Deus, pura prece, &c. Ita nos magis oramus pro salute imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui præstare potest." Tertull. ad Scapulam, cap. 2.

[s] "Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus." Tertull. in apolog. cap. 39.

[t] "Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi præter cæteros malunt. Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, sciunt qua homines, quis et animam: sentiunt eum Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt." Tertull. ad Scapulam, cap. 30.

[u] "Sic itaque nos ad Deum expansos ungulæ fodiant, cruces suspendant, ignes lambant, gladii guttura detruncent, bestiæ insiliant: paratus est ad omne supplicium habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, boni præsides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro imperatore." Tertull. in apolog. cap. 30.

And with what invincible constancy they endured this cruelty (which[x] they accounted their glory) without any thought of revenge or resistance to the authority placed over them, howsoever they had power enough to meet with their persecutors, the same author thus elegantly declares: "We[y] are defamed touching the imperial majesty: and yet were Christians never found to be Albinians, Nigrians or Cassians;" relating to Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger, and Avidius Cassius, who rebelled against the emperors of his time, "but the same men that the very day before did swear by the genius of the emperor, that offered up and vowed sacrifices for their safety, that had often condemned the Christians, were found to be their enemies. And that we indeed do carry ourselves according to that lesson which we have learned of divine patience, hereby it may be manifest enough unto you, that being so great a multitude of men, the greater part almost of every city, we behave ourselves silently and modestly; being perhaps better known severally than jointly, nor otherwise discernible but by the amendment of our former vices. For God forbid that we should take those things in evil part which we desire to suffer, or plot any revenge from ourselves, which we expect from the hand of God. Otherwise one[z] night,

[x] "Crudelitas vestra gloria est nostra." Tertullian. ad Scapulam, cap. ult.

[y] "Circa majestatem imperatoris infamamur: tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani; sed iidem ipsi, qui per Genios eorum in pridie usque juraverunt, qui pro salute eorum hostias et fecerant et voverant, qui Christianos sæpe damnaverant, hostes eorum sunt reperti. Et utique ex disciplina patientiæ divinæ agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque in silentio et modestia agimus; singuli forte magis noti quam omnes, nec aliunde noscibiles, quam de emendatione vitiorum pristinorum. Absit enim ut indigne feramus ea nos pati quæ optamus, aut ultionem a nobis aliquam machinemur, quam a Deo expectamus." Tertull. ad Scapulam, cap. 2.

[z] "Quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largiter ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret. Sed absit ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina secta, aut doleat pati in quo probatur. Si enim et hostes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos. agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomani, ipsique Parthi, vel quantæcunque unius tamen loci et suorum finium gentes quam totius orbis? Externi

with a few firebrands, would yield us sufficient revenge, if it were lawful with us to expunge evil with evil. But God forbid that the followers of the divine religion should either revenge themselves with human fire, or be grieved to suffer that wherein they are tried. And had we been minded to profess open hostility, and not to practise hidden revenge, could we want number of men or force of arms? Are the Moors, and the Marcomans, and the Parthians themselves, or any one particular nation whatsoever, more in number than we that are spread over the world? We are not of you, and yet we have filled all you have; your cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very tents, tribes and wards, yea the palace, senate, and place of judgment. Your temples alone we leave unto yourselves. For what war were we not able and ready, though we were fewer in number than you, that go to our martyrdom so gladly; if it were not more lawful in our religion to be slain than to slay? We could without arms, never rebelling, but only dividing ourselves from you, have done you spite enough with that separation. For if so great a multitude of men as we are, should have broken out from you into some corner of the world, the loss of so many citizens would have shamed you, yea, and by the very destitution punished you. Without all peradventure you would have been afraid to see yourselves left solitary; and in that silence of things, and kind of amazement of a dead city, you

sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templa. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur? si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere. Potuimus et inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis; suffudisset utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destitutione punisset. Proculdubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum et stuporem quendam quasi mortuæ urbis quæsissetis quibus in ea imperassetis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent: nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis præ multitudine Christianorum pene omnium civium, pene omnes cives Christianos habendo." Tertull. in apolog. cap. 37. Vide etiam cap. 49, et 50.

would have sought whom you might rule in it. More enemies would have remained unto you than citizens: where now you have fewer enemies by reason the multitude of your citizens, that are almost all Christians."

And yet, saith Origen, "when[a] we do nothing contrary to the law and word of God, we are not so mad nor furious as to stir up against ourselves the wrath of the king or the magistrate, which would bring upon us blows, torments, and divers kinds of death. For we have read that which is written: Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. They therefore that oppose the power, do oppose the ordinance of God." But when without any opposition to this power, the Christian, for the preservation of a good conscience, submitteth himself thereunto, ready to endure any torments rather than on either side to violate the duty imposed upon him by his God; the less he seeketh to right himself therein, the more will he to whom vengeance belongeth assume the cause into his own hand. Which maketh St. Cyprian thus boldly to deliver his mind unto Demetrius, the cruel prosecutor of God's saints in Africa: "Leave[b] off to hurt the servants of God and Christ by thy persecutions; whom being hurt the divine vengeance doth defend. For hence it is, that none of us when he is apprehended doth resist, or revenge himself against your unjust violence, although the number of our people be exceeding great. The confidence we have, that God will hereafter avenge

[a] *Ἔνθα μέν τοι οὐδὲν ἐναντίον πράττομεν νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ Θεοῦ, οὐ μεμήναμεν, οὐδ' ὁρμῶμεν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐγείρειν βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου θυμὸν, ἐπὶ αἰκίας καὶ βασανιστήρια ἢ καὶ θανάτους ἡμᾶς φέροντα. ἀνέγνωμεν γὰρ καὶ τὸ, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπο Θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν, ὥστε οἱ ἀνθεστηκότες τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθίστανται.* Origen. lib. 8. contra Celsum.

[b] "Lædere servos Dei et Christi persecutionibus tuis desine, quos læsos ultio divina defendit. Inde est enim quod nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec se adversus injustam violentiam, quamvis nimius et copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur. Patientes facit de futura ultione securitas." Cyprian. de Demetrian.

us, doth make us patient:" to the returning of which vengeance the Lord is the sooner moved, when he doth find at the same time the persecuted labouring with him for the welfare of their persecutors. For "we[c]," saith Cyprian there, "day and night continually and instantly do pray, propitiating and appeasing God for your peace and safety." And "to[d] him we pour incessant prayers for the reign of Valerianus and Galienus, that it may continue unshaken;" saith Dionysius bishop of Alexandria. "For[e] thy safety have I always worshipped Christ, and for the state of the Roman empire have I always adored him who is in heaven;" saith St. Sebastian unto the emperor Diocletian: and again: "The[f] priests of the temples do possess the minds of your majesties with most unjust surmises, suggesting false tales, as if they were adversaries to the commonwealth: whereas by their prayers the commonwealth is bettered and encreased: for they cease not to pray for your empire, and for the safety of the Roman army."

And here, under those cruel emperors Diocletian and Maximian (in whose army St. Sebastian served) that most illustrious example of passive obedience presenteth itself unto our view, which the Thebæan legion shewed, consisting of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six valiant Christians. The tenth man of whom when Maximian had caused to be executed, for refusing to offer sacrifice unto his false gods; Mauricius, taking the rest of the le-

[c] "Pro pace ac salute vestra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus jugiter atque instanter oramus." Cypr. ad Demet.

[d] *Καὶ τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν* (*Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλιήνου*) *ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ.* Dionys. Alexan. advers. German. apud Euseb. lib. 7. hist. eccles. cap. 11.

[e] "Pro salute tua semper Christum colui: et pro statu orbis Romani illum qui in cœlis est semper adoravi." Act. 5. Sebastiani; upud Surium, Januar. 20. et Vincent. Bellovacens. in specul. historial. lib. 12. cap. 18.

[f] "Iniquissimis subreptionibus animos imperii vestri templorum pontifices obsident, suggerentes de Christianis falsa commenta, tanquam illi sint reipublicæ adversarii: cum illorum orationibus respublica in melius proficiat et crescat: non enim cessant pro imperio vestro et pro salute Romani exercitus orare." Act. 5. Sebastiani; apud Surium, Januar. 20. et Vincent. Bellovacens. in Specul. historial. lib. 12. cap. 18.

gion aside, used this oration unto them; as Eucherius archbishop of Lyons relateth, in the Acts of their martyrdom: "I[g] congratulate your virtue, most worthy fellow-soldiers, that, for the love of religion, the command of Cæsar wrought no fear at all in you. You have seen your fellow-soldiers, in a manner with rejoicing minds, to have been delivered up unto a glorious death. How did I fear lest any of you, as it was easy for armed men to do, under pretence of defence should by lifting up his hands give interruption to their most blessed funerals! I had now ready at hand, for the forbidding of this attempt, the example of our Christ; who by the command of his own mouth put up the sword which was unsheathed by his apostle: teaching thereby, that the virtue of Christian confidence is greater than all weapons. Here Christ our God did clearly prohibit your minds and hands; that none with mortal arm should resist the divine work, but rather with ever continued religion add a consummation to the work begun. Hitherto we have read examples inserted into the Holy Scriptures: but even now we ourselves have beheld, whom we ought to imitate."

Then, when Maximinian had commanded that a second decimation should be made of those that remained, Exuperius, taking into his hands the ensigns of his legion, spake thus unto them: "My[h] most worthy fellow-soldiers,

[g] "Gratulor virtuti vestræ, commilitones optimi, quod amore religionis nullam vobis Cæsaris præceptum attulit formidinem Gaudentibus quodammodo animis tradi ad necem gloriosam commilitones vestros vidistis. Quam timui ne quisquam, quod armatis facile est, specie defensionis beatissimis funeribus manus afferre tentaret! Jam mihi ad hujus rei interdictum Christi nostri parabatur exemplum, qui exemptum vagina apostoli gladium propriæ vocis jussione recondidit: docens, majorem armis omnibus Christianæ confidentiæ esse virtutem. Hic Deus Christus plane mentes vestras manusque prohibuit; ne quisquam divino operi mortalibus dextris obsisteret, quin imo cœpti operis finem perenni religione compleret. Hactenus exempla sacris inserta codicibus legebamus: jam nunc per nosmet ipsos, quos sequi debeamus, adspeximus." &c. Eucher. Lugdunens. in Actis martyrum Agaunensium, tom. 5. Surii, Septemb. 22.

[h] "Tenere me, commilitones optimi, secularium quidem bellorum signa perspicitis; sed non ad hæc arma provoco; non ad hæc bella animos vestros virtutemque compello. Aliud nobis genus eligendum est præliorum. Non per hos gladios potestis ad regna cœlestia properare." Eucher. Lugdunens. in Actis martyrum Agaunensium, tom. 5. Surii, Septemb. 22.

I hold, as you see, the ensigns of a secular warfare: but to these arms I provoke you not; I excite not your courage and your valour to such wars as these. Another kind of fight is to be chosen by us. It is not by these swords that you can make your way to the kingdom of heaven:" and afterwards wisheth this message should be returned unto the persecuting emperor: "We[i] are thy soldiers indeed, but withal, which we freely profess, God's servants. To thee we owe our employment in the war, to him our innocence: from thee have we received the reward of our labour; to him we are beholding for the beginning of our life. We cannot so follow thee in this, though our prince, as to deny God who is our maker, and, whether thou wilt or wilt not, is thine also."

After this, in Ado's martyrology, there are many other passages interserted; and in the end this: "Non nos vel hæc ultimæ vitæ necessitas in rebellionem cogit. As for us, even this necessity of our last life doth not drive us to rebellion." But it followeth in Eucherius: "Despair[k] itself, O emperor, which most strengthens men in dangers, hath not been able to arm us against thee. Behold, we have our weapons, and yet resist not: as willing rather to die than overcome, and choosing rather to perish innocent than live traitors. If to what already thou hast decreed against us, thou wilt add more, be it fire, or torture, or the sword, we are ready for it. We are Christians, and such as ourselves we cannot persecute. Consider, O

[i] "Milites sumus, imperator, tui: sed tamen servi (quod libere fatemur) Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. A te stipendium laboris accepimus; ab illo vitæ exordium sumpsimus. Sequi imperatorem in hoc nequaquam possumus, ut authorem nostrum negemus Deum; authorem, velis nolis, tuum."

[k] "Non nos adversum te, imperator, armavit ipsa, quæ fortissima est in periculis, desperatio. Tenemus ecce arma, et non resistimus: quia mori magis quam vincere volumus, et innocentes interire quam noxii vivere præoptamus. Si quid in nos ultra statueris, ignem, tormenta, ferrum; subjici parati sumus. Christiani sumus, persequi Christianos non possumus. Inexpugnabiles legionis istius animos, Cæsar, agnosce. Tela projicimus: exarmatas quidem dexteras satelles tuus, sed armatum fide Catholica pectus inveniet. Occide, prosterne: secandas gladiis persecutoribus cervices præbemus intrepidi." Eucher. Lugdunens. in Actis martyrum Agaunensium, tom. 5. Surii, Septemb. 22.

Cæsar, the courage of this legion. Our weapons we cast away: and thy executioner shall find our hands unarmed, but our breasts he shall find armed with the Catholic faith. Kill us, down with us: without all fear we offer our necks to be cut off by the swords that are appointed to slay us." And so "were[l] they all put to the sword, not any way gainsaying or resisting; but, with their weapons laid down, giving their necks, and offering their throats or naked bodies unto the persecutors."

Not unlike was the case of the martyrs that afterwards suffered under Sapor king of Persia; in whose name Joseph answered thus to Zeroth that sat in judgment upon him: "We[m] have given up ourselves like sheep unto the slaughter; as having learned to be subject to all higher powers." And that Christ's Church militant in general had very well learned this lesson of passive obedience, that place of St. Augustine may sufficiently declare unto us: "Neither[n] then did the city of Christ, although as yet it were a pilgrim upon earth, but had armies nevertheless of great peoples appertaining unto it, fight for their temporal safety against their wicked persecutors; but rather, that it might obtain eternal happiness, made no resistance at all. They were bound, they were shut up in prison, they were beaten, they were tortured, they were burned, they were slaughtered, they were cut in pieces; and yet were multiplied:" together with the testimony of Lactantius, who was himself an eye-witness of that terrible per-

[l] "Cædebantur itaque passim gladiis, non reclamantes saltem aut repugnantes, sed et depositis armis cervices persecutoribus præbentes, et jugulum vel intectum corpus offerentes." Adonis Martyrolog. X. Calend. Octobr.

[m] "Nos enim nos ipsos tanquam oves tradidimus ad occisionem; ut qui didicerimus esse subjecti omnibus potestatibus." Acta 55. Acepsimæ, Josephi et Acithalæ; apud Simeon. Metaphrast. Novemb. 3. tom. 5. Lipomani, fol. 18. fin.

[n] "Neque tunc civitas Christi, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in terris, et haberet tamen magnorum agmina populorum, adversus impios persecutores suos pro temporali salute pugnavit, sed potius, ut obtineret æternam, non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, et multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro salute pugnare nisi salutem pro Salvatore contemnere." August. de civit. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 6.

secution raised by Diocletian and Maximian. "Whereas[o] we suffer such terrible things, we do not resist so much as with a word; but leave the revenge to God." Whereof he wished the persecutors to make this use: "Whereas[p] from the rising of the sun to the fall thereof the divine law hath been received, and every sex, every age, and people, and country, with united and equal minds do serve God; the same patience is found every where, the same contempt of death: they ought to understand there is some reason in the matter, that not without cause it should thus be defended unto the death; and there is some foundation and solidity therein, that persecution doth not only, by the injuries and vexations thereof, not dissolve this religion, but also increase it continually and make it firmer."

Neither was this patience of the saints seen only in the primitive persecutions, wherein the imperial edicts armed the infidel people for the extirpation of Christianity: but also, after that Constantine the Great had abolished those bloody acts, and enacted other laws for the liberty of the Church of God, the like subjection was constantly continued; as well under the Arian emperors, who, retaining the title of Christians, did endeavour with all their power to advance that damnable heresy, but also under Julian himself, who utterly revolted from the very profession of the name of Christ. For this man at first shewed such zeal in the embracing of our religion, that he[q], with

[o] "Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur: sed Deo remittimus ultionem." Lactant. institut. lib. 5. cap. 21.

[p] "Cum ab ortu solis usque ad occasum lex divina suscepta sit, et omnis sexus, omnis ætas, et gens, et regio unitis ac paribus animis Deo serviant; eadem sit ubique patientia, idem contemptus mortis: intelligere debuerant, aliquid in ea re esse rationis, quod non sine causa usque ad mortem defendatur, aliquid fundamenti ac soliditatis, quod eam religionem non tantum injuriis ac vexatione non solvat, sed augeat semper et faciat firmiorem." Lactant. institut. lib. 5. cap. 21.

[q] Τῷ μέν γε κλήρῳ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκατέλεξαν, ὥστε τὰς θείας ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ βίβλους, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων μεῖζον καλλώπισμα, τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Gregor. Nazianzen. orat. 1. in Julian.

Gallus his kinsman, (although of the blood royal) thought it no scorn to take upon him the office of reading the holy Scriptures unto the people in the church: and howsoever he afterwards secretly[r] withdrew himself, and adhered to the devilish superstition of the Pagans; yet at his first entrance into the public government, he pretended still to be a Christian, and for the further manifestation thereof, upon the sixth day of January, which we call the Epiphany, he repaired unto the church of the Christians, and there joined with them in God's public worship. But when shortly after he had declared himself to be an open enemy unto the faith of Christ, the Christian soldiers, of whom the main bulk of his army did consist (as appeareth by their general acclamation unto Jovianus recorded in the ecclesiastical history[s], when upon the death of Julian, he was made emperor in his room) did not thereupon revolt from him, as he had done from Christ; but held themselves still tied in conscience to "render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, as to God the things that were God's." "Julian[t] was an unbelieving emperor," saith St. Augustine. "Was he not an apostate, an oppressor, an idolater? Christian soldiers did serve that unbelieving emperor. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no lord but him that is in heaven. When he would have them to worship idols, and to offer incense, they preferred God before him. But when he said, go forth to fight, invade such a nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternal lord from their temporal: and yet were they subject even to their temporal lord for his sake that was their lord eternal."

[r] "Utque omnes nullo impediente ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat arcanorum participibus paucis aruspicinæ auguriisque intentus, et cæteris quæ Deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphaniam dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solenniter numine orato discessit." Ammian. Marcellin. histor. lib. 21.

[s] Rufin. lib. 2. histor. eccl. cap. 1. Socrat. lib. 3. cap. 22. Theod. lib. 4. cap. 1.

[t] "Julianus extitit infidelis imperator. Nonne extitit apostata, iniquus, idololatra? Milites Christiani servierunt imperatori infideli. Ubi veniebatur ad causam Christi, non agnoscebant nisi illum qui in cœlis est. Quando volebat ut

And what kind of weapons the other Christians used (who were the far stronger part of the empire) against the present injuries which he offered unto them, and the more grievous afflictions which he intended afterwards to bring upon them; Gregory Nazianzen declareth, when he sheweth that "they[u] were repressed by God's mercy and the Christians' tears, which were many and shed by many, as having no other remedy against that persecutor." "For we[x]," saith he, "unto whom no weapon, nor bulwark, nor any other defence was left but only our hope in God, all human succour being utterly taken away and cut off from us; whom else could we have, either hearer of our prayer, or stopper of the things that were threatened against us, but him that sweareth against the pride of Jacob?" And when that miserable man's wrath was gone, and those great thoughts of his perished with him, this grave father doth thus magnify God's exceeding great goodness unto his suppliants; "What[y] great preparation of arms, and plotting of projects, could have wrought such things? how many thousands of men and orderings of armies? as only we supplicating, and God using his own pleasure, hath brought to pass."

Among the Arian emperors the prime persecutors of the Cotholics was Constantius, the son of the great Constantine: unto whom the orthodox Christians, where they could not tender their active, did readily present their pas-

idola colerent, ut thurificarent, præponebant illi Deum. Quando autem dicebat, Producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem; statim obtemperabant. Distinguebant dominum æternum a domino temporali: et tamen subditi erant, propter dominum æternum, etiam domino temporali." August. in Psal. 124.

[u] Ἐπεσχέθη δὲ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τοῖς χριστιανῶν δάκρυσιν, ἃ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἐχύθη, τοῦτο μόνον ἐχόντων κατὰ τοῦ διώκτου φάρμακον. Greg. Nazianzen. orat. 1. in Julian.

[x] Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἷς καὶ ὅπλον καὶ τεῖχος, καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν ἀμυντήριον, ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐλπὶς ὑπελείπετο, πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην περιῃρημένοις καὶ περικεκομμένοις ἐπικουρίαν παντάπασι· τίνα ἄρα ἕτερον ἢ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀκροατὴν ἢ κωλυτὴν τῶν ἀπειλουμένων ἕξειν ἐμέλλομεν, ἢ τὸν ὀμνύοντα κατὰ τῆς Ἰακὼβ θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. Greg. Nazianzen. orat. 2. in eund.

[y] Πόσαι ταῦτα κατέπραξαν ἂν ὅπλων παρασκευαὶ καὶ μηχανημάτων ἐπίνοιαι; πόσαι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ φάλαγγες; ὅσα ἱκετεύοντες μόνον ἡμεῖς καὶ Θεὸς βουληθεὶς κατειργάσατο. Greg. Nazianzen. orat. 2. in eund.

sive obedience: acknowledging his power to be from God, to whose judgment therefore they referred him; without the least thought of defending themselves and the truth of the religion which they professed, by any violent opposition or taking up arms against their sovereign. "Cease[z] to persecute the Christians, do not labour by our means to bring impiety into the Church. We are ready to suffer all things, rather than be called Arians: compel not us, who are Christians to be accounted fighters against Christ. This is our counsel unto thee. Fight not against him that hath given this empire unto thee; do not, instead of thanks, requite him with impiety. Persecute not them which believe in him; lest thou also hear, It is hard to kick against the pricks." Thus freely did Liberius bishop of Rome encounter the heretical emperor: resisting him no otherwise, but with the ready submittal of himself to that banishment which he was assured beforehand was determined for him. In the like manner Hosius, that old confessor, beginneth his stout, but dutiful, letter which he wrote unto him. "I[a] was a confessor at first, when the persecution was raised by your grandfather Maximian: and if you do also persecute me, I am now also ready to endure any thing rather than shed innocent blood and betray the truth." Afterwards he putteth him in mind of his mortality, and of the day of judgment: acknowledging in the mean time that he had received from God his imperial sovereignty, and therefore whosoever did detract any thing from thence, should therein oppose

[z] *Παῦσαι διώκων χριστιανοὺς, μὴ πείραζε δι' ἡμῶν εἰσάξαι τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. πάντα ὑπομένειν ἐσμὲν ἕτοιμοι ἢ 'Αρειομανῖται κληθῆναι. χριστιανοὺς ὄντας ἡμᾶς μὴ ἀνάγκαζε χριστομάχους κληθῆναι. τοῦτο καὶ σοὶ συμβουλεύομεν, Μὴ μάχου πρὸς τὸν δεδωκότα σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, μὴ ἀντ' εὐχαριστίας ἀσεβήσῃς εἰς αὐτόν. μὴ δίωκε τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν, μὴ ἀκούσῃς καὶ σὺ, Σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν.* Liberius ad Constantium, apud Athanas. in epist. ad solitar. vit. agentes, op. tom. 1. pag. 367.

[a] *'Εγὼ μὲν ὡμολόγησα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὅτε διωγμὸς γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάππῳ σου Μαξιμιανῷ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ σύ με διώκεις, ἕτοιμος καὶ νῦν πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομένειν ἢ ἐκκενοῦν ἀθῷον αἷμα καὶ προδιδόναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.* Hosius, initio epistolæ ad Constantium, apud Athanas. in epist. ad solitar. vit. agentes, Op. tom. 1. pag. 370.

God's ordinance: as we have heard heretofore. For which readiness of suffering, that general protestation of the people of Alexandria is not here to be forgotten. "If[b] it be the emperor's command that we should be persecuted, we are all ready to suffer martyrdom. But if there be no such thing, we do beseech Maximus the governor of Egypt and all the magistrates, that they would entreat his Majesty such things may not be attempted against us."

To this patient submission unto whatsoever pressure should be imposed upon them by the authority which God had placed over them, his servants added most humble supplications; seconded with most earnest prayers for the welfare of the persecuting emperor. Hence came that of St. Hilary unto him; "Your[c] mild nature, most blessed lord, agreeth with your gracious disposition. And because mercy doth flow abundantly from the fountain of your fatherly godliness; that which we entreat for, we assure ourselves we shall easily obtain. We beseech you, not only with words but also with tears, that the Catholic Church be no longer oppressed with grievous injuries, and endure intolerable persecutions and contumelies, and that, which is most foul, even of our brethren. Let[d] your clemency permit the people to have such teachers as they like, such as they think well of, such as they choose: and let them solemnize the divine mysteries, and offer prayers for your safety and happiness:" and that of the twenty

[b] *Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρόσταγμά ἐστι διώκεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἕτοιμοι πάντες μαρτυρῆσαι· εἰ δὲ μή ἐστι τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσταγμα, ἀξιοῦμεν τὸν ἔπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μάξιμον, καὶ τοὺς πολιτευτὰς πάντας, ἀξιῶσαι αὐτὸν, μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρῆσαι.* Populi Alexandrini Protestatio, tom. 1. oper. Athanas. pag. 395.

[c] "Benignifica natura tua, domine beatissime Auguste, cum benigna voluntate concordat. Et quoniam de fonte paternæ pietatis tuæ misericordia largiter profluit; quod rogamus, facile nos impetrare posse confidimus. Non solum verbis sed etiam lacrymis deprecamur, ne diutius Catholicæ ecclesiæ gravissimis injuriis afficiantur; et intolerabiles sustineant persecutiones et contumelias, et quod est nefarium, a fratribus nostris." Hilar. ad Constantium, lib. 2.

[d] "Permittat lenitas tua populis, ut quos voluerint, quos putaverint, quos elegerint, audiant docentes et divina mysteriorum solennia concelebrent, et pro incolumitate, et beatitudine tua offerant preces." Hilar. ad Constantium, lib. 2.

bishops of the west, in the conclusion of the first letters which they wrote unto him from the synod held at Ariminum: "We beseech you that you cause us not to stay from our charges, but that[e] the bishops together with their own people may with peace employ themselves in prayers and the service of God; making supplications for your kingdom, safety, and peace, in which the divine Majesty long preserve you." And of the second likewise: "Again[f] we beseech your clemency, our lord and king, of God most beloved, that before the sharpness of the winter, if it so please your godliness, you command us to return to our churches: that we may together with the people accomplish our accustomed prayers to the Almighty God, and our Lord and Saviour Christ his only begotten son for your empire; as we have always heretofore done, and now continue still to do." And how ample those prayers were which the true Christians made for the welfare and long continuance of him and his posterity, that which is yet extant, of Cyril[g] bishop of Jerusalem, may sufficiently demonstrate.

[e] *Ἵνα οἱ ἐπίσκοποι σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις λαοῖς μετ' εἰρήνης εἰς εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας σχολὴν ἄγοιεν, ἱκετεύοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ εἰρήνης ἣν ἡ θειότης σοι εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς χαριεῖται.* Epist. 1. synod. Ariminens. ad Constantium, apud Athanas. in epist. de synodis Arimin. et Seleuc. Sozomen. lib. 4. cap. 18. et Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 37.

[f] *Πάλιν σὴν τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀξιοῦμεν, κύριε θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ὅπως πρὸ τῆς τραχύτητος τῶν χειμώνων, εἴπερ ἀρέσειε τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, κελεύσεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τας ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας ἐπανελθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ υἱῷ μονογενεῖ, ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, τὰς ἐθίμους εὐχὰς μετὰ τῶν λαῶν ἀποπληροῦν, καθὼς καὶ ἀεὶ ἐπετελέσαμεν καὶ νῦν ἐχόμενοι.* Epist. 2. Synod. Ariminens. apud Socrat. lib. 2. cap. 37.

[g] *[Χριστοῦ] τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ χάριτί σε φρουρούμενον λαμπροτέροις τε καὶ μείζοσίν εὐσεβείας ἐμπρέποντα κατορθώμασιν υἱῶντε γνησίων βασιλικαῖς ἐναβρυνόμενον βλαστήμασιν. Αὐτὸς ὁ παμβασιλεὺς Θεὸς, ὁ πάσης ἀγαθωσύνης πάροχος πολλαῖς ἐτῶν εἰρηνικαῖς περιόδοις, καύχημα χριστιανοῖς καὶ κόσμῳ σύμπαντι φυλάξῃ παναίσιον, ἐῤῥωμένον καὶ πάσῃ κεκοσμένον ἀρετῇ, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τῶν τε ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον, καὶ μείζοσιν εὐσεβείας βραβείοις λαμπρυνόμενον, πολλαὶς εἰρηνικαῖς ἐτῶν περιόδοις ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἡμῖν χαρίσηται παναίσιον, Αὔγουστε βασιλεῦ θεοφιλέστατε.* Cyril. Hierosolym. in fin. epist. ad Constantium.

We have yet remaining the apology of Athanasius archbishop of Alexandria unto the same Constantius: wherein he cleareth himself of four accusations that were laid to his charge.

I. That he had used some evil language against this emperor unto his brother Constans.

II. That he wrote letters to Magnentius, who rebelled against and murdered the said Constans.

III. That he celebrated public prayers in the great church of Alexandria before it was dedicated.

IV. That he obeyed not the emperor's command, requiring him to part from Alexandria.

Where to the first his answer is this: "I[h] am not mad, O king, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the king, no not in thine heart."

For the repelling of the second, he draweth an argument from the public prayers which he made for Constantius himself; in whom he could not but contemplate (as in a glass) the image of Constans his brother. And "Witness[i] hereof," saith he, "is first the Lord, who heard us and granted unto you the entire empire which was left unto you by your ancestors: then those who at that time were present. For the words I used were only these: Let us pray for the welfare of the most religious emperor Constantius: and presently the whole people with one voice cried, O Christ, be favourable unto Constantius: and so continued a long time, thus praying." And then concludes: "Let[k] truth take place with you, and leave not such a suspicion upon

[h] Οὐ μαίνομαι, βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπελαθόμην τῆς θείας φωνῆς λεγούσης, καίγε ἐν συνειδήσει σου βασιλέα μὴ καταράσῃ, &c. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Op. tom. 1. pag. 296.

[i] Μάρτυρες τούτων, προηγουμένως μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ὁ ἐπακούσας καὶ χαρισάμενος ὁλόκληρόν σοι ἐκ προγόνων βασιλείαν. μάρτυρες δὲ καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες· μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, Εὐξώμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὐθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἐβόα, Χριστὲ βοήθει Κωνσταντίου· καὶ διέμενεν οὕτως εὐχόμενος. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 301.

[k] Κρατείτω ἡ ἀλήθεια παρὰ σοὶ, καὶ μὴ ἀφῇς ὑπόνοιαν κατὰ πάσης ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι, ὡς τοιαῦτα βουλομένων καὶ γραφόντων χριστιανῶν, καὶ μαλίστα τῶν ἐπισκόπων. Athanas. in apolog. ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 302.

the whole Church, as though such things as these should be thought on or written by Christians, and especially by bishops."

As for the third, he confesseth indeed he did so, being urged[l] thereunto by the importunity of the people, who earnestly pressed that they might all pray for the welfare of the emperor, in that church which he himself had builded; being ready otherwise to go out of the city, and to assemble themselves in the deserts, at the solemnity of Easter, which at that time was celebrated. "And[m] you, O king, most beloved of God," saith he, "where would you have had the people stretch out their hands and pray for you? there where the Pagans did pass by, or in that place which bore your own name; and which then, or rather from the laying of the first foundation thereof, all men did call a kirk?" and then turning his speech unto our blessed Saviour, "O[n] Lord Christ," saith he, "who art indeed the king of kings, the only begotten Son of God, the word and wisdom of the Father, because the people have implored thy goodness, and by thee called upon thy Father, who is God over all, for the welfare of thy most religious servant Constantius, I am now accused:" and to the emperor again, "You[o] do not forbid, but are

[l] Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὀλίγων καὶ βραχυτάτων οὐσῶν, θόρυβος ἦν οὐκ ὀλίγος, ἀξιούντων ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνελθεῖν, κᾀκεῖ πάντας εὔχεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Op. tom. 1. pag. 303.

[m] Σὺ δὲ, θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ποῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἂν ἤθελες ἐκτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὔξασθαι περὶ σοῦ; ἔνθα καὶ Ἕλληνες ἵστανται παρερχόμενοι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ σου τόπῳ; ὃν ἤδη, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θεμελίῳ, κυριακὸν πάντες ὀνομάζουσι. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 304.

[n] Ὦ δέσποτα καὶ ἀληθῶς βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων Χριστὲ, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὲς, λόγε καὶ σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ λαὸς εὔξατο, καὶ διὰ σοῦ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν παρεκάλεσε, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ σοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Κωνσταντίου, κατηγοροῦμαι. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 305.

[o] Οὐ κωλύεις, ἀλλὰ θέλεις πάντας εὔχεσθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν εὐχὴ σώζεσθαί σε καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαπαντός. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρός τὸν κατειπόντα ἀποδύρομαι. Σὺ δὲ, θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε, ζήσειας πολλαῖς ἐτῶν περιόδοις, καὶ τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐπιτελέσειας· αἱ γὰρ γενόμεναι παρὰ πάντων περὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας εὐχαὶ οὐκ ἐμποδίζουσι τὴν τῶν ἐγκαινίων πανήγυριν. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 306.

willing that all men should pray, knowing that this is the prayer of all, that you may live in safety and continually reign in peace. And this is the expostulation which I make against my accuser. But as for you, O emperor of God most beloved, many circuits of years I pray you may live, and accomplish the dedication of this church. For those prayers that are made therein for your welfare, do not a whit hinder the solemnity of the dedication."

Lastly, to the fourth charge he answereth peremptorily: "I[p] did not oppose the command of your Majesty. God forbid. I am not such a man as would oppose the very treasurer of the city, much less so great an emperor." "I[q] was not so mad as to gainsay such a command of yours." "And I[r] neither did oppose the command of your majesty, nor will now attempt to enter into Alexandria, until you of your humanity be pleased I shall so do."

We find this also recorded in the ecclesiastical history as a discreet speech of Aphraates a zealous Christian; that when Valens, another Arian emperor, demanded of him whither he went, he made answer, he was going to "pray[s] for his empire." And yet how miserably the Church was afflicted under his government, St. Basil, beside many others, bemoaneth at large in sundry of his epistles: prescribing[t] herein no other remedy, but constancy in maintaining, and patience in suffering for the truth. In both which how forward he shewed himself to be, may appear by that resolute answer which he made to Modestus the governor of his country. "In[u] other things

[p] Οὐκ ἀντέστην προστάγματι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας. μὴ γένοιτο. οὐ γὰρ τηλικοῦτος ἤμην, ἵνα καὶ λογιστῇ πόλεως ἀντιστῶ, μήτιγε τηλικούτῳ βασιλεῖ. Athanas. in apolog. ad Constantium. Op. tom. 1. pag. 307.

[q] Οὐ γὰρ ἐμαινόμην ἀντειπεῖν τοιούτῳ σου προστάγματι. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 308.

[r] Οὔτε γὰρ ἀντέστην προστάγματι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας. οὔτε νῦν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθεῖν πειράσω, ἕως ἡ σὴ φιλανθρωπία τοῦτο βούλεται. Athanas. in apologia ad Constantium. Ibid. pag. 311.

[s] Ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς προσευξόμενος βασιλείας. Theodor. hist. eccles. lib. 4. cap. 26.

[t] Vide Basil. epist. 71. ad Alexandrinos.

[u] Τἄλλα μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεῖς, ὕπαρχε, καὶ παντὸς ἄλλου ταπεινότεροι,

we are mild, and more humble than any other, (God's law so commanding us) and lift not up our brow against any of the meanest, much less against so great power. But, where the cause of God is in danger, we neglect all other things, and look only unto him. Fire, and sword, and beasts, and hooks that tear our flesh, are matter of rejoicing to us rather then terror. Beside all this; upbraid, threaten, do unto us what ever pleaseth thee, employ thine authority. Let the emperor also hear of this: that thou shalt not overcome us, nor persuade us to consent to impiety; although thou shouldest threaten unto us far heavier things than these." This speech of his is related by Gregory Nazianzen, in the oration which he made upon his death: and the general rule of obedience is thus recommended unto us by Gregory himself: "This[x] is one of our laws, and of those laudable ones and most excellently ordained by the Spirit of God (who knew best how to temper his law with the mixture of what was possible to us and honest in itself) that as servants should be obedient to their masters, and wives to their husbands, and the Church to our Lord, and disciples to their pastors and teachers: so should we also be subject to all higher powers, not only for the fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake."

The next emperor infected with the heresy of Arius, was Valentinian the younger: with whom St. Ambrose

τοῦτο τῆς ἐντολῆς κελευούσης, καὶ μὴ ὅτι τοσούτῳ κράτει, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν τυχόντων ἐνὶ τὴν ὀφρῦν αἴροντες. οὗ δὲ Θεὸς τὸ κινδυνευόμενον τἄλλα περιφρονοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μόνον βλέπομεν. Πῦρ δὲ καὶ ξίφος καὶ θῆρες καὶ οἱ τὰς σάρκας τέμνοντες ὄνυχες, τρυφὴ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν εἰσιν, ἢ κατάπληξις. πρὸς ταῦτα ὕβριζε, ἀπείλει, ποίει πᾶν ὅ, τι ἂν ᾖ βουλομένῳ σοι, τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀπόλαυε, ἀκουέτω ταῦτα καὶ βασιλεῦς, ὡς ἡμᾶς γε οὐχ αἱρήσεις, οὐδὲ πείσεις συνθέσθαι τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ, κᾂν ἀπειλῇ χαλεπώτερα. Gregor. Nazianzen. orat. 20. in funere Basilii.

[x] *Ἔστι καὶ οὗτος εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων νόμων, καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐπαινομένων καὶ κάλλιστα διατεταγμένων τῷ πνεύματι (τὸ δυνατὸν μετὰ τοῦ καλοῦ δοκιμάσαντι καὶ νομοθετήσαντι) ὥσπερ δούλους ὑπακούειν δεσπόταις, καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι, καὶ Κυρίῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μαθητὰς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάσαις ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.* Gregor. Nazianzen. orat. 17. ad cives timore perculsos.

had to do: who yet, as the ecclesiastical history noteth, "did[y] not defend himself by his hand or his weapon; but with fastings and continual watchings remaining under God's altar, by his prayers procured God to be a defender both of him and his Church;" from which spirit proceeded that speech of his to his flock at Milan; "Willingly[z] I will never forsake you; being constrained I know not how to make opposition. I can sorrow, I can weep, I can sigh: against armour, soldiers and Goths, tears are my weapons: for such is the munition of a priest. In any other manner I ought not nor cannot resist;" and to the emperor's officers: "If[a] my patrimony be the thing sought for, take it: if my body, I will be ready. Will you hale me unto prison, or unto death? you shall do me a pleasure. I will not guard myself with multitudes of people: I will not lay hold upon the altar to entreat for life; but will more willingly myself be sacrificed for the altars;" and to the notary: "Deliver[b] up my Church I may not: but fight I ought not." And when it[c] was required of him that he should appease the fury of the people; his answer was, that "it lay in his power not to incite them, but in the hand of God to mitigate them." And yet how little cause the others had to fear that people, whom St. Ambrose had so well instructed in their duty towards their

[y] "Neque se manu defensavit aut telo; sed jejuniis continuisque vigiliis sub altari positus, per obsecrationes defensorem sibi atque Ecclesiæ Deum paravit." Rufin. hist. ecclesiast. lib. 2. cap. 26.

[z] "Volens nunquam vos deseram, coactus repugnare non novi. Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; adversus arma, milites, Gothos quoque lachrymæ meæ arma sunt. Talia enim munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere." Ambros. in orat. de Basilic. non tradend. contra Auxentium. Op. tom. 1. pag. 864.

[a] "Si patrimonium petitur, invadite: si corpus, occurram. Vultis in vincula rapere? Vultis in mortem? voluptati est mihi. Non mihi me vallabo circumfusione populorum, nec altaria tenebo vitam obsecrans, sed pro altaribus gratius immolabor." Ambros. ad Marcellinam sororem, epist. 20. op. tom. 1. pag. 854.

[b] "Tradere basilicam non possum, sed pugnare non debeo." Ambros. ad Marcellinam sororem Ibid. pag. 858.

[c] "Exigebatur a me ut compescerem populum. Referebam, in meo jure esse ut non excitarem, in Dei manu ut mitigaret." Ambros. ad Marcellinam sororem. Ibid. pag. 855.

prince; the general acclamation made by them, and by him ascribed to the very inspiration of the Holy Ghost, may testify to all posterity. For "what[d]" saith he, "could more excellently have been said by Christian men, than that which the Holy Ghost spake in you this day? We make request, O emperor, we fight not: afraid we are not, but yet we entreat. This" saith that good bishop to his disciples, "doth beseem Christians; that both the tranquillity of peace should be desired by them, and their constancy in the faith and truth should not be deserted, no not with the peril of death."

And as in the empire, so in those other kingdoms which were under the government of Arian princes, their orthodox subjects were careful to yield unto them all dutiful observance, acknowledging their power to have been given them by God; and, in that respect, as heartily praying for the continuance of their state and dignity, as they did for the abolishing and extinguishing of their heresy. For proof whereof we need go no further than to the books written by Fulgentius unto Thrasimundus king of the Vandals in Africa; and the council of Agatha, held under Alaric king of the Goths in France. For about the beginning, of his first book Fulgentius thus maketh his entrance unto the Arian persecutor. "When[e] we answer freely for our faith, as far as God hath given us ability to do; we ought not to be taxed with any suspicion of contumacy or contumely: seeing we are not unmindful of the regal dignity, and know that we must fear God and honour

[d] "Quid præstantius dici potuit a Christianis viris quam id quod hodie in vobis Spiritus sanctus est locutus? Rogamus Auguste, non pugnamus: non timemus, sed rogamus. Hoc Christianos decet, ut et tranquillitas pacis optetur, et fidei veritatisque constantia nec mortis revocetur periculo." Ambr. ad Marcellinam sororem, epist. 20. op. tom. 1. pag. 855.

[e] "Cum pro nostra fide, in quantum facultatem divinitus accepimus, libere respondemus, nulla contumaciæ seu contumeliæ debemus suspicatione notari: eum nec regiæ simus dignitatis immemores, sciamusque Deo timorem, honorem regibus esse exhibendum; apostolica ita nos præmonente doctrina, &c. Competens igitur mansuetudinis tuæ deferimus honoris obsequium, cui regalis apicem culminis divina cernimus largitate collatum." Fulgent. ad Thrasimundum regem, lib. 1.

kings; according to the apostle's doctrine. We therefore render all due obedience of honour unto your grace; unto whom we see the top of regal eminency hath been conferred by the divine liberality:" and towards the end of his last book concludes with this submiss and religious admonition to him: "I[f] beseech you, O glorious king, that you would consider in yourself the largeness of the divine gift, and not diminish the power of him who bestoweth the same upon you: that he who hath given you this kingdom temporal, may give you also that which is eternal." The preamble of the council of Agatha, wherein the Catholic bishops pray for the prosperity of their Arian king, is this: "When[g] the holy synod in the name of God and by permission of the king, had met in the city of Agatha, and we had set ourselves down in the church of St. Andrew; we there, with knees bended on the ground, did pray for his kingdom and the long continuance of his people; that as he had granted us liberty to assemble ourselves, so God would extend his kingdom with happiness, govern it with justice, and protect it with virtue."

Thus stood things hitherto, and a long while after, until the following times of darkness obscured this truth; so far, that in the days of the emperor Henry III. (or IV. as others number him) that wicked innovation was brought in, whereof Sigebert maketh this mention in his chronicle: "That[f] I may speak with the leave of all good men, this

[f] "Quæso, gloriose rex, ut in te consideres largitatem divini muneris, et potestatem non minuas largitoris; ut qui tibi temporale donavit regnum, donet etiam sempiternum." Fulgent. ad Thrasimundum regem, in fine lib. 3. ad eund.

[g] "Cum in Dei nomine ex permissu regis in Agathensem civitatem sancta synodus convenisset, et in S. Andreæ basilica consedissemus; ibique flexis genibus in terra, pro longævitate populi deprecaremur, ut qui nobis congregationis permiserat potestatem, regnum ejus Dominus felicitate extenderet, justitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret," &c. Procem. synodi Agathensis.

[h] "Ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc sola novitas, ne dicam hæresis, necdum in mundo emerserat, ut sacerdotes illius (qui dicit regi apostata, et qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi,) doceant populum quod malis regibus nullam debeant subjectionem, et licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint,

mere novelty (that I say not heresy) was not yet risen up in the world; that the priests of God (who saith to a king, remove; and who maketh an hypocrite to reign, for the sins of the people) should teach the people that they owe no subjection to wicked kings, and albeit they have given an oath of fidelity unto them, yet they owe no fidelity to them, nor are to be accounted perjured though they hold against the king: nay, he that obeyeth the king shall be held as excommunicated, and he that opposeth the king shall be absolved from the guilt of injustice and perjury." Of which schismatical novelty, introduced by Satan[i] newly loosed, the clergymen of Liege complain at large in their answer to the epistle of Pope Paschal II. where, among many other things pertinent to this purpose, they thus justify the continuance of their subjection to their unjustly deprived emperor; "For[k] the present we say nothing in the defence of our emperor: but this we say, that although he were such as you report him to be, yet should we suffer him to rule over us; because by our sins we have deserved that such a one should rule over us. Be it: let us grant against our will that he is such a one as you say he is. Even such a prince ought not to be repelled by taking arms against him, but by pouring out of our prayers to God." Which kind of weapons Bernard, not long after that, proposeth as the only lawful ones that may be used for the vindicating of the injuries offered unto God's Church: writing thus confidently unto Ludovicus Crassus, then king of France, "Indeed[l] we will

nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant, nec perjuri dicantur qui contra regem senserint; imo qui regi paruerit, pro excommunicato habeatur, qui contra regem fecerit, a noxa injustitiæ et perjurii absolvatur." Sigebert. Chronic. ann. 1088.

[i] Rev. chap. 20. ver. 7. See the book De Christianorum Ecclesiarum successione et statu, cap. 5. Works, vol. 2. pag. 144.

[k] "Nihil modo pro imperatore nostro dicimus: sed hoc dicimus, quod etiamsi talis esset, tamen eum principari nobis pateremur; quia ut talis nobis principetur, peccando meremur. Esto: concedimus vobis inviti, eum talem esse qualem dicitis. Nec talis a nobis repellendus esset armis contra eum sumptis, sed precibus ad Deum fusis." Eccles. Leodicens. in respons. ad epist. Paschalis II. Papæ, tom. 2. Concilior. edit. Colon. ann. 1551. pag. 815.

[l] "Profecto stabimus et pugnabimus usque ad mortem, si ita oportuerit, pro

stand and fight even unto death, if need so require, in our mother's behalf, with such weapons as we may lawfully use: not with bucklers and swords, but with prayers and tears to God;" and yet for his allegiance to the king himself he delivereth his mind as resolutely on the other side: "If[m] the whole world should conspire against me, that I should attempt any thing against the king's majesty, I would notwithstanding fear God, and not presume rashly to offend the king ordained by him. For I am not ignorant where I have read, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

And thus have I laid together such testimonies of antiquity as did occur in my reading, as well touching the doctrine as the exercise of regal sovereignty and Christian subjection. Wherein however in the handling of particulars some error may have escaped me; yet my main aim and scope, I am sure, is straight and upright; which is no other but to confirm all good subjects in their dutiful obedience unto their prince, and to prevent sedition and rebellion in such, as being otherwise well minded, might perhaps for want of better information be drawn out of the way, and misguided to their own destruction.

matre nostra, armis quibus licet: non scutis et gladiis, sed precibus fletibusque ad Deum." Bernard. epist. 221. ad Ludovicum regem.

[m] "Si totus orbis adversum me conjuraret, ut quidpiam molirer adversus regiam majestatem; ego tamen Deum timerem, et ordinatum ab eo regem offendere temere non auderem. Nec enim ignoro ubi legerim, Qui potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit." Bernard. epist. 170. ad eund.

OF THE

ORIGINAL AND FIRST INSTITUTION

OF

CORBES, HERENACHES, AND TERMON LANDS.

OF THE

ORIGINAL

AND

FIRST INSTITUTION,

&c. &c.

For the declaration of the original and first institution of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon lands, it is to be considered, 1. Of what nature these lands be. 2. How they came to be possessed by the Termoners. 3. Who these Corbes and Herenaches may seem to have been, who now are the chief of the Termon men. 4. and lastly, Who had interest in the profits of these lands.

Touching the first, it may be observed, that in times past it was provided, that whoever founded a church should endow the same with certain possessions, for the maintenance of those who were to attend God's service therein, insomuch that a bishop might not consecrate any church, before an instrument of such a donation were delivered by the founder. "Unusquisque[a] episcopus meminerit, ut non prius dedicet ecclesiam aut basilicam, nisi antea dotem basilicæ, et obsequium ipsius per donationem chartulæ

[a] Concil. Braccarens. cap. 5.

confirmatum accipiat. Namque non levis est ista temeritas, si sine luminariis, vel sine sustentatione eorum qui ibidem servituri sunt, tanquam domus privata ita consecretur ecclesia." And after this donation, the founder was no longer to have the disposal of these possessions, but the ordering thereof appertained unto the bishop. Whereupon this canon was enacted in divers councils: "Multi[c], contra canonum constituta, sic ecclesias, quas ædificaverint, postulant consecrari, ut dotem, quam eidem ecclesiæ contulerunt, censeant ad episcopi ordinationem non pertinere, quod factum et in præteritum displicet, et in futuro prohibetur." Hence it came to pass, that every church had allotted to it a certain proportion of land, with servants appertaining thereunto, free from all temporal impositions and exactions, as may appear by the statute of Charlemagne: "Statutum[d] est ut unicuique ecclesiæ unus mansus integer, absque alio servitio attribuatur," &c. And the council of Cologne, held in the time of Charles the gross: "Neque ex dote ecclesiæ, id est, ex uno manso et quatuor mancipiis census exigatur." Neither is it to be doubted, but that those who founded churches upon their lands, being willing to assign an endowment unto them in places most convenient, would for this purpose especially make choice of the lands next adjoining unto the house which they had builded, as Bede particularly recordeth in his history of bishop Aidan, That he had no proper possession, "excepta[e] ecclesia sua et adjacentibus agellis."

Now Herenache and Termon lands being free from all charges of temporal lords, as all ecclesiastical possessions were by the fourth constitution of the council held at Cashel, anno 1172. the bishops[f] being the chief lords of them, and churches being commonly built upon them, the reparation of a great part whereof lay continually upon

[c] Synod. Toletan. 3. cap. 19. Concil. Mogunt. sub Arnulpho, cap. 4. Concil. Wormatiense, cap. 16.

[d] Capitular. ab Ansegiso collect. lib. 1. cap. 9.

[e] Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 17.

[f] Girald. Camb. hist. Hib. exp. lib. 1. cap. 34.

the Herenaches that belonged to them, there is no question to be made but that they were of this nature; and forasmuch as unto these lands certain freedoms were annexed, namely, the privilege of sanctuary, as appeareth by the office taken for the county of Cavan, the land from thence was called Termon, or free and protected land: for the word τeaρmuιn is used in the Irish tongue for a sanctuary, whence Termon-fechin, a town belonging unto the archbishop of Armagh hath his denomination, as it were the sanctuary of Fechin[h], one of the country saints, and may well be thought to have been borrowed by the Irish, as many other words are, from the Latin terminus, by reason that such privileged places were commonly designed by special marks and bounds. "Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se," says an ancient synod[i] of Ireland; and the old law of the Bavarians: "Si[k] quis servum ecclesiæ vel ancillam ad fugiendum suaserit, et eos foras Terminum duxerit, et exinde probatus fuerit, revocet eum celeriter," &c. I conclude, therefore, that Termons were indeed free land, but free from all claim of temporal lords, not of the church, being truly territorium ecclesiasticum, land merely ecclesiastical, not of such a middle nature as the jurors of Gangall found that land to be of, wherein their monastery was seated, whose evidence is thus recorded: "Nostri[l] jurati dixerunt, quod nostrum monasterium in loco libero, non in fisco, non in terra ecclesiastica esset," &c. Our Termons, I say, were not free after this sort, but tributary unto the church, as may be seen in the register of Clogher, where Matthew, bishop of Clogher is said to have granted certain lands[m] unto one Philip O'Heogain, "pro duobus solidis singulis annis sibi et suis successoribus et ecclesiæ Clogher-

[h] De quo Cambrensis topog. Hib. dist. 2. cap. 52. Mortuum esse circa annum 664. vel 667. ex Ultoniensibus annalibus liquet.

[i] Cujus fragmenta habentur in vet. lib. canonum bib. Cotton.

[k] Lib. 4. sec. 1.

[l] Centur. chartarum a Goldasto edit. tom. 2. Alaman. antiqu. charta 96.

[m] Glebe lands belonging to the church in Devonshire, and the west country, are called sanctuary lands, and tearmuin in the Irish is the same as asylum.

ensi solvendis nomine tributi;" and a little after; "quam terræ peciam fecit Patricius fuscus O'Heogain herenacus dictæ ecclesiæ nobis et ecclesiæ Clogherensi tributariam, reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris ex ea singulis annis unum solidum usualis monetæ."

So the tenants of the Herenach and Termon-lands were tributarii, or servi ecclesiastici, which is the second point to be enquired. For the understanding whereof it is to be considered, that the temporal lands appertaining to the church, were occupied by laymen, who husbanded the same, both for the behoof of themselves and their families, and likewise for the benefit of the church. "In[n] admonitione Caroli apud Pistas: Ut coloni, tam fiscales quam ecclesiastici, &c. non denegent carropera[o] et manopera ex antiqua consuetudine. Ut[p] quoniam quibusdam in locis coloni tam fiscales, quam de casis Dei suas hæreditates, id est, mansa quæ tenent, non solum suis paribus, sed et clericis, canonicis, ac villanis presbyteris, et aliis quibuscunque vendunt, et tantummodo cellam retinent; et hac occasione sic destructæ sunt villæ, ut non solum census debitus inde non possit exigi, sed etiam quæ terræ de singulis mansis fuerunt, non possunt cognosci; constituimus ut præcipiatur a nostris ministerialibus et a ministris, ut hoc nullo modo de cætero fiat, ne villæ destructæ atque confusæ fiant." These occupiers of the land were of two conditions, as appeareth by the sentence of Anastasius the emperor: "Agricolarum[p] alii quidem sunt adscriptitii, et eorum peculia dominis competunt; alii vero tempore annorum triginta coloni fiunt liberi manentes cum liberis suis, et ii etiam coguntur terram colere et canonem præstare;" and in the same title, in the last law save one, last section, no man may "vel adscriptitium vel colonum alienum scienti prudentique in suum jus recipere;" but he must restore him "admonente domino vel ipsius adscriptitii vel terræ." Dominus terræ, the

[n] Pithœus in Glossario vocal. Manopera, Mansus, pares.

[o] Carriage and manuring.

[p] Cod. Just. lib. 11. tit. Agrc. et Cons. et Colon. leg. 18.

landlord, was lord to the adscriptitius, but not to the free colon, who had for his lord, the land, rather than the landlord. Whereupon the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian give this note concerning them: "Licet[q] conditione videantur ingenui, servi tamen terræ ipsius, cui nati sunt, existimentur, nec recedendi quo velint, aut permutandi loca habeant facultatem."

Such were the "coloni liberi," who by thirty years' possession obtained from the landlords an estate of inheritance, remaining free tenants, though holding by a base tenure. Forasmuch as, even by the common law[r], no land holden by villenage, nor any custom rising of the lands, can ever make a freeman villein. Adscriptitii were the same with those whom the Grecians call "ὁμοδούλους[s] τῷ ἄγρῳ, agri ipsius conservos;" our common law, "villeins regardant to a manor;" and the French, "homines[t] manus mortuæ," who could not be alienated away, but were perpetually bound unto those lands, whereunto at first they were appointed; in which respect, "mancipia rustica," in the civil law, are reckoned among those goods which are immoveable. "Nominatim[u] Julianus ait mancipia esse veluti membra rerum immobilium: atque ideo longæ possessionis præscriptio locum habere dicitur tam in prædiis quam in mancipiis," &c. Thus Cujacius in his exposition of Justinian's seventh novell, where the statute of Leo the emperor is thus recited: "Vult[w] illa, (Leonis constitutio,) neque Deo amabilem archiepiscopum, &c. neque œconomum vendere, aut donare, aut aliter alienare rem immobilem, domum forsan, aut agrum, aut colonum, aut mancipia rustica, aut civiles annonas (nam et hæc inter immobilia sunt numeranda,) quæ competunt Constantinopolitanæ sanctissimæ majori ecclesiæ," &c. In like sort, the council held at Senlis: "Nulli[x] liceat alienare rem immobilem ecclesiæ, sive domum, sive agrum, sive

[q] Cod. Just. lib. 11. tit. 51. de col. Thrac.
[r] Littleton in villenage.
[s] Sozomen. lib. 9. hist. eccles. cap. ult.
[t] Connan. lib. 2. cap. 10. sect. 3.
[u] Lib. 3. D. de divers. temp. præscript.
[w] Authent. collat. 2. tit. 1.
[x] Concil. Silvanect. apud L. Bochellum Decretorum Ecclæ. Gallicanæ. lib. 4. tit. 16. cap. 25.

hortum, sive rusticum mancipium." These servants were often manumitted and made free, remaining yet still tributary unto their landlords, of which condition were they who in France of old were called Lidi, or Liti; in Italy, Aldiones; of whom mention is made in this constitution of Ludovicus Pius, apud Ansegisum[w], (in the copy which Reinerus Reineccius[x] used; for in Pithœus his edition I do not find it:) "Aldiones vel Aldianæ ea lege vivant in Italia in servitutem dominorum suorum, qua Fiscalini vel Lidi vivunt in Francia." And in the laws of the Rinuarians: "Si[y] quis servum suum tributarium aut litum fecerit, si quis eum interfecerit 36 sol. culp. jud." Of these divers conditions of servitude, mention is made in the laws of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius: "Servos[z] vel tributarios vel inquilinos apud dominos suos volumus remanere;" and in the second council of Challons: "Quia[a] constat in ecclesia diversarum conditionum homines esse, ut sint nobiles et ignobiles, servi, coloni, inquilini, et cætera hujuscemodi nomina, oportet ut quicunque eis prælati sunt, clerici sive laici, clementer erga eos agant, et misericorditer eos tractent, sive in exigendis ab eis operibus, sive in accipiendis tributis, et quibusdam debitis," &c. Thus in times past those who endowed churches and abbeys, bestowed not only bare lands, but lands stocked as it were with certain septs and races, tied there perpetually to perform all services for the behoof and benefit of those to whom they were given. Such a deed of gift we find made by one Erfoinus[b], in the time of Elpericus or Chilperic the French king, about 860. years ago: "In loco qui dicitur Openwilare tradimus, S. Galloni, (he meaneth Gallus, one of the old worthies of Ireland, from whom the famous monastery and town of Gangall, in Switzerland, had the name,) viginti juchos, et in Eberingen unum juchum de vinea, et de

[w] Lib. 4. cap. 102.
[x] Poetam de Gestis Caroli magni, f. 59. b.
[y] Tit. 64. sec. 1.
[z] Cod. lib. 11. tit. de Agric. et Cens. et Colend. leg. 12.
[a] Concil. Cabillon. 11. cap. 51.
[b] Centur. Chart. a Goldast. edit. tom. 2. antiqu. Alan. ann. ch. 41.

colonis meis Erfoinum cum uxore sua, et cum omni appertinentia sua, cum casa et cum terra, et cum omnibus suis, et alium servum nomine Waldolfum, cum casa, cum terra, et cum omnibus ad eum pertinentibus." Hence it is that we find so often in old grants, men numbered among other possessions given in Frank-Almoigne; as in a charter of king Henry II. ratifying a former donation of earl Strongbow in these words: "Sciatis quod ego dedi et concessi et hac mea charta confirmavi Thomæ Dominico meo clerico dignitatem quæ dicitur abbatia de Glendalache, et personatum intus et extra, et omnes res et possessiones, et homines, et redditus in ecclesiis, et oblationibus, et decimis, &c. et cum omnibus aliis rebus ad abbatiam illam pertinentibus in perpetuam eleemosynam, sicuti melius Richardus comes sua charta confirmavit." Thus there appertained unto churches two sorts of tenants, "servi ecclesiæ cum onere" in the nature of villeins, "et liberi," or "coloni ecclesiastici," as may evidently be seen in the laws of the old Almaynes, where several fines are set down for the killing of either of them, such as the Irish call erich, or pretium sanguinis, and likewise a taxation of the ordinary duties which both of them were bound to perform unto the church whereunto they were regardant. The first is to be read tit. 8. and 9.: "Si quis ecclesiasticum servum vel regium occiderit, tripliciter componetur, hoc est xlv. sol. Quicunque liberum ecclesiæ, quem colonum vocant, occiderit, sicut alii Alamanni ita componatur." The other tit. 21. and 22: "Servi ecclesiæ tributa sua legitime reddant, xv. siclas de cervisa, porcum valentem tremisse uno, panem modia duo, pullos v. ova xx. Ancillæ autem opera imposita sine neglecto faciant, &c. Liberi autem ecclesiastici, quos colonos vocant, omnes sicut et coloni regis, ita reddant ad ecclesiam."

That the holders of the Termon lands were at the first tenants in one of these kinds, seemeth to me more than probable. I mean that those were no other than "originarii," as Gelasius[e] termeth them, "originales inquilini, tributarii;"

[e] Gelasius, in epist. Lucaniæ.

or "personæ colonariæ," as Sidonius Apollinaris[f] doth entitle them, or "adscriptitii," or some such thing. Whereupon John Walton, archbishop of Dublin, anno 1473. giving out a sequestration of the Corbeship of Glendalach, directeth it in this sort: "Johannes[g], miseratione divina Dubliniensis archiepiscopus et Hiberniæ primas, clericis, vassallis, ascriptitiis, et aliis habitatoribus villæ et totius dominii nostri de Glindelaghe, terrarum, silvarum, nemorum, et aliorum locorum ipsius manerii nostri, salutem gratiam, et benedictionem." A strip of which servitude may seem to remain to this day upon the Herenache, who, besides an annual rent paid "nomine tributi, (as before I noted out of the register of Clogher,) doth likewise give to the bishop a fine upon the marriage of every of his daughters, which they call Luach impighe, as the bishop of Kilmore, who doth usually receive it, informed me; so that I take no hold of the words of Dermicius O'Cane, one of the Corbes of the North, and one of the jurors in the inquisition for the church lands, in the county of Colerain, used to the bishop of Derry, which, as his lordship told me, were to this effect: "Non debet dominus mutare censum antiquum, sed si careat rebus necessariis, vaccis pinguibus, &c. debet ad nos mittere, et nos debemus illi subministare. Nam quæcunque nos habemus domini sunt, et nos etiam ipsi illius sumus."

Neither will it seem strange that the original of these matters should be fetched from this kind of vassalage, if it be well weighed, that the tenure is little better, whereby the northern people hold their land generally. as appeareth by the taillages, or cuttings, wherewith the Irish lords oppress their tenants at their pleasure, and likewise that in times past, the buying and selling of servants, which now is grown out of use, was a matter so common in this country, that in an ancient synod of Ireland, a bishop's legacy out of the church goods is proportioned by the price of a wife, or a maid servant, as may be seen in two ancient books of canons, written about 700. years

[f] Lib. 5. epist. 19.

[g] Ex registr. arch. Dublin.

since, the one remaining in Bennet College, and the other in Sir Robert Cotton's library. "Princeps," saith that synod, meaning thereby the bishop, as elsewhere ordinarily, "in sua morte etiam de rebus ecclesiæ commendare potest, hoc est, pretium ancillæ, sive de mobili substantia, sive de agro." Whereunto may be added another canon of that Irish council, which cometh more near to the matter in hand: "De[i] commendatione mulieris degentis sub conjugio, si habuerit ecclesiam cui servierit quamdiu cum viro fuerit, ex consensu viri tertiam partem substantiæ dabit ecclesiæ suæ, sed vir ejus distribuet, cætera autem viri et filiorum ejus erunt." Whereby I take it to be clear, that the churches of Ireland in old time had not only servants belonging to them in the way of villenage, but also "liberi ecclesiastici," who had a propriety in the goods which they acquired, and might freely dispose of them, and yet ought service to some special church; in which respect, though otherwise laici, they were usually termed "homines ecclesastici," as in capitulis Carolinis[k], a Benedicto Levita collectis: "Pro nimia reclamatione quæ ad nos venit de hominibus ecclesiasticis seu fiscalinis, qui non erant adjurnati," &c. and in the old laws of the Ripuarians: "Si[l] quis hominem ecclesiasticum interfecerit c. sol. culpab. Si[m] quis fæminam regiam aut ecclesiasticam parientem interfecerit, CCC. sol. culp.jud. Quod si ingenuus aut regius vel ecclesiasticus home servo os fregerit, viii. sol. culp. jud."

I come now to the third point, which concerneth the original of the Corbes and Herenaches, who bear themselves as head lords over these "homines ecclesiastici." Where it is to be noted, that for the receiving and disposing of the church goods it was thought expedient[n] that every church should have an "œconomus, cui res ecclesiastica gubernanda mandabatur." For so this officer is defined in the constitution of the emperors Leo and Anthe-

[i] In vet. lib. can. bib. Cotton.

[k] Capitular. lib. 5. cap. 151.

[l] Tit. 10. sect. 1.

[m] Tit. 21.

[n] Concil. Chalced. can. 26. Concil. Nicen. 2. can. 11.

mius[o]. The law there (enlarged afterwards by Justinian[p], and extended to all provinces) is this: "Jubemus, nulli posthac archiepiscopo in hac urbe regia sacrosanctæ orthodoxæ ecclesiæ presidenti, nulli œconomo, cui res ecclesiastica gubernanda mandatur, esse facultatem fundos vel prædia, sive urbana sive rustica, res postremo immobiles, aut in his prædiis colonos vel mancipia constituta, aut annonas civiles cujuscunque suprema vel superstitis voluntate ad religiosas ecclesias devolutas, sub cujusque alienationis specie ad quamcunque transferre personam, &c. Œconomus autem qui hoc fecerit, imo fieri passus fuerit, vel quacunque prorsus hujusmodi venditione, seu donatione, vel commutatione (nisi ea quæ presenti lege concedimus) postremo in quacunque alienatione consenserit, commissa sibi œconomatus administratione privetur, deque ejus bonis, quodcunque exinde incommodum ecclesiæ contigerit, reformetur: hæredes ejus, et successores, ac posteri super hoc pacto sive consensu competenter ab ecclesiasticis personis actione pulsentur." The execution of this office was in times past committed to those who were archipresbyteri, or, archidiaconi. Whence Hincmarus, archbishop of Rheims, in his epistle to the church of Tournay, willeth the bishop "Ut pro constituendis ministerialibus ecclesiasticis præmium non accipiat, sed archipresbyteros, et archidiaconos eligat, facultatum ecclesiasticarum dispensatores, qui in fide sint sinceri, et moribus probati." And the fathers of the first council of Braccara[q] giving order for the disposing of a portion of the church goods towards reparations and lights, set it down thus: "De qua parte sive archipresbyter, sive archidiaconus illam administrans episcopo faciat rationem." The archidiaconus and the Herenache have in the Irish tongue both the same name, viz. *Eireinneach*, or, as some would write it, *Oirchindeuch*, and the name of the *Corbe*, *Corpach*, or *Corbuch* (for the Irish use the letters *p* and *b* indifferently) and the chorepiscopus seemeth to me to have his original from

[o] Lib. 1. codicis Justiniani, tit. 1. de sacrosanct. eccles. reg. 14.
[p] Anthent. collect. 2. tit. 1. in novel. constitut. 7.
[q] Can. 25.

the same with archipresbyter. "Quos[r] Græci Chorepiscopos, hoc est, certarum regiuncularum, in qualibet diœcesi, speculatores, alii archidiaconos, alii archipresbyteros vocant, in nostra ecclesia cathedrali archidiaconi, in reliqua vero diœcesi decanorum ruralium nomine censentur." Our Corbes and Herenaches, besides the office of gathering up the bishops' rents, were likewise charged with maintaining of hospitality, relieving the poor, and entertaining travellers and strangers. That the chorepiscopus of old had some especial care over the poor, appeareth by the last canon save one of the council of Neocæsarea. But that charge properly belonged to the deacons, who[s] had the oversight and disposing of the ecclesiastical monies, as Origen noteth[t], and the care of providing for the poor and strangers (whence in times past xenodochia were called diaconiæ[u]) and so to the archdeacon, as the principal of that order: I mean the ancient archidiaconi, who in degree were inferior to the presbyteri, not the archdeacons of higher rank that exercise jurisdiction under the bishop. And to that former kind of archidiaconi do I refer the Herenaches, who therefore were so many in number in every diocese, and, for aught that I can learn, were wont to be admitted ad primam tonsuram et diaconatum, and not promoted ad presbyterium. But the Corbe, whom I suppose to have been the same with chorepiscopus, or archipresbyter, was of a higher dignity, and stated in ecclesia matrice; and had also in many places, one or more Herenaches under him. In Latin he was called plebanus, as it is found in the office taken for the county of Cavan. Now that plebanus was the same with a rural dean, archipresbiter, or chorepiscopus, may appear by the testimony of the canonists, cited by Isidorus Moponius. "Ruralis[x] archipresbyter vel decanus" says Moponius, "alio nomine plebanus a regimine plebis nuncupatur; unde si habet

[r] Synod. Augustan. ann. 1548.

[s] Can. 16. Concil. Trullani. vide etiam Cassandrum et Onuphrium Panvinium in exposit. obscur. voc. ecclesiast. verb. diaconus.

[t] Tractat. 16. in Mattheum.

[u] Mopon. lib. 1. de majestate militantis ecclesiæ, part. 1. cap. 13.

capellanos perpetuos in sua ecclesia dicitur esse cum dignitate, vel si est in collegiata et in parochiali curata." Wherewith compare this certificate delivered unto Sir John Davis three or four years since by an Irish scholar in the north: " Corbanatus sive plebanatus, dignitas est, et modo ad regem pertinet, sed antea ad papam; in matrici ecclesia debet necessario esse, initiatus in sacris ordinibus, omnesque decimas pertinentes ad hanc debet habere, et beneficia adjuncta huic ipsius sunt, eorumque conferentiam habet et presentationem: dictum hoc nomen, quia populo et plebi ecclesiasticæ matricis ecclesiæ præfuit; certum numerum sacerdotum quasi collegialium debet habere secum; primum stallum in sua ecclesia habet; habet etiam stallum vacuum in ecclesia cathedrali; et vocem in omni capitulo tam publico quam privato: inscribitur Romano registro, ideoque dignitas est."

The consideration of all these circumstances put together, have induced me to think that our Corbe at the first institution was chorepiscopus, whose[y] name and dignity being unknown unto the ruder Irish, no marvel, though some of them have detorted the name of Corbe to Converbius (for so some of them in Latin stile him) or Comꝼuꞃbach in Irish, which importeth as much as Conterraneus. In the Irish annals[z] the name is written thus, Comrba, or Comhurba, where the first mention of a Corbe that I find is at the year eight hundred and fifty-eighth from Christ's nativity, (or eight hundred and fifty-nine from his incarnation, after the computation of the church of England) there it is recorded, " that O'Carrol king of Ossory, assisted with other kings, brought his army into the field against the king of Taraughe; but Imfeathna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imsuairlech Finno his Corbe, interposing themselves, O Carrol was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick and his Corbe." So in the same annals, at the year of our Lord 920. (or 921. after the common account,) is noted the death of Moeanach Mac Siadhaiel,

[y] Vide rempub. eccles. Lelii Zecchii de statu prælatorum, cap. 27. et Johan. Azorii institution. moral. 2. lib. 3. cap. 21.

[z] Annal. Ulton.

St. Comhgall his Corbe, the chief head (as he is there called) of all the learning or antiquities of Ireland.

It may be objected, that the Corbes and Herenaches always used to marry, and therefore not like to have been archipresbyteri or archidiaconi. But unto this I answer, that in Ireland, when churches were there first erected, no such law was admitted, which should restrain presbyteri or diaconi from the state of wedlock; for proof whereof I allege the testimony of him, whose authority is of highest esteem with our people of Ireland, I mean St. Patrick, who had to his father Calpurnium diaconum, and to his grandfather Potitum presbyterum, as Probus setteth down in the first book of his life; and he himself saith also in his confession: "Patrem habui Calpurnium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbiteri." In a very ancient book which belonged to the cathedral church of Worcester, and may now be seen in Benett college library, in Cambridge, there are extant certain canons bearing this inscription: "Synodus episcoporum, id est, Patricii, Auxilii, Issernini," which otherwhere I have read also cited by the name of Synodus Patricii, as held by our great St. Patrick, in whose days Auxilius and Isserninus flourished, as may be proved not only by our Irish authors, but also by Nennius[a] the British writer, and Matthew of Westminster[b]. Among other canons of that synod this is one: "Quicunque clericus, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, atque turpitudinem ventris et nuditatem non tegat; et si non more Romano capilli ejus tonsi sint, et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab ecclesia separentur." And as it is manifest by this canon, that the clergy at that time were not debarred from marriage, so is it apparent that afterwards in the very see of Armagh, for fifteen generations, the primacy hath passed to the chief of the sept, as it were by a kind of inheritance, and that before Celsus, a married bishop, who deceased about the year 1129. "jam octo extiterant

[a] Hist. cap. 55. al. 57.

[b] Flores historiarum ad ann. 491.

viri uxorati, et absque ordinibus, literati tamen," as Bernard writeth in the life of Malachias, which is right the state of our Corbes and Herenaches; for as those in time possessed themselves of the place of the archbishop, so did others in like manner keep in their sept the dignity of the archipresbyter[c], by the name of Corbes, and others of the archdeacon, by the name of Herenaches, very little differing from those, which in Wales were called lay abbots, of whom Giraldus Cambrensis[d] thus writeth, which is a testimony very pertinent to this purpose: "Notandum quod hæc ecclesia, sicut et aliæ per Hiberniam et Walliam plures, abbatem laicum habet. Usus enim inolevit et prava consuetudo, ut viri in parochia potentes, primo tanquam œconomi, seu potius ecclesiarum patroni et defensores a clero constituti, postea processu temporis aucta cupidine totum sibi jus usurparent, et terras omnes cum exteriore possessione sibi impudenter appropriarent, solum altaria cum decimis et obventionibus clero relinquentes, et hæc ipsa filiis suis et cognatis assignantes." Our Corbes and Herenaches do commonly speak Latin, and are in account as clergymen, being subject unto the bishop's visitation, giving unto him a subsidy at his entrance, and remaining chargeable with proxies and refections; whereof in the first office taken for the county of Tyrone, die 27° Julii 1608. this evidence is given: "Ac ulterius jurati prædicti super sacramentum suum dicunt, quod in qualibet dictarum baroniarum præter illas terras, quæ antehac possidebantur, ac modo possidentur ab hominibus nunc laicis, sunt aliæ quædam terræ de quibus quidam clerici sive homines literati qui vocantur Herenaci, ab antiquo seisiti fuerunt, &c. Nihilominus quilibet dictorum Herenacorum solvebat et solvere debebat archiepiscopo sive episcopo, in cujus diocesi terræ quas possidebant situatæ fuerunt, quoddam

[c] Innocentius 3. monet legatum suum Joh. Galenitanum cardinalem tit. S. Stephani in monte Cœlio, ut eum in Hibernia abusum tollat, quo filii et nepotes patribus et avis in beneficiis succedebant, quemadmodum ex registro ejus notat in ejus vita Alphonsus Ciaconius, pag. 515.

[d] Itiner. Cambriæ, lib. 2. cap. 4.

charitativum subsidium, refectiones, ac pensionem annualem secundum quantitatem terræ et consuetudinem patriæ." The same may be said of the Corbeship, which was in like manner subject to the bishop's visitation, and sometimes also by him sequestered, no less than other places ecclesiastical were, whereof I find this precedent in the archbishop of Dublin his register: "Quia ex quibusdam rationabilibus causis coram nobis deductis, animum nostrum juste moventibus, officium Corbanatus ibidem cum omnibus emolumentis et pertinentiis suis duximus sequestrandum, et sequestramus per præsentes: Tadeum Oskelly clericum ejusdem villæ et ecclesiæ Glindelacensis ipsius sequestratorem custodem deputantes, juriumque et pertinentium dicti officii antiquitus excrescentium, et excrescere valentium, usque nostram visitationem et ecclesiæ et popularium de Glindelaghe prædict. ratiocinio emolumentorum ipsius officii et rerum ad illud pertinentium nobis reservato, &c. etiam ex scrutatis antiquis ecclesiæ nostræ Dubliniensis scripturis et monumentis seu chartis, dispositionem dicti officii, cum illud vacare contigerit, ad nos et nostros successores pertinere debere, et nullum alium, (sede Dubliniensi duntaxat plena et consulta archipræsule) pronuntiamus, decernimus et declaramus in his scriptis. Datum in manerio nostro de Finglas, undecimo die mensis Decembris, anno domini 1473. et nostræ consecrationis anno secundo." This is the sequestration given out by John Walton, archbishop of Dublin, whereof before I made mention.

It now resteth in the last place that I should shew who had interest in the profits of these church lands, where for latter times it appeareth by the register of Clogher and other records, that the Herenaches held these lands by grants from the bishop, dean, and chapter, which by order were still to be renewed, both at the first entry of every Herenach, and upon the consecration of every new bishop. The Herenaches were tied to manure the Termon land, to reside upon it, and in no wise to alienate it unto any stranger. Out of the profits thereof they maintained hospitality, kept up their part of the fabric

of the churches, and yielded a yearly rent to the bishops: a certain portion of free land remained unto themselves, which they call "honorem villæ," not chargeable with any rent. In turning over the registers of the archbishops of Armagh, which by means of my uncle, the lord primate, I had occasion to peruse, I met with three evidences tending to this purpose. One containeth the grant of an Herenachy made by Milo, archbishop of Armagh, anno 1365. in this form: "Universis[e] sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis has literas visuris vel audituris, Milo, Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia, archiepiscopus Armach. Hiberniæ primas, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra, nos de unanimi assensu et voluntate decani et nostri capituli Ardmachani, dedisse, concessisse, et hac præsenti charta nostra confirmasse dilectis nobis in Christo Willelmo et Arthuro Mac Bryn, filiis magistri Arthuri Mac Bryn, terras nostras subscriptas in tenemento nostro de Kylmor, quas nunc idem magister Arthurus de nobis tenet, videlicet Teachrana, &c. Habendum et tenendum prædictas terras, cum earum pertinentiis debitis in bosco et plano, &c. quas et quæ idem magister Arthurus consuevit habere, et omnibus viis et semitis, pratis et pascuis, et omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad prædictas terras spectantibus, secundum ipsarum terrarum debitas et antiquas limitationes, cum pleno jure Herenaciæ in toto tenemento ecclesiæ de Kellmore, nobis et successoribus nostris, quoad vixerint et quilibet eorum vixerit possidendas, quamdiu nobis, nostræ ecclesiæ Armachanæ, nostrisque successoribus et ministris grati fuerint et obedientes, et quilibet eorum gratus fuerit et obediens, et dictas terras coluerint, seu coluerit, ac eas in parte, vel in toto, nulli laico extrinseco colendas tradiderint, seu tradiderit: salvo tamen jure chartæ dicto Arthuro super iisdem terris confectæ ad totam vitam ipsius magistri Arthuri; quam chartam volumus pro vita sua, præsenti charta non obstante, in suo robore permanere. Reddendo inde annuatim prædict. Willelmus et

[e] Habetur in registro Nicholai archiep. Armach. fol. 61.

Arthurus filius prædicti magistri Arthuri, et quilibet eorum qui supervixerit, nobis et successoribus nostris, unam marcam, et octo denarios sterlingorum, ad festa apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, et Omnium Sanctorum, per portiones æquales, una cum aliis oneribus, et servitiis inde debitis, et consuetis. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum, et sigillum commune nostri capituli antedicti præsentibus sunt appensa. Datum apud Dunum, die 21. mensis Novembris, anno Domini 1365." The second is a grant of certain lands in the diocese of Dromore, made during the vacancy of that see, anno 1427. by John Swayne, then archbishop of Armagh, in these words: "Universis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis præsentes literas visuris vel audituris, Johannes, &c. custos spiritualitatum, et spiritualis jurisdictionis ac temporalitatum episcopatus Dromorensis, ipso episcopatu non plene consulto, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit vestra universitas, quod nos, ratione custodiæ supradictæ, juxta antiquam et laudabilem consuetudinem ecclesiæ nostræ Ardmachanæ, hactenus inviolabiliter observatam, terras de Lachreacht, Dyrke, Dromorensis diœcesis vulgariter nuncupatas, dilecto in Christo filio Mauritio Mac Bryn Herenaco (habendum et tenendum prædictas terras, cum omnibus suis juribus, et antiquis limitationibus) quousque ecclesiæ Dromorensi plene consulatur, seu de legitimo provideatur pastore, concessimus et concedimus per præsentes, ratione custodiæ supradictæ: inde annuatim, nobis et successoribus nostris pro tempore existentibus, reddendo, reditum solitum et antiquum bonæ et usualis monetæ Anglicanæ, medietatem videlicet ad festum apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, et aliam medietatem ad festum Omnium Sanctorum; cum aliis servitiis, et omnibus ordinariis et extraordinariis et consuetis, quamdiu nobis, ut supra, semper salvo. In quorum fidem et testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, nostri appensione sigilli munitas." The third containeth the confirmation of an Herenachy granted by John Mey[f], archbishop of Armagh, anno

[f] Ex registro Johannis Mey, II. f. 13. a.

1455. to one, whose ancestors had formerly enjoyed the same. "Universis sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, Johannes, permissione divina archiepiscopus Armachanus, Hiberniæ primas, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Vestra noverit universitas, quod, exponente, et supplicante nobis dilecto filio Patricio Mackassaid, Herenaco de Twinha, eo quod ipse ab olim a nostris prædecessoribus (sicuti et progenitores sui nostri fuerunt) Herenachiam de Twinha et terras nostras ibidem quas per sui particulas duximus, præsentibus vulgariter plenius specificandas, consecutus fuisset in iisdem debite inchartatus; de antiqui sui juris confirmatione et nostri nova investitura, quo sic firmius et securius valeat permanere; ex certis licitis causis nos moventibus, ad supplicationem suam hujusmodi annuentes benevole et gratanter, nedum jus omnimodum, quod in antea hucusque, ex concessionibus, ac chartis, et inde secutis in Herenacia, et terris prædictis cum suis pertinentiis fuerit assecutus, in omni sui robore ratum habentes, confirmamus, et præsentis scripti patrocinio communimus; verum etiam, pro modo et forma nostræ ratione investituræ, de consensu et voluntate unanimis decani et nostri capituli Armachani, dedimus, concessimus, et hac præsenti charta nostra confirmamus prædicto Patricio Mackassaid terras nostras de Twynha, sic per sui particulas, hic quo supra vulgariter specificatas, videlicet &c. cum suis pertinentiis et antiquis limitationibus. Habendum et tenendum sibi et hæredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris dictas terras cum suis particulis, pertinentiis, et limitationibus antedictis; inde nobis reddendo, et nostris successoribus, annuatim ad festa Omnium Sanctorum et apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, æquis portionibus quinque marcas et duos solidos sterlingorum bonæ et legalis monetæ Angliæ, cum aliis servitiis et oneribus ordinariis et extraordinariis inde debitis et consuetis, quamdiu dictus Patricius, et hæredes sui, nobis et successoribus nostris, ac officiariis nostris grati obedientes et fideles fuerint, atque dictas terras inhabitaverint, et eas coluerint, ac nulli laico extrinseco colendas tradiderint, et reditus suos, servitia et

onera prædicta pro temporibus debitis fideliter et plene persolverint. Alioqui si in aliquo solutionis debito defecerint in præmissis, liceat nobis et successoribus nostris de dictis terris disponere, concessione prædicta pro aliquo non obstante, jure alterius cujusquam semper salvo. Et dictum Patricium, nostrum Herenacum in ecclesia de Twynha, cum omni inde onere et emolumento, fecimus, constituimus, et in forma præmissa tenore præsentium ordinamus. Nihilominus, quidem, per has nostras concessionem, constitutionem et ordinationem, nobis vel successoribus nostris, de novo introitu ratione novæ concessionis seu investituræ, cum contigerit, pro aliquo nolumus derogare. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum, una cum sigillo communi capituli nostri prædicti, præsentibus est appensum. Datum Armachiæ nono die Augusti, A. D. 1455. et nostræ consecrationis, anno duodecimo." By these evidences, and others that might be produced out of the register of Clogher, which for brevity I omit, may easily be collected in what sort, and upon what terms these church-lands have been held in latter days. At the first beginning, I conceive the same order to have been here, which commonly was used in other parts of Christendom, that the tithes and profits of temporal lands appertaining unto every church, were taken up by a common receiver, and distributed into four equal portions, one[g] whereof was allotted to the bishop, another to his clergy, the third upon the reparation of the fabric, and a fourth towards the relief of the poor and strangers. This was the custom of the churches of Italy, as may be seen in the epistles of Simplicius[h], Gelasius[i], and Gregorius[k], bishops of Rome, alleged by Gratian[l]. The same was also received in the churches of France and Germany, as appeareth by the letter of Gregory[m] the

[g] Vid. capitular. Car. m. f. 401. a.

[h] Epist. 3. ad Florentinum, Equitium et Severum epos.

[i] Epist. ad epis Lucaniæ ad Justinum archidiac. ad Clementem et plebem Brundusii.

[k] Epist. lib. 3. ad Maximian. Syracus. epis.

[l] Caus. 12. quest. 2.

[m] Apud Joh. Aventin. annal. Boiorum, lib. 3. pag. 289. edit. Ingolstad.

second ad Carolum Martellum, and[n] ad clerum et plebem Thuringiæ; by the seventh canon of the council of Worms, et libro septimo capitularium cap. 290. Lastly, Gregory I. making answer to the first question of Austin, bishop of Canterbury: "Mos[o] sedis apostolicæ est," saith he, "ordinatis episcopis præcepta tradere, ut de omni stipendio quod accedit, quatuor debent fieri portiones: una, viz. episcopo et familiæ, propter hospitalitatem atque susceptionem; alia clero; tertia pauperibus; quarta ecclesiis reparandis." In Spain, the division of the church revenues was made into three parts, as is plain by divers councils held there; and namely the first of Braccara: "Placuit[p], ut de rebus ecclesiasticis tres æque fiant portiones, id est, una episcopi; alia clericorum, tertia in reparatione, vel in luminariis ecclesiæ." And the council of Tarragona: "Quia[q] tertia pars ex omnibus, per antiquam traditionem, ut accipiatur ab episcopis, novimus statutum." In the present state of our northern churches, if we well mark it, some traces of these ancient orders may be observed. For first in the canons which have been cited, this may be noted, that in these days the parishioners were not tied to the reparation of their churches; but the charge thereof was to be defrayed out of the revenues of the Church. "Ex omnibus istis capitulis collige," saith the gloss[r] upon the decrees, "laicos non esse compellendos ad reparationem fabricæ, sed tantum clericos." Now this old order, which otherwhere is grown out of use, remaineth still in the north. "We find," say the jurors of the Cavan, "that the parson, vicar and erenach, are to repair and maintain their proper parish church at their own charge, out of their benefices and the Termon land, unto which work the parishioners did oftentimes voluntarily give their benevolence." Again, by the same canons the bishop was to

[n] Tom. 3. conciliorum, pag. 179. edit. Binii.

[o] Bedæ eccles. hist. lib. 1. cap. 27. [p] Cap. 25.

[q] Tom. 2. concil. pag. 350. can. 8. edit. Binii. Vide concil. Emeritens. tom. 2. pag. 1182. Toletan. 4. can. 32. et 9. can. 5. tom. 3. pag. 163. b.

[r] Joh. Semeca in 12. quæst. 2. cap. 4.

have "vel quartam, vel tertiam, secundum locorum diversitates," as Gratian[u] noteth. And so, according to the diversity of places, the bishop enjoyeth his fourth in Connaught, and in the diocese of Clogher, as likewise in the diocese of Derry and Raphoe his third part, which also still retaineth the name of quarta and tertia episcopalis. The taking up of the collections, and distribution of the church profits into their several portions, was in those days the special charge of the archidiaconus, as may appear by the epistle of Gregory[w] ad Honoratum archidiaconum Salonitanum; and of Isidore[x] ad Lindifredum Cordubensem episcopum, thus describing the office of an archdeacon: "Collectam pecuniam de communione ipse accipit, et episcopo defert, et clericis proprias partes idem distribuit." The archdeacon to this day is termed by the Irish, Ejrejnneach, as before I have declared; and we find that this was one office of our Herenach, to be the bishop's collector, as in the inquisition for the county of Donegal is particularly set down of O'Morreeson, the Herenach of the parish of Clonemanny, "That he was anciently accustomed to collect all the bishop's duties throughout the whole barony of Enishowen."

Now by the "canonica dispositio quartarum" as Gregory[y] calleth it, the bishop being to have his fourth book of the spiritual and temporal profits of the church in Clogher, he receiveth accordingly the fourth part of the tithes of such parishes as are within that diocese. Besides this, every Herenach payeth unto him a certain yearly rent out of the Termon lands belonging unto his church, which if I should guess to have been in consideration of the quarta due unto the bishop out of the temporal possessions of that church, I suppose my conjecture would be found to have in it more probability and conformity to the ancient church government, than that which by some of the northern jurors, men not very skilful in matters

[u] Grat. 16. quæst. 1. cap. 61.
[w] Greg. 1. lib. 1. epist. 20. op. tom. 2. pag. 504.
[x] Isidor. pag. 615. edit. Paris, anno 1601.
[y] Epist. 11. lib. 4. op. tom. 2. pag. 691.

of such antiquity, was delivered, viz. that[a] when the temporal lords in their several wars, and upon other occasions, began to charge and tax the Termon lands with divers exactions and impositions, the Corbes and Herenachs fled unto the bishop of the diocese wherein they lived, and besought his protection against the wrongs and injuries of the temporal lords, and therefore voluntarily gave unto the bishop a rent or pension out of their land." But to let this pass. The bishop's portion being deducted in such sort as hath been shewed, there should remain a fourth both of the tithes and of the temporalities to be allowed unto the ministers that attended the cure, another fourth to be spent in reparations and keeping up of the church, and a fourth likewise pauperibus et peregrinis fideliter eroganda, as the canons[b] require. When therefore the receiving of the church goods into a common hand, and the sharing of them into their several portions began to be abused, he which was the œconomus carving, as it is like, very favourably for himself, or upon some other respect was disused, and every one was willing to be the steward of his own portion, the presbyteri, that is, the parson and vicar, and the archidiaconus, (or Herenach,) may be thought to have grown to this composition; the Herenach charged himself with the reparation of two thirds of the fabric, taking upon him the care of the lower part or body of the church, the parson and vicar undertook the charge of the other third part. There being to divide betwixt them the three quarters of the church goods which remained above the bishop's allowance; for more quiet and ease, the presbyteri took wholly unto themselves the three quarters of the tithes, two whereof fell into the parson's lots, and one to the vicar's, without challenging any benefit in the temporal profits, except some small quantity of glebe land they were to dwell on; the archidiaconus or Herenach for keeping of hospitality, and en-

[a] See the office of the Cavan.

[b] Gelas. epist. ad Clem. et pleb. Brundusii apud Gratianum, 12. quæst. 2. cap. Concesso. Greg. 11. in epist. ad Clem. et pleb. Thuringiæ, concil. Worm. can. 7. et 47.

tertainment of strangers, besides the common care of reparations, had assigned unto him the commodity of the three quarters of the temporal lands, which he raised out of such rents, cuttings and services as were to be exacted of the coloni ecclesiastici, or Termoners. Thus were things ordered, where the distribution of the church goods into four parts was admitted, as may be observed in those places, which belong to the diocese of Clogher, in a part of Tyrone, in Fermanagh, and in the county of Monaghan, called in times past Ergallia, where quarta episcopalis is said to have been granted to the bishop of Clogher, by Innocentius the second, at the request of Malachias. For so we read in the register of that bishoprick: "Malachias, archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, ab Innocentio II. impetravit quartam episcopalem per totam Ergaliam dari episcopo Clochorensi, sicut in pontificali ejusdem ecclesiæ combusta continetur; quam vidimus, legimus, et approbavimus." Howbeit, it appeareth by Bernard, that this Malachias, all the time that he was bishop, enjoyed not the benefit of any tithes, nor yet of lands, either mensal or censual; but lived rather by coshering after the Irish fashion. "Non[c] servos," saith Bernard in his life, "non ancillas, non villas, non viculos, non denique quicquam redituum ecclesiasticorum, secularium ve, vel in ipso habuit episcopatu. Mensæ episcopali, nihil prorsus constitutum, vel assignatum, unde episcopus viveret; nec enim vel domum propriam habuit; erat, autem, pene incessanter circuiens parœcias omnes, evangelio serviens, et de evangelio vivens, sicut constituit ei Dominus; dignus est, inquiens, operarius mercede sua." But to return to the matter, whence I have a little digressed. As in Clogher the canonica dispositio quartarum was in use, so, in the dioceses of Derry, and Raphoe the distribution in tertias was observed. There the Herenach taketh up tertiam episcopalem of the tithes, which he delivereth not in kind, but payeth in consideration thereof

[c] Bernard. in vit. Malach.

a yearly rent unto the bishop. He giveth unto him, in like manner, a certain annuity out of the Termon lands, which possibly might have been due, according to my former conjecture, in regard of the bishop's interest in the third of the temporal lands belonging unto that church. So there should remain two thirds both of the tithes and of the temporalities. The two thirds remaining of the temporalities the Herenach held for the maintenance of his charge; the parson and vicar contented themselves with the two thirds of the tithes, which were equally divided between them; the parson, vicar and herenach, charging themselves in common with the keeping up and reparation of the church. This is the order observed in Derry and Raphoe. In the diocese of Armagh, from which also the state of the diocese of Kilmore differeth not much, the tithes are divided into three parts, whereof the parson hath two, and the vicar one; the archbishop challenging only certain mensal tithes out of the lands lying about the city of Armagh. The Herenach possesseth the temporal lands of the church, yielding a rent unto the bishop, and intermeddleth not with the tithes; yet beareth together with the parson and vicar, the charge of reparations. So in divers dioceses, divers customs are held for the distribution of the church revenues: whereupon it falleth out sometimes, that in one and the same county very different customs are observed in that behalf. As, namely, in one part of Tyrone, belonging to the diocese of Clogher, the bishop and vicar have one half of the tithes, and the parson the other; in another part, belonging to the diocese of Derry, the parson, vicar and herenach divide the tithes betwixt them in such sort as formerly hath been declared; and in another part, belonging to the diocese of Armagh, the parson taketh up two third part of the tithes, and the vicar one; the archbishop and herenach claiming no part thereof.

And thus have I delivered my judgment, not so much of the present state, and much less of that which were meet to be settled hereafter, the ordering whereof I wholly refer unto the higher powers, not minding to inter-

pose myself in state affairs, as of the original and first estate of Corbes, Herenaches and Termon lands; wherein as I myself profess that I have carried an indifferent hand, without any partiality or private respect whatsoever, (mihi enim isthic nec seritur nec metitur) so would I have none to imagine, that I take upon me peremptorily to determine any thing in this matter of antiquity; as being not ignorant with what obscurities questions of that nature are involved, especially where help of ancient monuments is wanting. My purpose only was to point unto the fountains, and to compare the present state of things with the practice of ancienter times; thinking I have done well, if hereby I may give occasion of further enquiry unto those who have greater judgment and more leisure to hold out the truth of this business.

OF

THE FIRST ESTABLISHMENT

OF

ENGLISH LAWS AND PARLIAMENTS

IN THE

KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

OF THE

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT

OF

ENGLISH LAWS AND PARLIAMENTS,

&c. &c.

As soon as the realm of Ireland was come into the hands of the kings of England, their first care was to provide, that the church and commonwealth, in both nations, should be governed by the same laws. And therefore king Henry II. being here in person in the year 1172. among other orders taken for the settlement of this state, caused two councils to be assembled; the one at Cashel, the other at Lismore. In the former it was agreed by a synodical constitution, that "Omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ, amodo tractentur: dignum etenim, et justissimum est, ut sicut dominum et regem ex Anglia sortita est divinitus Hibernia, sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem;" so recordeth Giraldus Cambrensis in the first book of his history of the conquest of Ireland[a]. In the

[a] Cap. 34.

other, "Leges Angliæ ab omnibus sunt gratanter receptæ, et juratoria cautione præstita confirmatæ;" as witnesseth Matthew Paris in his great history.

The like course was taken by his son king John, at his being here in the year 1210; as appeareth partly by the report of the same Matthew Paris, but especially by letters patent of Henry III. dated at Woodstock the ninth of September, in the thirtieth year of his reign, remaining among the records of the tower of London. The words of the historian be these, speaking of king John's doings in Ireland: "Fecit rex ibidem construere leges, et consuetudines Anglicanas, ponens vice-comites, aliosque ministros, qui populum regni illius juxta leges Anglicanas judicarent." The tenor of the record is this: "Quia pro communi utilitate terræ Hiberniæ, et unitate terrarum de communi concilio provisum est, quod omnes leges et consuetudines, quæ in regno nostro Angliæ tenentur, in Hibernia teneantur, et eadem terra iisdem legibus subjaceat, et per easdem regatur; sicut Johannes rex, cum illic esset, statuit, et firmiter mandavit: Quia rex Henricus vult, quod omnia brevia de communi jure, quæ currunt in Anglia, similiter currant in Hibernia; sub novo sigillo regis mandatum est, archiepiscopis," &c.

In like sort Henry III. son to King John, in the twelfth year of his reign: "Mandavit justiciario suo Hiberniæ, ut convocatis archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus ibidem, coram eis legi faciat chartam regis Johannis, quam legi fecit, et jurari a magnatibus Hiberniæ, de legibus, et consuetudinibus Angliæ observandis, et quod leges illas teneant, et observent;" as is related out of the same records by that worthy antiquary Mr. William Camden Clarentius[b].

Hereupon, in doubtful matters of law, recourse was had from thence into England; as in the days of the said king Henry upon a question of inheritance devolved unto sisters, four knights were sent unto the king's court in England, by Gerald Fitzmaurice, then lord chief jus-

[b] Camden Hibern. pag. 734.

tice of Ireland, to bring a certificate of the custom of England in that case; who brought back the king's rescript, commonly known by the name of "Statutum[c] Hiberniæ de cohæredibus;" which is thus concluded: "Ideo vobis mandamus, quod prædictas consuetudines, quas in regno nostro Angliæ habemus, in hoc casu, ut prædictum est, in terra nostra Hiberniæ proclamari, et firmiter teneri facias, et observari. Teste meipso apud Westmonaster: 9. die Febr. anno regni 14:" as it is in the printed statutes, or, as Matthew Paris setteth it down in his history, anno 1240. "Teste meipso apud Norwicum, 30. die Augusti anno regni 21."

So[d] upon an erroneous judgment given in Ireland, matters might be removed by a writ of error to the king's bench in England; and, upon a debt recovered in the king's court in England, a writ of a Fieri facias hath been directed to the justice of Ireland for levying the same upon the lands and goods of the debtor; a precedent whereof is to be seen in the days of Richard II. in the case[e] of Robert Wickford, then archbishop of Dublin; who being in arrear of a certain annual rent of ten pounds due to one Thomas, a clerk in England; the sheriff of Middlesex having returned, that he had no lands, tenements, goods, or chattels in his baliwick, and testatum being made, that he was in Ireland, and there had divers goods, chattels, lands, and tenements, as well of his own purchase, as of his archbishopric, whence the said sum of ten pounds might be made; the king's writ was thereupon directed to the justice of Ireland in this manner: "Ideo vobis mandamus, quod de terris, et catallis ejusdem Roberti jam archiepiscopi in terra nostra Hiberniæ fieri faciatis prædictas decem libras, et illas habeatis coram, &c. octavis Michaelis ad reddendûm præfato Thomæ de arreragiis annui redditus prædicti; et habeatis ibi hoc breve."

[c] Edit. cum Magna Charta.

[d] S. 2. R. 3. fol. 12. Registr. brev. original. fol. 13. 2. Fitzherb. Natur. Brev. fol. 24.

[e] Registr. brev. judicial. fol. 43. 6.

This order being settled, that the king's English subjects in Ireland, and such also of the Irish, as had the benefit of the English laws vouchsafed unto them, for that all enjoyed not this privilege appeareth plainly by the king's recorder, should be ruled by the same law, wherewith the state of England was governed; it came to pass, that such statutes, as were enacted in parliaments held in England, were intended always to have been made for the government as well of this kingdom, as of the other. And therefore, albeit in the presence of the statute of Glocester, in the - - - - - year of Edward I. the act is said expressly to be made for the behoof of the realm of England; yet in the preface of the statute of Westmonaster, the second made the thirteenth year of the same king's reign, we find it thus interpreted: "Cum nuper dominus rex, in quindena S. Johannis baptistæ, anno regni sui 6. convocatis prælatis, comitibus, baronibus, et consilio suo apud Glocester, &c. quædam statuta populo suo valde necessaria, et utilia edidit, per quæ populus suus Anglicanus, et Hibernicus sub suo regimine gubernatus celeriorem justitiam, quam prius, in suis oppressionibus consecutus est," &c. So in the statute of merchants made the same year: "The king wills, that this ordinance and act be observed from henceforth throughout his realm of England, and Ireland." And the statute of York, in the twelfth year of Edward II. is said to be made upon this consideration; that the people of the realm of England and Ireland have heretofore suffered many times great mischiefs, damage and disherison, by reason that in divers cases, where the law failed, no remedy was provided; for the publication of which statute, together with another formerly enacted at Lincoln in the ninth year of his reign, the king sent this writ to his chancellor in Ireland:

"Edwardus[f] Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, cancellario suo in Hibernia salutem: Quædam statuta per nos de assensu prælatorum,

[f] Ex libro albo Saccarii Hiberniæ.

comitum, baronum, et communitatis regni nostri nuper apud Lincoln, et quædam alia statuta postmodum apud Eborum facta, quæ indicta terra nostra Hiberniæ ad communem utilitatem populi nostri ejusdem terræ observari volumus; vobis mittimus, sub sigillo nostro mandantes, quod statuta illa in dicta cancellaria nostra custodiri, et in rotulis ejusdem cancellariæ irrotulari, et ad singulas placeas nostras in regno nostro prædicto ad singulos comitatus ejusdem terræ mitti facias per breve nostrum sub dicto sigillo nostro; ministris nostris placearum illarum, vice comitibus dictorum comitatuum mandantes, quod statuta illa coram ipsis publicari, et in omnibus, et singulis articulis observari firmiter faciatis. Teste meipso apud Nottingham 20. Novembris, anno regni nostri 17."

About the same time, and in the same place, at Nottingham, on the twenty-fourth of November, anno R. Edw. II. 17. the ordinances[g] for the state of Ireland were made, which are to be seen in French in the second part of the ancient statutes printed at London, anno 1532. Add hereunto the statutes made at Westminster in the eleventh and twenty-seventh years of Edward III. the former touching drapery, and wearing of outlandish cloth and furs, extended as well to Ireland and Wales, as unto England: the other concerning the erection of staples at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, and the establishment of the staple law in this land: but especially the statute[h] enacted at Westminister, in the fourth year of king Henry V., touching promotion of clerks of the Irish nation, is to be considered: by which it is evident, that the kings of England, granting liberty of holding parliaments in this land, intended nothing less than to abridge their own authority thereby, or to exempt the inhabitants of this realm from the power of the laws, which should be made in the mother kingdom.

In the second year of Richard III. the matter was first called into question upon this occasion. It was provided

[g] Magna Charta, edit. anno 1532. et 1556.

[h] Westmon. statut. anno 4. Hen. V. cap. 6.

by a statute made at Westminster in the tenth year of Henry VI. that if any wools, woolfells, hides, lead, tin, &c. should be found carried out of the realm of England, or the lands of Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, to any place beyond the seas, besides Calais; the one half of all such goods should be forfeited to the king; and the person, that espied, and proved the same, thould have the other. It fell out afterwards, that certain merchants of Waterford shipped divers merchandises of the staple, agreeing by indenture with the master of the ship, that he should transport the said merchandises to Sluce in Flanders; but contrary to their will the ship was driven into Calais; where Sir Thomas Thwayght, treasurer of Calais, seized the ship, one moiety for the king, and the other for himself, as the first finder. The merchants, by a bill preferred to the king in his council at Westminster[i], craved restitution; whereupon this question came to be debated in the Exchequer chamber: " Si villæ corporatæ in Hibernia, et alii habitantes in Hibernia, erunt legati per statutum factum in Anglia:" whereupon it was said Ireland had a parliament in itself, whereby it made laws, and changed laws, and was not bound by a statute made in England, forasmuch as it had not there any knights of the parliament. But the question being renewed the next term[k], which fell on the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. Hussey the chief justice resolved, that the statutes made in England do bind those of Ireland; which was in a manner agreed upon by all the other justices then assembled in the Exchequer chamber: " Nient-obstant, que ascunde eux fuerunt in contraria opinione te darre in terme enson absens," saith the reporter; notwithstanding that some of them were of contrary opinion the last term in his absence.

There followed not long after, the parliament[l] held before Sir Edward Poynings at Drogheda, in the tenth year of Hen-

[i] 2 R. III. fol. 12.

[k] M. 1. H. VII. fol. 3. Fitzherb. tit. Accion sur le statut. 6. Brook tit. parliament and statutes, 90.

[l] Stat. Hibern. 10. H. VII. cap. 22.

ry VII. wherein it was ordained, and established, that all statutes late made within the realm of England, concerning or belonging to the common, and public weal of the same, should thenceforth be deemed good, and effectual in the law, and be accepted, used, and executed within this land of Ireland in all points, at all times requisite, according to the tenor, and effect of the same; whereby many have been induced to believe, that the statutes of England could have no authority in Ireland, without special confirmation of the parliament in this land: not considering, that in this self same parliament[m] it was in like manner ordained, and established, that the statutes of Kilkenny, which were of full validity before the time of this confirmation, should be authorized, approved, confirmed, and deemed good, and effectual in the law, and be executed according to the tenor, and purport of them, and every of them: even as before this in a parliament[n] holden at Dublin in the eighteenth year of Henry VI. it was enacted, that all statutes made within this realm, and not repealed, should be holden and kept in all points: and in another parliament holden in the same place, the eleventh year of Henry IV. that the great charter and the statutes made in the time of the Duke of Clarence, and in the time of Thomas of Lancaster, lieutenant of Ireland, and all other good statutes, and reasonable ordinances made in the time of any justice or lieutenant of this land should be firmly holden, and kept: whereby it is manifest, that from the reviving, or confirming of any statutes, no sufficient argument can be drawn to disannul the authority of those acts before such confirmation.

Lastly, whereas by authority of a parliament[o] begun at London, in the twenty-first year of King Henry VIII. the act of Faculties was ordained not only for the realm of England, but also for all other the king's dominions, with this penalty annexed, that whatsoever

[m] Stat. Hibern. 10. H. VII. cap. 8.

[n] Ex Rotul. parliamentar. Hib. 18. H. VI. cap. 4. et 11. Hen. IV. cap. 4.

[o] Stat. Angl. anno 25. Hen. VIII. cap. 21.

person, subject, or resident within the realm of England, or within any the king's dominions, did sue to the court, or see of Rome, or to any claiming authority from thence, for any licence, or faculty, or put in execution any licence so obtained, or maintain, allow, admit, or obey any manner of censures, or other process from Rome, should incur the punishment comprised in the statute of præmunire: the states of Ireland, assembled in parliament in the twenty-eighth year of the same king, thought it nothing strange, that the effects of the act, ordained in England, should be thus extended to the king's other dominions; but freely acknowledged so much in these words: "Forasmuch[p] as it is mentioned in the said act, that the effects thereof should not only extend into the realm of England and to the commodity thereof, and to the subjects of the same, but also to all other the king's dominions, and his subjects; and that this the king's land of Ireland is his proper dominion, and a member appending, and rightfully belonging to the imperial crown of the said realm of England, and united to the same; and also like inconvenience hath ensued within this land of Ireland, as hath been within the said realm of England by reason of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, like as is mentioned in the said act. Be it therefore enacted by authority of this present parliament, that the said act, and every thing, and things therein contained, shall be established, confirmed, taken, obeyed, and accepted within this land of Ireland, as a good and perfect law."

Thus we see how the English laws were here established, and how from time to time the king's subjects of Ireland were ruled, not only by the common laws, but also by the statute laws of England: notwithstanding, for the ordering of their particular affairs, wherewith the nobility and commons of that other realm could not be so well acquainted, they have had always, as proper courts, so likewise proper parliaments of their own in this land. The first order out of England for this matter, that I

[p] Stat. Hib. 28. Hen. VIII. cap. 19.

meet withal, is a constitution of King Edward II. in the twelfth year of his reign, remaining among the close[q] rolls in the tower of London, that parliaments should be held every year in the land of Ireland; but that respecteth the determination of the time, rather than the first institution of parliaments in this country: for in the chronicles of Ireland, and especially in the annals written about the year 1370. which Phillip Flattesbury followed in his collections, and my learned friend Mr. Camden, at my entreaty hath lately published out of the Lord William Howard's library, there is mention made of sundry parliaments holden here in this same king's reign before this order was taken; as may be seen in the said annals at the years of our Lord 1309. 1310. 1315. and 1317. So likewise in the days of Edward I. anno 1294. "Richardus comes Ultoniæ," saith the same author, "cito post festum sancti Nicholai captus est per dominum Johannem filium Thomæ, et in castro de Lega, id est, Ley, detentus est usque ad festum sancti Gregorii papæ; cujus liberatio facta fuit tunc per concilium domini regis in parliamento de Kilkenny." And, to ascend higher unto the time of Henry III. in the register of the archbishop of Dublin there is to be seen: "Inquisitio facta ad parliamentum de Tristel-Dermod die Mercurii proxima post festum sancti Trinitatis, anno 48. H. III. coram D. Richardo de Rupella, capitali justiciario Hiberniæ, et coram Domino Hugone de Tachmone episcopo Midensi, tunc thesaurario," &c.

Yet all parliaments, that we read of in the chronicles, are not to be accounted to have been of the same nature; but a distinction may be observed therein of petite, and grande parliaments: for the name is sometimes given to such meetings, as were parlies, rather than parliaments; as in the foresaid annals, anno Domini 1368. R. Edw. III. 42. "In Carbria post quoddam parliamentum finitum inter Hibernicos, et Anglicos capti sunt frater Thomas Burley[r], prior de Killmaynan, cancellarius regis

[q] Camden, Hibern. pag. 733. [r] Butler.

in Hibernia, Johannes Fitz-Reicher vice-comes Midiæ," &c. Others were grande parliaments, wherein the three estates of the land were assembled; such as in the submission of Mac-Mahowne, in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI. are to be understood; where he promiseth in Arch parliaments to carry nothing out of the English pale contrary to the statutes; and these in the chronicles are sometimes called magna parliamenta, as in the annals of Ross, anno 1333. "Tenetur parliamentum magnum Dublin, et eundo versus dictum parliamentum occiditur dominus Willelmus nobilis juvenis comes Ultoniæ, per suos Anglicos Ultoniæ proditiose; et in eodem parliamento occiditur Mauricius filius Nicholai Othoil Hibernicus, et in armis strenuus:" but more usually communia parliamenta, as may be seen in sundry places of the annals set out by Mr. Camden; one whereof, because it containeth some other memorable things concerning the matter in hand, I will set down at large.

"Anno Domini 1341. commune parliamentum Hiberniæ de concilio regis mense Octobris extitit ordinatum. Ad idem parliamentum Mauritius filius Thomæ comes Desmondiæ non pervenit: ante quod tempus nunquam inter Anglicos in Anglia oriundos, et Anglicos in terra Hiberniæ oriundos, ita nobilis et manifesta divisio habebatur. Majores insuper civitatum regalium ejusdem terræ, una cum nobilioribus dictæ terræ universis unanimes existentes, habito consilio deliberato in cæteris conclusionibus decreverunt, et statuerunt parliamentum commune Kilkenniæ, mense Novembri; ad utilitatem et profectum regis, et præfatæ terræ, consilio justiciarii, et regalium prædictorum irrequisito penitus in hac parte. Justiciarius autem, et cæteri ministri regis ad idem parliamentum Kilkenniæ accedere nullatenus præsumpserunt. Majores igitur terræ prænotati, una cum majoribus civitatum ordinaverunt de solemnibus nunciis regi Angliæ quantocius destinandis pro statu terræ relevando, et conquerendo de ejus ministris in Hibernia, de iniquo, et injusto regimine eorundem; et non de cætero tolerarent, quod terra Hiberniæ per suos ministros more solito regeretur, con-

queruntur pro parte de prædictis ministris per quæstiones. Quomodo terra plena guerris regi possit ab illo qui bellorum ignarus? Quomodo minister regis brevi tempore ad magnas opes venire posset? Quomodo rex in Hibernia non factus ditior?"

A like attempt of assembling a parliament without the privity of the king's council was not long after renewed by the Earl of Desmond; who is here noted to have absented himself from the king's parliament. The matter is thus related by John Clinn, a friar of Kilkenny, who lived at the time, anno 1344. "In festo cathedræ Petri fuit parliamentum factum apud Callan, rege nescio; ad quod venit Mauritius filius Thomæ cum multis millibus hominum, ad quod credidit majores terræ ad eum venisse. Sed rex timens talia conventicula suspecta, et potius malum, quam bonum ex hoc evenire; per breve regis prohibitum est omnibus, ne venirent: et per hoc majores terræ prædicto Mauritio se excusabant, sed domi manserunt."

The next year a parliament by the king's authority was summoned at Dublin; from whence the said Earl of Desmond again absented himself, and was thereupon prosecuted by the lord deputy; for so we read in Camden's annals, anno 1345. "Septimo die Junii commune parliamentum Dubliniæ; ad quod non venit dominus Mauricius filius Thomæ, comes Desmoniæ. Item dominus Radulphus de Ufford justiciarius Hiberniæ post festum beati Johannis baptistæ cum vexillo regis, sine tamen assensu majorum terræ levato, contra dominum Mauricium filium Thomæ, comitem Desmondiæ ad Momoniam progreditur," &c.

Afterwards upon the beheading of Thomas Earl of Desmond, called unto a parliament at Dublin by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, it is said, that King Edward IV. about the ninth year of his reign, granted, that the earls of Desmond should never be enforced to come to any parliaments to Dublin more, nor any where else in Ireland; using themselves dutifully to God, and to their prince; as in the book of Houthe is recorded.

Whereupon in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. James Fitz-John, then admitted Earl of Desmond, in his submission before Sir Anthony Sentleger, on the sixteenth January, anno 1540. disclaimed the privilege challenged by his ancestors of not coming to parliament, grand council, or within any walled town.

Otherwise, sure it is, that all the lords of the land as well spiritual, as temporal, were bound to appear at these parliaments; and for default herein we find, that, in the days[s] of Edward II. a fine of two hundred marks upon George Lord Roche; as also in the days[t] of Henry VI. the bishops of Leghlyn, Ossory, Down, and Limrick were amerced for the same cause. And as they were bound to resort to parliaments, so were they there to take their places according to their estate, and to wear their robes of parliament after the manner of England. For the former, the order of sitting observed in the parliament holden at Dublin before Gerald, Earl of Kildare, in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII. is registered by John Allen, archbishop of Dublin, then present, the year before he was cruelly murdered by Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, son to the aforesaid earl. And for the latter two special statutes were provided, one in the sixteenth year of Edward IV. and another in the tenth year of Henry VII.

Now by this frequent use of parliaments, appointed to be holden every year, and oftentimes more than once within the compass of one year, as appeareth both by the chronicles, and by a statute[u] in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VI. whereby the summoning of parliaments, more than once in the year, is for a time restrained, it may easily be collected, that the principal use of parliaments in former times was not so much to make new laws, as to see the old put in execution, and to advise of other matters, that concerned the state of the commonwealth. Sometimes they were gathered for the trial or acquittal of some great personages, as may be seen in the annals often alleged,

[s] Camden Hibern. pag. 729. ex archivis regis.

[t] Rotul. parliamentar. Hib. ann. 27. Hen. VI. cap. 21—24.

[u] Ex Rotul. parliamentar. Hibern. 34. Hen. VI. cap. 6.

anno 1310. 1317. and 1327. Sometimes for consultation in times of great danger; as the parliament holden at Kilkenny in the days of Edward II. whereof John Clinne thus writeth: anno 1315. "Commune parliamentum magnatum Hiberniæ apud Kilkenny pro auxilio, et consilio habendo contra Scotos in principio mensis Junii." Sometime for viewing the state of the king's tenants, as the parliament holden at Ross, in the time of Henry IV. of which another author[w] writeth in this manner: anno 1401. "Thomas Dominus de Lancaster, filius et locum tenens domini regis Henrici quarti in Hibernia, tenuit parliamentum apud Ross, in quo habuit visum chartarum, et patentium horum, qui a domino rege tenuerunt in capite." Sometime for obtaining a subsidy: as the parliament holden at Kilkenny, in the forty-fourth year of Edward III. before Sir William Windsor; wherein three thousand pounds were granted to the king, "pro subsidio ad guerras," as we read in the same author: and another held in the same place in the days of Henry IV. by Thomas of Lancaster; of whom Henry Marlburgh, vicar of Balscadden, in his chronicles thus writeth: anno 1408. "Post festum S. Hilarii tenuit parliamentum apud Kilkenny, causa tallagii habendi." Sometime for hearing and determining controversies of right between party and party; as the parliament holden at Dublin in the fifth year of Henry VI. before James Butler Earl of Ormond; the whole roll whereof containeth nothing but a process upon a writ of error, in a plea betwixt the prior of Lanthony in Wales, and the prior of Molingar in Ireland. Sometime also for enacting and establishing statutes for the government of the land; of which kind these are the special.

Anno 1309.

In the reign of Edward II. a parliament holden in Kilkenny, whereof in the annals set down by Mr. Camden, mention is made in these words: Anno 1309. "Parliamentum tentum est apud Kilkenny in octavis purificationis beatæ Mariæ per comitem Ultoniæ, (et Johannem Wogan justiciarium Hiberniæ) et cæteros magnates; in

[w] Ex collectaneis Thadæi Dowling.

quo fuit sedata magna discordia orta inter quosdam magnates Hiberniæ, et multæ provisiones tanquam statuta providebantur: utiles terræ Hiberniæ, si fuissent observatæ."

Anno 1366.

In the fortieth year of Edward III. another parliament holden at Kilkenny the first Thursday in Lent, by Lionel Duke of Clarence, the king's son, and lieutenant of Ireland: the acts whereof are to be seen among the rolls of the Chancery, and are commonly known by the name of the statutes of Kilkenny[x]; of which in the act of confirmation, it is thus recorded: "All the season, that the said statutes were set in use, and duly executed, the land continued in prosperity, and honour; and since the time that they were not executed, the subjects rebelled, and digressed from their allegiance, and the land did fall to ruin and desolation."

Anno 1402.

In the third year of Henry IV. a parliament holden at Dublin in the month of September by Thomas Lancaster the king's son, and lieutenant of Ireland; wherein divers statutes were enacted touching herbinage, and livere, the office of clerk of the market, and escheator, &c.

Anno 1404.

In the fifth year of the same king, another parliament holden at Dublin before the Earl of Ormond; wherein the acts of the two precedent parliaments were confirmed; as appeareth by Henry Marleburgh, whose words are these: anno 1404. "In die S. Vitalis incipit parliamentum Dubliniæ coram comite Ormondiæ, tunc justiciario Hiberniæ; ubi confirmata fuerunt statuta de Kilkenny Dubliniæ, et charta pro Hibernia:" or as another author[y] setteth it down: "Charta libertatis Hiberniæ, et statuta Kilkenniæ fuerunt confirmata authoritate parliamenti, coram comite Ormoniæ, justiciario Hiberniæ die Vitalis martyris."

[x] Stat. Hib. ann. 10. Hen. VII. cap. 8.

[y] Collectan. Thadæi Dowling.

Anno 1408.

About the eighth year of the same king's reign, a third parliament holden at Dublin before James Butler, Earl of Ormond, then Lord Justice of Ireland; wherein the same acts were again confirmed, as witnesseth the foresaid Henry Marleburgh, in these words: anno 1408. "Dictus justiciarius tenuit parliamentum Dubliniæ; in quo parliamento confirmata fuerunt statua Kilkenny, et Dubliniæ, et charta concessa sub magno sigillo Angliæ, contra Purveyours."

In the eleventh year of the same king's reign a fourth parliament holden at Dublin before Sir Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham, deputy to Thomas of Lancaster, the king's son: wherein both the foresaid acts, and all other good statutes, and reasonable ordinances made in the time of any justice, or lieutenant of this land, were confirmed, and order taken, that if any statutes, or ordinances were made, which formerly were not put in execution, or proclaimed, the same should then be proclaimed, and put in execution. Here also it was concluded, that the form of adjournments of parliaments should be kept after the manner of England; and sundry other statutes established, which are extant in the parliament rolls containing twenty-four chapters.

Anno 1428.

In the seventh year of Henry VI. the parliament holden at Dublin, the Friday next after the feast of All Saints, before Sir John Sutton, Knight, Lieutenant of Ireland. It remaineth among the parliament rolls, and containeth fourteen chapters.

Anno 1431.

In the tenth year of the same king's reign another parliament holden at Dublin, the Friday next before the feast of St. Catherine, before Sir Thomas Stanley, Knight, Lieutenant of Ireland: the roll containeth eight chapters; the fifth and seventh whereof are to be seen in the printed book of the statutes of Ireland; with the beginning whereof I will make an end of this narration, and surcease from farther discourse of the parliaments of this country.

A DISCOURSE,

SHEWING WHEN, AND HOW FAR,

THE

IMPERIAL LAWS

WERE

RECEIVED BY THE OLD IRISH,

AND THE SEVERAL

INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

A

DISCOURSE,

&c. &c.

I. The Irish never received the imperial law, but used still their own Brehon law: which consisted partly of the customs of the land, partly of the ordinances enacted by their kings and chief governors; whereof there are large volumes yet extant in their own language. Yet the Brehons, in giving of judgment, were assisted by certain scholars, who had learned many rules of the civil and canon law, rather by tradition than by reading: as by Sir John Davies[a] is reported: although for their skill in the canon law Hannibal Rosselli, the Calabrian, giveth unto them this testimony: "Olim[b] homines illius regionis plurimum intendebant juri pontificio, erantque optimi canonistæ."

II. The natives of Scotland, in the north part of Great Britain, being a colony of the Irish, used the like customary laws, which were augmented by Kenneth II. the son of Alpin, of whom these verses run:

Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kinedhus,
Filius Alpini, prælia multa gerens:

[a] In Cambden's Hibern. pag. 152. of the English edition.

[b] Rossel. comm. in Mercur. Herm. Trismegist. Pæmandr. et Asclep. tom. 5. pag. 125. edit. Colon.

being called the first, either because he was the first that reigned over whole Albania, having overthrown the Picts, and adjoined their kingdom to his own; or, as I read in the book of Meilross, "Quia primus leges Scoticanas instituit, quas vocant leges Mac-Alpin."

III. While Britain was a Roman province, it was subject to the Roman laws[c]: for the learning whereof the neighbouring nation served as a school; according to that of Juvenal, in the fifteenth satire:

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

We find a rescript[d] of the emperor Severus, proposed at York, the year before he ended his life there: but that Papinian executed judicature there, I could wish might be proved by some witness of more antiquity than Stephanus Torcatulus[e] was of: for it would redound unto some honour unto the nation, that the most skilful man in the civil law, that ever lived, should be appointed a minister of justice there.

IV. After the departure of the Romans from hence, the Britons being driven by the Saxons into Cornwall and Wales, returned again to the customary laws of their own country; having no written law, for aught I can find, before the days of Howel-Dha, or Howel the Good; who succeeded his father Cadhel in the kingdom of South Wales, and Powis in the year 907. and his cousin Edwal Voel in the kingdom of North Wales, anno 940. He, having thus obtained the sovereignty of all Wales, in an assembly at Twy-Gwin upon the river Taff, at which were present one hundred and forty of the clergy, reformed the old laws, and established new; the book whereof is still extant both in the Welsh and in the Latin tongues. The Latin translator, who was then also present, is in the Welsh chronicle[f] named Blegored, by

[c] "Cernitis ignotos Latia sub lege Britannos." Catalect.

[d] Lib. 1. C. de rei vendic.

[e] Vide Dion Cass. lib. 76. in excerpt. Xiphilin.

[f] Pag. 127.

Bale, Blegabridus Languaridus[g]; of whom I find this mention in those barbarous verses, which are at the end of the Latin copy in the library of Corpus Christi, or Bennet College in Cambridge:

> Explicit editus liber bene finitus:
> Quem regi scripsit Languoridus, et quoque fuit
> Howeli turbæ doctor tunc legis in urbe,
> Gornando cano tunc judice cotidiano
> Rex dabat ad partem dextram, non sumpserat artem.

See Sir Henry Spelman's British Councils, page 408. where he is called Blangoridus, and styled "Clericus doctissimus."

V. At what time Justinian published the body of the civil law, not only Britain, but all the rest of the western part of Europe also were disjoined from the Roman Empire; Italy and Sicily only excepted: and in Italy itself the use thereof continued but a short time: until at length in the year 1102. "Irnerius, philosophiam Bononiæ docens, Mathildis rogatu, Pandectas interpretari cœpit, et primus glossas in eas scripsit:" as Sigonius hath it in the argument of his Bononian history; and abbas Urspergensis in his Chronicle more fully: "Eisdem temporibus Dominus Warnerius libros legum, qui dudum neglecti fuerant, nec quisquam in eis studuerat, ad petitionem Mathildæ Comitissæ renovavit; et secundum quod olim a divæ recordationis imperatore Justiniano compilati fuerant, paucis forte alicubi interpositis[h], eos distinxit," &c.

VI. The laws and customs of the English Scots, King[i] David I. with the advice of the people and clergy of his whole kingdom, caused to be reduced into four books, according to the number of Justinian's Institutes: and in imitation thereof caused the like proem to be prefixed thereunto: "Regiam majestatem non solum armis contra rebelles, sibi, regnoque insurgentes, oportet esse decora-

[g] Bal. Centur. 2. pag. 127. v. Blegabridus.

[h] In his interlineary gloss.

[i] Vid. Regiam majestatem in fine præfationis.

tam; sed etiam legibus ad subditos, et populos pacifice regendos, oportet esse armatam; ut utraque tempora, scilicet pacis, et belli," &c. Whereby I gather, that in his time, betwixt the year 1124. and 1153. the notice of Justinian was brought into that kingdom. Although, if I may here freely deliver my mind, I am much rather induced to think, this "Regiam majestatem" to have been written after the year 1330. in the days of David II. than, as Skene would have us believe, in the reign of David I. as for other important reasons, so because in other copies of that book, Glanvil's Tractatus de Legibus, et consuetudinibus regni Angliæ, written in or after the thirty-third year of Henry II. is vouched, and mentioned often therein; as in the English preface, printed before Glanvil anno 1604. may be seen. But as for the use of the civil law in Scotland, although the subjection thereto be disclaimed by two several acts of parliament, quoted by Mr. Selden[l], yet the practice thereof is much the same in that kingdom as in France.

VII. In the Norman[m] chronicles I meet with the precise time of the first profession of the civil law in England, recorded in this wise: "Magister Vacarius, gente Longobardus, vir honestus et juris peritus, cum leges Romanas anno ab incarnatione Domini 1149. in Anglia discipulos doceret; et multi, tam divites, quam pauperes, ad eum causa discendi confluerent; suggestione pauperum de codice, et digestis excerptos novem libros composuit, qui sufficiunt ad omnes legum lites, quæ in scholis frequentari solent decidendas, si quis eos perfecte noverit." Whereby we may understand, what that Vacarius was, and what those leges Romanæ were; whereof Johannes Sarisburiensis thus writeth in the eighth book, and twenty-second chapter of his Polycraticus: "Tempore regis Stephani a regno jussæ sunt leges Romanæ, quas in Bri-

[l] Review, pag. 179.

[m] Chronic. Norman. ab Andr. Duchesino, edit. ex biblioth. S. Victor. Paris anno 1619. pag. 983.

tanniam domus venerabilis patris Theobaldi[n] Britanniarum primatis asciverat. Ne quis etiam libros retineret, edicto regio prohibitum est, et Vacario nostro indictum silentium. Sed, Deo faciente, eo magis virtus legis invaluit, quo eam amplius nitebatur impietas infirmare." By which we see, that the civil law (not the ecclesiastical, as some[o] have imagined) was not with greater indiscretion rejected in the days of King Stephen, than it was with great fervour restored again in the days of his successor King Henry II. For in his days was the Polycraticus written: at the same time also flourished Willelmus de Glavile (or Glanvil) one of the followers of Thomas Becket, and afterwards bishop of Rochester: "In utroque jure scientiam commendabilem assecutus," as it is in the fourth book of the forecited quadrilogue: as Leland also in his book De scriptorib. Britann. noteth of Roger Hoveden the historian; not long after that, "Mediis studiorum suorum annis legibus Cæsarianis operam dedit; a quibus recta se contulit ad pontificias." His book De legibus, et consuetudinibus regni Angliæ, written much after the same manner, and in the same words commonly, that the Regiam majestatem of Scotland is; with the like proem out of Justinian's Institutes placed in the beginning of it. But Bracton, who after him drew a more full body of the common law toward the end of Henry III. stuffeth his book every where with quotations of the civil law, which to have been done also in the pleadings at the bar, the reports of the year books of Edward II. (vouched by Mr. Selden[p]) do sufficiently testify.

VIII. After the restitution of the imperial laws here, in the time of Henry II. public schools were erected for

[n] Anno 1138. as it seems; when Theobald went to Rome, to get his pall. Whence Thomas Becket, (as we read in the Quadrilogue, or Quadripartite history of his life, lib. 1. cap. 5. edit. Par. 1495.) being bred in his family, "Juri civili operam dedit. Impetrata vero postea a Domino suo archiepiscopo transfretandi licentia, per annum in legibus studuit Bononiæ; postea Antisiodoro."

[o] Selden, in Jano Anglor. pag. 89. lib. 2. sec. 43. Notes upon Fortescue, pag. 45. not. 21. and Review of hist. of tithes, pag. 190, 191. ad fin.

[p] Review of the history of tithes, cap. 7. fin.

the profession thereof in the city of London: for the suppressing whereof, in the year 1235. the king's writ was directed to the mayor and sheriffs: "Quod[q] per totam civitatem London clamari faciant, et firmiter prohiberi, ne aliquis scholas regens de legibus in eadem civitate de cætero ibidem leges doceat. Et si aliquis ibidem fuerit hujusmodi scholas regens, ipsum sine dilatione cessare faciant. Teste Rege[r] apud Bassing undecimo die Decembris." And yet all this notwithstanding, the English clergy remitted nothing of their diligence in the study of the civil law; as appeareth both by the relation of Matthew Paris, at the year 1255. (which was the thirty-ninth of Henry III.) and by the reproof given unto them for it by Roger Bacon, who deceased anno Domini, 1292. under Edward I. in his Compendium theologiæ; cited at large by Mr. Selden in his notes upon Fortescue[s].

IX. At length the profession of the civil law was established in both the universities; and recourse had to the sages thereof in weighty consultations; though with protestation, that the kingdom was not subject to the rule of that law: as appeareth by the proceedings in the parliament, anno 11. Richardi II. related by the same Mr. Selden, both in the said notes[t], and in Jano Anglor[u].

X. In Wales I met with the writings of Thomas Saincte, archdeacon of St. David's, who lived in the latter days of Henry VII. and the beginning of Henry VIII. and was a reader of the canon law in Aula profunda Oxoniæ: where he made an exhortation to his scholars to follow their studies, beginning thus:

> Multum præclari sacrati juris alumni,
> Salvete, insignes laudibus usque viri, &c.

This Aula profunda, if I be not deceived, belonged to

[q] Selden, review of the history of tithes, pag. 491. ad fin.
[r] Claus. 19. Hen. III. Membran. 22.
[s] Pag. 43, 44. not. 21.
[t] Pag. 41, 42. not. 21.
[u] Lib. 2. sec. 42.

All Souls College: where you may inquire farther hereof; as also of Dr. Zouch, touching the foundation of the civil law lecture in Oxford; for which also you may look into the memorials out of the records bestowed by Mr. Hare upon the university.

JACOBI USSERII

ARMACHANI

CHRONOLOGIA SACRA,

SEU

ANNORUM ET ΠΑΙΔΟΠΟΙΙΑΣ PATRIARCHARUM, ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΑΣ ISRAELITARUM IN ÆGYPTO, ANNORUM ETIAM JUDICUM, REGUM JUDÆ ET ISRAELIS
ἈΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ

CHRONOLOGICA.

OPUS POSTHUMUM HUCUSQUE ἈΝΕΚΔΟΤΟΝ.

VIRO AMPLISSIMO ET AMICISSIMO

DOMINO TIMOTHEO TYRRELL

EQUITI AURATO,

ET, QUOD MAJUS EST,

MAGNI ARMACHANI *τοῦ μακαρίτου*, GENERO DIGNISSIMO,
Εὐδαιμονεῖν.

VIR AMPLISSIME,

SACRAM JACOBI USSERII, soceri tui, chronologiam, quam non adeo pridem fidei meæ manuscriptam commisisti, ingeniosa preli industria excusam, et, uti spero, emaculatam refero. Nempe, quod probe nosti, librum meum in clientelam tuam non commendo, amplitudini tuæ non inscribo, consecrove; sed tuum, apud me depositum, reddo. Tuum, inquam; nam licet Reverendissimum Hiberniæ Primatem ejus authorem novimus, quod ex tota libri indole et genio, ex multiplici et recondita eruditione, ex scriptura codicis originalis,

manu propria doctissimi Archi-Præsulis exarati, abunde constat, te tamen, ex dono authoris, bonæ fidei possessorem agnoscimus. Pientissimus enim senex et sacra infula dignissimus, socer tuus, musæi integri, cujus pars non exigua erat hæc sacra chronologia, armarii nempe sui, codicibus infinitis pene, et optimis, qua excusis, qua manuscriptis, instructissimi, te hæredem scripsit. Nec mirum, si bibliothecam suam moriens supremis tabulis tibi legavit, qui vivens filiam, quam habuit unicam, fœminam optimam, et tanto parente dignissimam, virtute pariter et prole numerosa ac pulcherrima fœcundam, matrimonio copulavit. Habe igitur tibi tuum peculium, et soceri tui opus posthumum, eadem qua te tuosque benevolentia perpetuo complexus est sanctissimus senex, fove. Te incolumi, orbus non erit hic tractatus, magni Armachani fœtus γνήσιος et genuinus, licet, quod dolemus, posthumus. Dum enim chronologiæ sacræ arcana examine scrupuloso rimatur, dum ænigmata illa ἄπορα et ἀδιάλυτα, in annorum veteris instrumenti supputatione, et nodos Gordios diligentia pertinaci, sed et victrici, solvit, dum patriarcharum regumque Judæ et Israelis tempora explicat, dum libris inhæret, et chartis perdius et pernox impallescit, labore jugi et senio confectus,

tandem tempori et terris valedixit, et, quam insigni pietate et multiplici virtute prius meruisset, æternitatem induit. Sic vitam absolvit, non ita chronologiam; cui manum ultimam non adhibuit, licet ultimus esset doctissimi antistitis conatus, et quasi lucernæ mox emoriture supremus fulgor, cum ipse ad cœlum, prius quam tractatus hic ad umbilicum, pervenerit. Dolendum sane, quod sacrum hoc opus, plaudente cœlo institutum, superstes non consummaverit: gaudendum tamen, quod in justas veritatis divinæ vindicias, et non exiguum reipublicæ literariæ et Ecclesiæ Christianæ commodum, eousque perduxerit. Dubia enim illa, quæ in antiqui fœderis instrumento occurrunt plurima, difficillima illa quidem, quæ non solum novitiis, sed ipsis chronologiæ mystis ἄλυτα videbantur, mira dexteritate, et facilitate quadam sua, solvit: scopulos illos chronologicos, ad quos commentatores, aliique magni nominis scriptores illisi, non solum lapsu, sed ruina prosternebantur, ipse cautius evitavit, imo, ne aliis postmodum impedimento essent, vel damno, sustulit. Adeo ut jam nautæ, licet Palinuri non sint, ipsum chronologiæ sacræ oceanum, non solum sine naufragio, sed et pene sine periculo securi navigent. Ingens hoc beneficium Deo debemus, et Usserio; de quo Ma-

ronis illud de Ænea, verbis, *ὡς ἐν παρῳδίᾳ*, paululum immutatis, apponam:

O[a] fama ingens, ingentior arte
Armachane, quibus te cœlo laudibus æquem?
Doctrinamve tuam mirer, doctosque labores,
An pietas laudanda prius?

Sed de tanto præsule silere præstat, quam pauca dicere: cum talis sit, quod olim de Antonino philosopho dixit historicus, "Quem[b] mirari facilius quis, quam laudare possit." Pietatem ejus insignem, perpetuam in legendo, scribendo, concionando industriam, eruditionem in re antiquaria, theologia, et omni humanioris literaturæ genere summam, cum æquali modestia conjunctam, fusius laudare nec opus, nec mihi animus; historiam enim non scribo, sed epistolam. Virtus Usseriana est sui ipsius panegyrica, laudis nostræ non indiga. Vivit, æternumque vivet in scriptis suis cedro dignis, in ore et corde doctorum, in memoria hominum, et monumentis temporum; illumque (quem Hibernia parens ingrata, tali filio et præsule indigna, bonis, præterquam animi, omnibus exutum in exilium misit) posteritas sera venerabitur.

[a] Drances de Ænea apud Virgilium, Æneid. 10.

[b] Eutropius in Antonino philosopho.

Quo nihil majus, meliusve terris
Fata donavere, bonique divi ;
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum.

Vale, vir amplissime, et te, tuosque omnes Deus Optimus Maximus quam diutissime incolumes servet.

Tui, nominisque Usseriani amantissimus,

THOMAS BARLOVIUS.

LECTORI.

Benevole Lector,

Rem tibi non ingratam fortassis et operæ pretium facturus sum, si te ad lectionem sacræ hujus chronologiæ properantem, quasi ἐν προαυλίῳ et vestibulo paucis morer; dum nonnulla de opere hoc chronologico, et ejus authore succincte et quasi compendio explicem. Primo igitur sciat velim benignus lector, opus hoc chronologicum reverendissimi archi-præsulis, annis et meritis gravis, ævo pariter et judicio maturi conatum fuisse ultimum. Opus scilicet viro sancto, et summo antistite dignum. Regendi enim gubernandique temporis munus apud omnes populos, soli quondam sacerdotes et pontifices obierunt, ut iisdem, communi naturæ suffragio, et sacrorum cultus, et, rei omnium sanctissimæ, temporis procuratio concessa sit. Igitur apud Babylonios Chaldæi, apud Indos Brachmanes, apud Ægyptios Hierophantæ, apud Romanos pontifices, apud Britannos Gallosque Druidæ, apud Judæos sacerdotes popularibus fastis ordinandis, summo jure præfuerunt. Dum ideo chronologiæ addiscendæ primulum, mox ornandæ fusiusque et penitius explicandæ operam dedit vir sanctissimus, rem suo ordine, et sacra infula dignissimam aggressus est. Quantos autem in chronologia, præsertim sacra, dubiisque illis nodisque pene Gordiis enodandis, explicandisque progressus fecerit, ex annalibus, aliisque scriptis

etiamnum editis, ex parte pateat, et ex hoc tractatu, luce, si quid judico, et æternitate digno, ulterius elucescat. Postquam utriusque Testamenti annales diligentia summa, et judicio æquali condidisset, et bono publico edidisset infulatus senex, tractatum hunc, quem prius sub conditione[a] promisit, serio aggreditur. Sed dum

—— Veritatem
Dumos inter et aspera
Scrupulosis sequitur vadis,

dum operi instat, dum authores omnis ævi optimos revolvit, dum mella sacro hoc alveari recondenda colligit, dum inceptum opus ad umbilicum perducere festinat, in morbum fatalem, et reipublicæ literariæ damnosum incidit: ex quo decubuit primum, et tandem fatis cedens, vitæ finem imposuit, sed non ita chronologiæ. Sic magnus antistes Armachanus in cœlum receptus,

Sub pedibus vidit nubes, et amœna piorum
Concilia, Elysiumque colit.——

Usserio sic in cœlum recepto[b], bibliothecam, quam habuit instructissimam, adeunt, codices, qua excusos, qua manu exaratos lustrant, chronologiam hanc sacram, opus magnum, sed mediis incudibus ablatum, in pluteo repositam inveniunt, cum viris doctis communicant, de editione deliberant, et tandem a Reverendo Viro D. D. Bernard aliisque rogatus sum, ut tractatum hunc edendum aliquando curarem. Terruit me primo opus ipsum, utpote ab authore ipso manu ultima non elaboratum; terruit me ipsius codicis manuscripti scriptura, quem, ut esset prelo ido-

[a] "Eorum quæ in sacræ historiæ dispositione ampliorem confirmationem requirere videntur, in chronologia sacra, si vitam Deus et vires dederit, rationem sum redditurus." Jac. Usserius, in præfat. ad annal. part. 2.

[b] Fatis cessit Rigatæ non longe a Londino, die Veneris, Mart. 21. hora 1. promeridiana, anno 1655. stilo veteri.

neus, pulchre non descripserat, nec secunda cura emaculaverat; multa video expuncta, multa passim interscripta, multa, quæ notulis quibusdam signaverat, interserenda: adeo ut labore jugi, et pertinaci diligentia opus erat. Subdubitabam insuper ne his Mæandris implicatus, satis commode memet non expedirem, aut doctissimi authoris mentem non assecutus, luxatos autographi artus in integrum restituendo non essem. Ex adverso, ad provinciam, duram licet, suscipiendam, nonnulla me reluctantem animant, scilicet quod authoris manum jam a multis annis familiariter noveram, quod opus ipsum, extra omnem controversiæ aleam, γνήσιον esset, et genuinum, hoc est vere Usserianum, magno authore suo, prelo, et luce dignum; necnon quod a viris doctis, qua nostris qua exteris, serio et ardentissimis desideriis efflagitatum vidi. Exterorum desideria, ut alias non paucas mittam, ex literis[c] clarissimi G. Hornii, historiarum in academia Leydensi professoris, ad doctissimum virum S. Hartlibium datis, abunde discas: quarum exemplar mihi communicabat vir optimus[d], non minus virtute sua, et multiplici eaque recondita eruditione, quam splendore generis nobilissimus.

Quod ad nostros spectat, ut alios, infinitos pene, prætercam, (quis enim mortalium est, cui cordi sunt humaniores

[c] "Sed nunc vehementer velim, ut inquiras quid factum sit Chronologiæ sacræ, quam Usserius se editurum in præfatione annalium promiserat. Quia enim ille vir omnium accuratissime tempora digessit, damnum foret irrecuperabile et conjunctum cum maximo Ecclesiæ et reipublicæ detrimento, si labores illi chronologici perirent. Haud dubie pleraque a multis annis jam perfecit: inquire igitur apud hæredes ejus, vel qui bibliothecam habent, ut illud opus, sive perfectum sive imperfectum, reperiatur, et ut repertum in lucem edant. Da operam, quæso, per amicos, et, si necesse est, implora authoritatem superiorum, ut editio illius procuretur. Nullus enim labor est, quo Ecclesia magis indigeat, et ex quo majorem utilitatem in interpretandis Scripturis, maxime prophetis, et quæ ad historias spectant, sperare ausim," &c. Hæc Hornius.

[d] D. Robertus Boyle, honoratissimi comitis Corcagiæ demortui filius, et superstitis frater.

literæ, qui Usserii omnia non deamat?) vir magnus et jurisconsultissimus[e], quem honoris, et observantiæ meritissimæ ergo gratus nomino, legis Anglicanæ alter Tribonianus, de chronologia hac sacra sæpe multumque rogitabat, editionem urget, et, ut erat nominis Usseriani amantissimus, schedas a prelo madentes, summo desiderio legendas exposcit, nec minore gaudio transmissas legit. Hæc et consimilia, me ad editionem sacræ Chronologiæ, qua fieri poterat diligentia accurandam animabant, ne periret opus æternitate dignum, nec sine publico Ecclesiæ pariter et reipublicæ damno periturum.

Habes igitur, benigne lector, *ἱερὰ καταλείμματα,* sacras reverendissimi archi-præsulis reliquias, genuinas illas quidem, sed, quod dolemus, posthumas. In quibus si legenti tibi *σφάλματα* aliqua et *παροράματα,* si nonnulla inconcinna, et minus elimata occurrunt; mihi, correctori, aut typographo imputetur, et cuivis potius quam Usserio; cui si vitam Deus, ille chronologiam hanc sacram perfectam tibi dedisset et cumulatam. Illud tantum addam, quod de Platone olim dixit Socrates[f]: *προσῆκον εἶναί μοι φαίνεται, καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ τεθνηκότα Πλάτωνα τιμᾷν.* Congruum judico, ut sicut vivo, ita Usserio mortuo honorem habeas. Vale, lector, et his gratus fruere.

[e] D. Matthæus Hale, serviens ad legem, ut juris consulti nostri loquuntur, vir de academia Oxoniensi, cujus olim alumnus erat, de Ecclesia et universa republica, si quis alius, optime meritus.

[f] Socrates, epist. 30. pag. 70. per Leon. Allatium.

CHRONOLOGIÆ SACRÆ

PARS PRIOR,

DE ANNIS PATRIARCHARUM.

CAPUT I.

DE TEMPORIS INITIO.

Chronologia est temporum secularium ratio.

Differt tempus a tempore physico; sicut numerus in arithmetica et musica, et sicut magnitudo in astronomia et geometria. Nam sicut numerus consideratur in arithmetica absolute, in musica conjunctim cum sono: ut magnitudo in geometria ἀφαιρετικῶς, in astronomia quatenus in corpore cœleste subsistit: sic tempus a physicis abstracte, a chronologis vero conjunctum cum rebus in eo gestis traditur.

Generales chronologiæ affectiones sunt, Epocha seu æra sive initium computationis, et Synchronismus sive comparatio temporum inter se.

Temporis consideratur, initium, (quod ex principio Genescos constat fuisse cum creatione) et progressus.

Hoc autem initium temporis, qua parte anni (respectu scilicet primæ hominum habitationis) cœperit, inter scriptores non convenit: aliis ad æquinoctium tum autumnale, tum vernale; aliis ad solstitium æstivum referentibus.

Ab æstate cœpisse a solo Mercatore admittitur, argumento commoto duplici: Testimonio computationis Ægyptiacæ, ex Solino asserente Ægyptios sacerdotes annum

suum ab introitu Solis in Leonen incœpisse: verisimile autem esse ab Hebræis eos didicisse, qui diu apud Ægyptios commorati sunt, quod parum firmamenti ad hanc causam videtur afferre: nobis autem non est morandum, quid Ægyptii senserint Solini tempore; aliter vero sensisse antiquos Ægyptios constat authoritate duorum vetustissimorum scriptorum, Julii Firmici Astronomiæ libro septimo, capite tertio, qui autor est * * * *

[Cætera desunt.]

CAP. II.

De temporis progressu, et distinctis ejus periodis: deque varietate, quæ in duarum primarum periodorum calculo, inter Judæorum, Samaritanorum, et Græcorum codices invenitur.

De temporis initio dictum est hactenus. Progressus sequitur: in quo duo præcipua spatia consideramus a temporis initio usque ad temporis plenitudinem, unum: deinde a temporis plenitudine, usque ad seculi consummationem, alterum: illam temporis plenitudinem, quam apostolus Gal. cap. IV. ver. 4. appellat, in Christi Servatoris nostri nativitate constituimus: quam labente anno mundi 4000. factam esse colligimus. Totum vero illud spatium sex sequentibus periodis, mundi ætates totidem comprehendentibus, subdistinguimus: quarum termini, mensis et diei nota insigniti imperfectorum annorum fragmenta nobis definiunt.

	Ann.	Men.	Dies.
I. A mundo condi cœpto mensis 1. die 1. usque ad diluvium finitum eodem ejusdem mensis die; sunt mundi veteris anni,	1656	0	0
II. Hinc ad initium peregrinationis Hebræorum, ab Abrahamo post mortem patris cœptæ, mensis 7. die 15.	426	6	14
III. Hinc ad exitum Hebræorum, ab Ægypto mensis primi (sic enim ab hoc tempore mensis septimus antiquorum appellatus est) die 15. sunt peregrinationis eorundem anni.	430	0	0
IV. Hinc ad jacta fundamenta templi Salomonici, mensis 2. die 2.	479	0	17
V. Hinc ad ejusdem templi conflagrationem, mensis 5. die 10.	424	3	8
VI. Hinc ad natalem Domini et Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi (die 25. Decembris in anno periodi Julianæ 4709. qui 5. diei mensis 9. in anno mundi 4000. responderet; si antiqui kalendarii ratio ad ista usque tempora retenta fuisset.)	583	3	25

Ita a vespera primum mundi diem aperiente, usque ad mediam noctem initium præbentem 25. quidem diei Decembris, quo Christum natum supponimus, annos Julianos 3999. menses τριακονθημέρους 2. dies 4. et horas 6. Kalendis vero Januariis anni periodi Julianæ 4714. (a quibus vulgaris æræ Christianæ exordium deducimus,) annos 4003. menses 2. dies 11. et horas 6. decurrisse colligimus.

Hujus supputationis veritas ab intervallorum in superioribus periodis assignatorum certitudine dependet. Series temporum in duabus primis periodis per annos primorum patrum deducitur; quorum successio in cap. V. et XI. Geneseos est exposita. Proxime sequentes periodi duæ, integris numeris, Exod. cap. XII. ver. 40. et 1 Regum cap. VI. ver. 1. sunt expressæ. Quintæ calculum, partim ex integro annorum 390. numero, Ezechielis cap. IV. ver. 5. proposito, partim ex singulorum Israelis et Judæ regum annis, rite inter se collatis elicimus. Sextæ annos, tam ex sacra, quam ex exotica historia eruimus: cujus utriusque firmissimam connexionem exhibemus; ejusque beneficio tum colligationem annorum mundi cum annis periodi Julianæ, tum continuationem temporum sextæ periodi ex probatissimis quibusque veterum monumentis et astronomico eclipsium calculo, qui fallere non potest, instituimus.

Quinque igitur primarum periodorum tempora non aliunde quam ex sacræ Scripturæ contextu deduci possunt: in quo expendendo, ubi dissentiunt codices, Hebraicam veritatem (non a Chaldæis tantum, Judæorum paraphrastis; sed etiam a Syra Antiochenæ, et Latina Romanæ ecclesiæ editione hic agnitam) jure merito cæteris præferendam esse statuimus. Præcipua autem discrepantia in primis duabus periodis cernitur; ubi in patriarcharum annis dinumerandis, Græcorum et Samaritanorum codices ab Hebraicis nostris exemplaribus mirum in modum dissentiunt: quemadmodum in epistola ad Ludovicum Cappellum, de variantibus Hebræi textus lectionibus, a nobis est ostensum; et in sequenti tabella distinctius videre licet.

ANNI PATRUM.

		Ante παιδογονίαν juxta.				Post παιδογονίαν juxta.			Totius vitæ juxta.		
		Heb.	Samar.	Græc.		Heb.	Samar.	Græc.	Heb.	Samar.	Græc.
1	Adam	130	130	230		800	800	700	930	930	930
2	Seth	105	105	205		807	807	707	912	912	912
3	Enos	90	90	190		815	815	715	905	905	905
4	Kainan	70	70	170		840	840	740	910	910	910
5	Maleleel	65	65	165		830	830	730	895	895	895
6	Jared	162	62	162		800	785	800	962	847	962
7	Enoch	65	65	165		300	300	200	365	365	365
8	Mathusala	187	67	167		782	653	802	969	720	969
9	Lamech	182	53	188		595	600	565	777	653	753
10	Noe	600	600	600	Ante				950	950	950
	Summa	1656	1307	2242	Diluvium.						
					Post						
1	Sem	2	2	2	Diluvium.	500	500	500		600	
2	Arphaxad	35	135	135		403	303	330		438	
0	Cainan	0	0	130		0	0	330		0	
3	Sala	30	130	130		403	303	330		433	
4	Eber	34	134	134		430	270	270		404	
5	Phaleg	30	130	130		209	109	209		239	
6	Ragan	32	132	132		207	107	207		239	
7	Saruch	30	130	130		200	100	200		230	
8	Nachor	29	79	79		119	69	125		148	
	Thara	70	70	70					205	145	205
	Summa	292	942	1072							

Hanc discrepantiam in priore Græci sui chronici libro proposuit diligentissimus Eusebius[a]: triplice annorum dinumeratione exhibita: secundum Septuaginta, secundum Hebræorum, et secundum Samaritanorum exemplaria. His Georgius Syncellus et quartam adjicit, secundum Africanum: qui a vulgata τῶν Septuaginta editione non in secundi solum Cainanis omissione recessit Africanus, in qua et Eusebius[b] eum est secutus, sed etiam in Mathusalæ annorum numeratione. Cum enim vulgati libri annos illi tribuerent ante natum filium Lamechum 167. et post eum natum 802. animadvertens Africanus ea ratione ad 14. annos ultra diluvium (contra Scripturæ authoritatem) vitam illius fuisse protendendam, aliam lectionem cum Hebraica convenientem sequi maluit, quæ ante natum filium annos 187. post ejus nativitatem 782. illi assignans, mortem illius sexennio ante diluvium collocat. Indeque effectum, ut ab initio mundi ad diluvium, Africanus quidem 2262. Eusebius vero, a communiter receptis rationibus non recedens, 2242. annos numerandos censuerit. Qua de re in syntagmatis de Septuaginta interpretum editione capite secundo pluribus a nobis actum est[c].

Eam de annis Mathusalæ quæstionem, in libro traditionum in Genesin, tractans Hieronymus, ex Hebræis et Samaritanorum libris colligit, mortuum illum esse eo anno, quo cœpit esse diluvium. Et verum quidem est, juxta utrorumque libros, non vixisse Mathusalam post diluvium, sed eodem quo illud cœpit anno fuisse defunctum, id quod præcipue in hac quæstione spectabat Hieronymus: non tamen ex iisdem præmissis in utrorumque libris eadem nata est conclusio. Neque enim in Samaritanorum, ut in Hebræorum libris, Mathusala 187. annorum Lamechum genuit, 782. annos postea fuit superstes, et Lamechus 182. annos natus Noachum genuit; (ut ab Hieronymo, quum Samaritanus codex ad manum non adesset, significatum est:) sed Mathusala 67. annorum gignens Lamechum supervixit annis 653. usque ad dilu-

[a] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 80. [b] Id. ibid.
[c] Works, vol. 7. pag. 456.

vium, et Lamechus 53. annorum gignens Noachum et 600. annis postea superstes vixit et ipse (uti et cum his Jaredus) usque ad diluvium. Hanc enim eorum chronologiam non nostra solum Samaritani Pentateuchi exemplaria, sed (ne post tempus Hieronymi illa fuisse immutata quis suspicetur) ea etiam quibus Eusebius[d] est usus, nobis exhibent. Itaque ut in alia re observatum est a Pererio[e], ita et hic "videtur S. Hieronymus memoria lapsus: id quod magnis viris, vel nimia memoriæ fiducia, vel alias in res studio curaque intentis, non raro contigit."

Eusebium quoque sequutus Georgius Syncellus[f], ex Samaritanorum calculo, ab Adamo usque ad diluvium annos 1307. a diluvio usque ad primum annum Abraami (quem 70. anno Tharæ natum illi autumant) annos 942. omnes simul annos 2249. dinumerat, quod ad amussim congruit cum singularium patriarcharum annis, quos in superiore tabella ex Samaritano Pentateucho jam descripsimus. Quatuor vero simul computorum, in annis ante diluvium, collationem idem Georgius ita instituit. "Μέχρι[g] *τοίνυν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ, καθὼς πρόκειται, διαφωνοῦσι τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ ἀντίγραφα πρὸς τὸ Σαμαριτῶν ἀρχαιότατον καὶ τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι διαλλάττον (ὃ καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον Ἑβραῖοι καθομολογοῦσιν) ἔτεσι τμθ. πρὸς δὲ τὴν τῶν ὁ ἔκδοσιν, τὸ μὲν Ἑβραϊκὸν ἔτεσι φπϛ. τὸ δὲ Σαμαριτῶν πιλε. Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως κατακλυσμοῦ διαφωνεῖ ἔτη εἴκοσι.* Usque ad diluvium igitur, sicut est propositum, Hebraica exemplaria a Samaritarum codice vetustissimo et longe diversis characteribus exarato (quem et verum et primum esse Hebræi confitentur) annis 349. discrepant. A Septuaginta interpretum editione, Hebraicum exemplar annis 586. Samaritarum vero 935. Africanus demum ab Eusebio dissonat annis 20." cum enim ab Adamo ad diluvium, juxta rationes Judæorum anni sint 1656. juxta textum Samaritanorum 1307. juxta Eusebii calculum 2242. juxta Africani autem 2262. consequens est, compu-

[d] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 80.
[e] Perer. in Genes. lib. 7. parag. 133.
[f] Georg. Sync. chron. pag. 89. [g] Id. pag. 83.

tum Samaritanum minorem esse, Judaico quidem annis 349. Eusebiano vero, ex Septuaginta deducto, 935. Eusebianum autem majorem esse, Judaico annis 586. minorem altero illo Africani, annis 20. Ut hallucinatio, quam hic in Georgio notavit Scaliger[h], in ipsius Scaligeri deprehendatur ratiociniis.

Reliquis vero omnino præferendam eam esse chronologiam concludit Georgius[i], quam Græca Septuaginta interpretum nobis exhibet editio. "Πανταχόθεν τοιγαροῦν τῆς τῶν ὁ ἑρμηνείας ἐκ παλαιᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου Ἑβραίων γραφῆς μεταθεβλῆσθαι συνισταμένης, εἰκότως ταύτῃ καὶ ἡμεῖς κεχρήμεθα κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν χρονογραφίαν· ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ ἡ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡπλωμένη Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία ταύτῃ προσέχει, τῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἀρχῆθεν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι παραδεδωκότων. Antiqua igitur Septuaginta interpretum editione, ceu ex incorrupto, ut videtur, Hebraico fonte quondam traducta, per totam hanc chronographiam passim merito sumus usi: cum maxime quaqua patet universus terrarum orbis dilatata Christi Ecclesia receptam eam habeat, et Salvatoris nostri, apostolorum ac discipulorum ejus authoritate usibus nostris a principio fuerit commendata." Quo spectat et illa similis Juliani archiepiscopi Toletani, in tertio libro contra Judæos, conclusio. "Hic jam dicat unusquisque quod sentit. Nunquid brevitas ista annorum ex codicibus Hebræis ostensa, contemptis annis pluribus qui in editione Septuaginta interpretum continentur, præferenda ullo modo judicabitur? qui prophetandi potius munere quam transferendi officio, divinas Scripturas, revelante sibi Domino, transtulerunt; apud quos etiam hæc supputatio reperitur annorum. Ergo illa nobis et sola pro his annis est observanda Septuaginta interpretum, quæ merito omnibus editionibus et translationibus antefertur; quam etiam hucusque omnes doctores ecclesiastici tenuerunt, et in hac præcipue annorum supputatione secuti sunt." Et Antonii Contii jurisconsulti, in notis ad Nicephori Constantinopolitani chrono-

[h] Scalig. not. in Euseb. chronic. Gr. pag. 243.
[i] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 89.

logiam, altera. " Quare satis mirari non possum hominum nostri temporis, et eorum qui chronologias scripserunt, vanitatem ac novandi studium: qui omnem Septuaginta editionis auctoritatem longissime rejiciunt, et nihil nisi quod in Hebræis codicibus hodie legatur rectum putant."

Atque hinc inter Latinos recentiores, in annorum mundi supputatione, Hebraicis fontibus posthabitis, τῶν Septuaginta numeros sunt secuti, Onuphrius in chronico ecclesiastico, Hieronymus Vielmius de sex diebus conditi orbis lect. 5. Christoph. Lauretus[k], et alii, sic perstricti a Scaligero: " Neque[l] desunt hodie capitones, qui Hellenistarum Alexandrinorum editionem Mosaicæ veritati præferant, et eos novatores, qui aliter sentiunt, vocent. Ita sane audivit Hieronymus etiam apud virum omni exceptione majorem Augustinum: qui tamen aliter postea sensit."

Et Hieronymus[m] quidem, in annis patriarcharum assignandis Græcam editionem erravisse, sine ulla circuitione, asserit. Modestissime vero Augustinus: " Illa[n]," inquit, " numerorum varietas quæ inter codices Hebræos invenitur et nostros, si quid habet ita diversum ut utrumque verum esse non possit: rerum gestarum fides ab ea lingua repetenda est, ex qua interpretatum est quod habemus." Venerabilis Beda, quum in libro de temporibus, relicto Septuaginta interpretum calculo, ad Hebraicæ veritatis normam rationes suas conformasset; indeque " a lascivientibus rusticis inter pocula hæreticus denotaretur, quod regnaret in sexta ætate seculi," currente nimirum sexto, hoc enim illi volebant annorum mundi millenario, " Dominum Salvatorem in carne venisse:" ad Plegwinum de sex ætatibus seculi apologeticam, adhuc ineditam, scripsit epistolam; ostendens " qua ipse auctoritate assertionem suæ computationis astrueret, Hebraica videlicet veritate, per Origenem prodita, per Hieronymum edita, per Au-

[k] Vid. Laur. et Zohar.

[l] Scalig. not. in Euseb. chron. Græc. pag. 252. a.

[m] Hieron. tradit. Heb. in Genesin.

[n] Augustin. de civit. Dei, lib. 15. cap. 14.

gustinum laudata, et per Josephum confirmata, quibus ego," inquit, "in rebus talibus nullos invenio doctiores." Idemque in majoris, de temporum ratione, operis præfatione, ab Eusebiana chronologia in ecclesia occidentali tunc passim recepta, ipse discesserit, rationem reddens: "Ego," inquit, "confidenter profiteor, quia non reprehendo veteres chronographos, qui translationem Septuaginta interpretum modo secuti sunt, modo, prout libuit, probantur habuisse contemptui; sicut etiam in processu hujusce opusculi nostri monstrabitur. Sed omnibus his Hebraicæ veritatis integram præfero puritatem; quam præeminentissimus doctorum Hieronymus in libris Hebraicarum quæstionum, Augustinus in libris de civitate Dei, Eusebius ipse chronographus in tertio historiæ ecclesiasticæ libro, ex verbis Josephi historici adversus Apionem grammaticum scribentis, breviorem temporum seriem quam in Septuaginta editione vulgo fertur contineri comprobant."

Atque ut hos Juliano Toletano, et Georgio Syncello, ita Latinis illis recentioribus (præter innumeram hujus et superioris sæculi chronologorum, a pauculis illis dissentientem turbam) Johannis Pici Mirandulani, in disputatione contra divinatricem astrologiam[o], judicium speciatim opponimus: una cum Johannis Mariæ Brasichellensis[p] pontificii palatii magistri, in loca illa ex Juliano Toletano, et Antonio Contio producta a Thoma Malvenda mutuata, censura. Sic enim ille, ad locum Juliani annotat: "Caute lege; nam certum est Ecclesiam Catholicam in editione vulgata approbare eam annorum rationem, quæ est in codicibus Hebraicis Geneseos cap. V. et XI. cum vulgata egregie Hebraico fonti consentiat in ætatum enumeratione, atque supputatione temporum." Et ad Contii illum alterum: "Contius, dum nimio studio Septuaginta interpretum translationis chronologiam tuetur, non videt se incaute Hebraici fontis et vulgatæ editionis chronologiam labefactare, quæ cum illa Septuaginta interpretum

[o] Edit. Basil. pag. 565.

[p] Tom. 1. indicis lib. expurgand. edit. Romæ, anno 607.

perspicue pugnat. Et patres corruptelam Septuaginta interpretum exemplarium ingenue profitentur."

Contexit quidem hic Baronius[q] catalogum antiquorum patrum, qui secundum Septuaginta interpretes, annos ab origine mundi usque ad ortum Christi numerare consueverunt: additque "profiteri et Romanam ecclesiam in suo martyrologio, se annos supputare secundum eosdem interpretes." Sed ad horum prius Benedictus Pererius, et Jacobus Bonfrerius, ad posterius Thomas Malvenda et Johannes Despieres, responsum pro nobis dabunt. "Non me fugit," inquit Pererius[r], "plerosque veterum tam Græcorum quam Latinorum, chronologiam, quæ est in translatione Septuaginta interpretum sequi maluisse: quod eam translationem illi cernerent multis seculis esse in Ecclesia Dei reverenter usurpatam, religioseque cultam: atque ob eam causam aliqua in parte eam mutare, aut non sequi, religioni haberent. Sed apud me (quantum ad chronologiam, de qua nunc agitur) auctoritas Scripturæ Hebraicæ ac Latinæ versionis vulgatæ, necnon et duorum principum Ecclesiæ doctorum, Hieronymi atque Augustini judicium et sententia præponderat." Et Bonfrerius[s]: "Certum est, versionem Septuaginta in hisce annis passim esse mendosam, et in hac annorum supputatione Latinum nostrum, et Hebræum textum esse sequendum, ut Augustinus[t] ostendit; etsi ipsius tempore sola editio Septuaginta in Ecclesia, tam Græca quam Latina esset recepta."

De Romano vero martyrologio, Malvenda[u] respondet: "Quod ecclesia Romana in publicis tabulis eam annorum rationem laudare videatur, quam Septuaginta dederunt, id quidem non facit quod veram et incorruptam eandem existimet; cum huic e diametro adversantem ut veram et genuinam, eam summam quæ in editione vulgata est consignata, omnibus recipiendam proponat: sed id tantum

[q] Baron. Appar. ad annal. num. 119. et not. in martyrolog. Roman. Decem. 25. a.

[r] Perer. in Genes. lib. 7. num. 130.

[s] Bonfr. præloqu. in Scriptur. cap. 16. sec. 6.

[t] Lib. 15. de civit. Dei, cap. 13.

[u] Malvend. de antichristo, lib. 1. cap. 16.

salubri temperamento cavit, ut vetus aliquod venerandæ vetustatis monumentum, tametsi lacerum ac deforme et pannis annisque obsitum exhiberet; omnibusque palam faceret, quam rationem sequuti fuerint antiqui patres in enumerandis ex sacra Scriptura annis ab orbe procreato ad Christum nascentem, cum soleant vetera antiquitatis monumenta, quantumvis corrosa et attrita. gratum aspectantibus intuitum præstare. Quocirca nihil opus est nunc ecclesiæ Græcæ vulgatam numerandi rationem commendare, aut Græcorum exemplarium patrocinium contra Hebraicam veritatem suscipere." Et Johannes Despiercs: "Nec[w] nos," inquit, "movere debet quod Ecclesia supputationem Septuaginta interpretum ab omni tempore in communem usum receperit. Neque enim ea mens fuit Ecclesiæ, ut nemini liceret ab ea deflectere: sed solum usum probavit, non autem supputationis errores, quos corrigit quando commodum fuerit. Et forte usa est hac supputatione corrupta, eo quod religioni duceret versionem illam contemnere, cujus auctoritatem, inquit Augustinus, celebriorem suscepit Ecclesia, et quam ut divinam omnes venerati sunt: vel forte quod meliora tunc non suppeterent. Sic Ecclesia et universus orbis Christianus utitur æra vulgari et calculo Dionysiano: cum tamen chronologi non ignobiles doceant, eum non parum abludere a vero et germano calculo."

Nempe, ut chronicon ita etiam et martyrologium Eusebii in Latinam linguam transtulit Hieronymus: quod in Romano, Bedæ, Usuardi, Adonis et aliorum martyrologiis variis accessionibus auctum, in 25. die Decembris ab ipso Eusebio positum annorum mundi usque ad natalem Christi numerum retinuit: unde in universam occidentalem Ecclesiam chronologiæ Eusebianæ usus est propagatus; absque ullo tamen Hebraicæ veritatis præjudicio. Nam et ipso in chronico Eusebius codicum Hebraicorum calculum, simul cum suo, diligenter annotaverat, ac seriem annorum mundi ab Hebræis per 50. annorum jubilæos dimensam proposuerat, initio jubilæi quadragesimi, sive

[w] Despier. de versione 70. interpret. disput. 2. dub. 5. fine.

anno mundi 2000. in anni 51. ætatis Abrahami, a 70. patris Terachi deductæ, fine collocato. Ad annum vero imperatoris Tiberii Cæsaris decimum octavum principium septuagesimi jubilæi, sive anno mundi 4000. secundum Hebræos est appositum. Unde colligitur, inter annum 51. Abrahami et illud tempus, Hebræorum illorum sententia, 2000. annos intercessisse.

Hoc igitur posito; ex Hebraicis codicibus veram ætatis primorum patriarcharum supputationem esse petendam: quomodo inde recta annorum mundi series sit eruenda, jam ostendendum est.

CAP. III.

De ætatis mundi per annos patriarcharum supputandæ ratione: ubi de παιδογονίαις, utrum ad conceptionem an nativitatem liberorum sint referendæ? Et de annis, quibus patres filios genuisse dicuntur; num ineuntes vel completi sint accipiendi? De tempore incepti et finiti diluvii; in quem annum mundi et ætatis Noachi inciderit.

Primorum novem patriarcharum anni, priusquam liberos gignerent, in quinto Geneseos capite commemorati, summam 1056. annorum conficiunt. Annorum enim non integræ vitæ, sed generationis patrum rationem hic esse habendam. Josephus etiam hoc in loco sic admonuit: "'Εξεταζέτω[a] μηδεὶς τὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν μόνον ὁράτω. Obitus virorum illorum nemo exquirat, sed natales eorum tantum consideret." Quandoquidem vero nova deinceps erat assumenda epocha, a qua secunda mundi periodus esset inchoanda; ne per Noachi decimi patris παιδογονίαν chronologia continuanda existimaretur, tempus tantum quo liberis gignendis operam ille dare cœpit est notatum, non ex unius, ut antea, sed trium filiorum nominibus promiscue appositis: sed 600. ipse annorum fuisse dicitur, quum diluvium terras occuparet[b]: quibus ad priores patrum illos 1056. annos additis, annus mundi exurgit 1656. in quem incidit diluvium. Et quum eodem quo mundus cœpit, arefactæ dicantur aquæ a superficie terræ, anno Noæ 601. inde[c] annos 1656. solidos numerandos esse colligimus, a mundi initio ad exitum diluvii, finis primæ, et initii secundæ mundi periodi, communem terminum.

[a] Joseph. antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 4.

[b] Genes. cap. 7. ver. 6.

[c] Ibid. cap. 8. ver. 1.

Ad secundæ deinde illius periodi spatium definiendum, Geneseos cap. XI. Arphaxadi nativitas facta fuisse narratur, biennio post diluvium. Cui additi anni, quos Arphaxadus ipse et sex sequentes ante genitos filios exegisse ibidem memorantur, annorum 222. summam efficiunt. Ne vero per proxime subsequentis patriarchæ Tharæ, sive Terachi παιδογονίαν, chronologia continuanda putaretur; hic ut in priore periodo, annus solummodo quo et ille liberis operam dare cœpit, est designatus, trium item filiorum nominibus confuso ordine subjectis. Et quum in toto reliquo capite, quot cæteri omnes patriarchæ post susceptos filios exegerint annos, Moses exponat; sed integræ simul vitæ annorum summam, cum mortis ipsorum mentione conjunctam, (quod in cap. V. fecerat) studiose prætermittat in solo Thara, annorum numero post generationem filiorum prætermisso, integram ipsius ætatem annorum 205. simul cum morte commemorat; ut ad mortis potius ipsius, quam ad παιδογονίας tempus in annorum hujus periodi summa colligenda attendi oportere innueret. Cujus mentem minime assecutus Dositheus Samaritanus, quasi imperfectus hic esset textus Mosaicus, ad capitis quinti normam eum conformare est ausus; integræ vitæ cujusque patriarchæ annorum numero, una cum mortis mentione, adjecto, quod consulto a Mose est omissum, ut Tharæ annos singulariter hac in parte observandos esse ostenderetur. Additis igitur totius vitæ ipsius annis 205. ad 222. illos, qui a diluvio ad ejus nativitatem effluxerunt, emergit annus a diluvio 427. in quem et mors ipsius, et eam statim insecuta Abrami a Charane profectio, et in terra Chanaanis peregrinatio occurrit: secundæ periodo finem, et tertiæ præbens exordium[d]. Quia vero cœpta est hæc peregrinatio eodem die, quo post 430. est finita[e], decimo quinto videlicet die mensis primi[f], qui ante exitum ex Ægypto, ut in capite primo est ostensum, septimus numerabatur: a mensis 1. die 1. quo diluvium desiit, usque ad mensis 7. diem 15. quo peregrinatio hæc cœpit, non annos 427. integros numerare

[d] Genes. cap. 16. ver. 3. [e] Exod. cap. 12. ver. 41.
[f] Numer. cap. 33. ver. 3.

possumus, sed, terminorum ratione ita postulante, 426. tantum, cum mensibus 6. et diebus 14.

His ita præmissis, de annis quibus genuisse, vel generasse dicuntur patres, primo in loco est inquirendum, utrum ad filiorum conceptionem, an ad nativitatem sint referendi? Quia enim gignendi vocabulum, actum generationis paternum proprie denotat, atque inter generationem et nativitatem filiorum novem mensium spatium ordinarie intercedit: pro septemdecim generationibus hic commemoratis, anni 12. et menses fere 9. ad chronologiam videri possent adjiciendi. Quod commentum Jacobus Auzoleus in chronologia quadam Gallica parturire dicitur, referente Henrico Harvillæo[g], qui sententiam hanc tum aliis argumentis compluribus refellit, tum hoc etiam ad extremum, quod ea admissa, incerta plane hic nobis relinquatur temporis ratio: "Nam alias," inquit, "quis poterit assignare nisi divinando, quot menses, et dies quilibet partus fuerit in utero? cum multi gestentur in eo non solum per 9. menses, sed per 10. 11. 12. ac 13. præterquam quod nonnulli quandoque gestantur per pauciores."

Ad ejus vero fundamentum respondetur: illud ילד Hebræorum, atque illi respondens τὸ γεννᾷν Græcorum, et gignere Latinorum, patri et matri esse commune, et ad nativitatem, magis quam ad conceptionem referri solere. Apud Latinos enim genitus et natus idem sonat: ut ex Plinii illo loco, libri septimi historiæ naturalis capite octavo, manifestum est: "In pedes procedere nascentem, contra naturam est: quo argumento appellavere Agrippas ut ægre partos; qualiter M. Agrippam ferunt genitum, unico prope felicitatis exemplo in omnibus ad hunc modum genitis." Hinc genituræ et nativitatis apud Genethliacos schema idem est; et apud theologos regenerati iidem sunt, qui et renati. Ita 1 Petr. cap. II. ver. 2. "ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη, modo geniti infantes," qui lac concupiscunt, jam nati innuuntur; non concepti tantum: et Matth. cap. II. ver. 4. Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος mentione facta, non con-

[g] Harvill. Isagog. chron. parag. 15. col. 165. et 175.

ceptum, sed natum in Bethlehem Servatorem fuisse quisque intelligit. Similiter et apud Hebræos, Genes. cap. XL. ver. 20. " יום הלדת dies natalitius est." Ezech. cap. XVI. ver. 4. " ומולדותיך ביום הולדת אתך. Nam ad genituras tuas, in qua genita vel nata es tu, non est præcisus umbilicus tuus, et aquis non es lota." Et Hoseæ cap. II. ver. 3. " Ne denudem eam plane, et statuam eam כיום הולדה ut die quo genita, vel nata fuit." Commune vero (hoc sensu) utrique sexui esse vocabulum, ex illo Matthæi cap. I. ver. 16. liquet: " Ἰακὼβ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσὴφ, τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστὸς. Jacob genuit Joseph, virum Mariæ, ex qua genitus est Jesus, qui dicitur Christus." Atque ita de muliere pariente vox gignendi usurpatur, Luc. cap. I. ver. 57. " Τῇ δὲ Ἐλισάβετ ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱόν. Elizabethæ vero completum est tempus ad pariendum; et genuit (id est, peperit) filium." Et apud Latinos: in 1. Æneidos:

> Tune ille Æneas, quem Dardanio Anchisæ
> Alma Venus Phrygiis genuit Simoentis ad undam?

Similiterque apud Hebræos, genitura, a conceptione et gestatione in utero distincta, fœminis passim tribuitur: ut in Geneseos cap. XVI. ver. 11. et cap. XXIX. ver. 34. et Esaiæ chap. VII. ver. 14. videre licet. Qua quidem acceptione, in illis verbum hoc, peperit vel enixa est; in viris, procreavit, suscepit, sustulit, aut pater effectus est, significat. Quia enim mulier quum prolem in lucem edit, viro gignit; idcirco, quum illa parit, et ipse vir generare dicitur. Vide Geneseos cap. IV. ver. 20. cum cap. V. ver. 3. cap. XVI. ver. 15, 16. cap. XXI. ver. 3. 5. cap. XXIX. ver. 3, 4. Numer. cap. XXVI. ver. 59. Luc. cap. I. ver. 13. &c.

Verum altera etiam hic de annis qui patribus ante susceptos filios tribuuntur, movetur quæstio: utrum ineuntes illi intelligendi sint, an completi? an partim ineuntes, partim completi? Respondet Dionysius Petavius[h] nullo

[h] Petav. de doctrina temp. lib. 9. cap. 17.

ex argumento certo posse colligi, utrum qui anni patriarcharum in Scriptura numerantur, completi sint ac vertentes, an inchoati: ac credibile esse, non omnium saltem patriarcharum annos integros fuisse cum genuerunt. Quoniam vero ex genealogiarum subductione, quæ in Mosis historia continentur, annorum summa petitur; incertum est autem, utrum anni omnes isti solidi completique fuerint, qui pro completis nihilominus habentur: propterea tempus epocharum diluvii et natalis Abrahami certo, ac sine dubitatione, minime posse constitui. Contra vero, longe rectius monet Harvillæus[i], omnino credibile esse, Scripturam sacram voluisse, in assignandis annorum numeris, tradere chronologiam: saltem quantum ad annos quos ipsa recenset: "At nisi voluerit," inquit ille, "tradere chronologiam per annos completos: nihil certi tradiderit. Quis enim poterit divinare, quot dies, hebdomadas, aut menses importent anni fracti, aut incepti?" Cum igitur Spiritui Sancto fuerit propositum, numerum annorum primævi mundi, qui aliunde sciri non poterat, hic colligere: a primario illius scopo aberraverimus, si non annos patrum, quibus genuerunt filios, plus minus completos intelligamus.

Dixi, plus minus; ne quis putet nos velle, uno eodemque vel die vel mense, omnes patriarchas genitos: quanquam Hebræorum doctores nonnulli, Davide Kimchio[k] referente, primum veteris anni mensem ex eo nomen Ethanim consecutum fuisse existimaverint, quod in eo præstantes illi patres nati sint; quos, phrasi ex Mic. cap. VI. ver. 2. mutuata, "האתנים מוסדי ארץ fortia fundamenta terræ" appellant. Sed nihil necesse est ut eo recurramus. Nam ut postremus annus παιδογονίας unius patriarchæ mensibus aliquot deficiat; alterius vero ultra unum aut alterum mensem protensus fuerit, ad summam rei nihil intersit: cum utrobique compensatione facta, in annorum totius intervalli aggregatione fiat exæquatio, quæ ad mundi ætatem et seriem patefaciendam abunde sufficiat.

[i] Harvill. Isagog. chron. parag. 14. col. 164.

[k] Vide Kimch. rad. אתן et in 3 Reg. cap. 8. ver. 2. et Buxtorf. lexic.

Operam igitur Jacobus Cappellus hic perdidit, qui[l], ut anni mundi per 7. et 49. divisi, dent hebdomadum et jubilæorum annos, quadriennium primæ periodo detrahit: quatuor primarum Sethi, Enosi, Kainanis, Mahalaleelis generationum annos in numeros rotundos (denarios videlicet vel quinarios) desinentes, pro inchoatis vel decurtatis accipiens. Atqui annorum sabbaticorum et jubilæorum legem tum demum observandam præscripsit Deus, quum Israelitæ "ingressi[m] fuissent terram" promissam: esse vero eos ab orbis initio numerandos, opinio est quæ nullo nititur fundamento. Et ad rotundos numeros quod attinet, si de integris annis verteretur quæstio, aliquem hic locum habere fortasse possit istorum consideratio; ut quum Kainan, verbi gratia, 70. annos vixisse dicitur, quæri potuisset an 69. vel etiam 71. is vixerit: at ubi de parte tantum anni quæritur, non magis ad rotundum, quam ad alium quemvis numerum spectat dubitatio, pro absoluto ne sumendus sit an inchoato. Quod si numeri in quinarium desinentes habendi sint pro rotundis: quum Jared etiam et Mathusala dicuntur nati patribus annos ætatis 65. agentibus, cur non in horum æque generatione annus decurtabitur, atque in Enoshi, quem pater Sethus annos 105. natus, genuisse memoratur? nam quinarii profecto ratio hic una est et eadem. Mitto quærere, cur in annis patrum qui ante diluvium genuerunt, ista spectetur annorum rotundatio, in eorum qui post diluvium vixerunt, negligatur. Illud dictum sufficiat, si a recepto calculo discedamus, neque filiorum nativitate claudamus annos, quibus patres dicuntur a Mose filios genuisse; incerta hic omnia, neque in fundamento aliquo vero (ut ab Harvillæo probe est animadversum) sed in volentis arbitrio fore constituta.

Ad Petavium iterum redeo; qui ad sacri calculi certitudinem infirmandam porro adjicit, neque illud constare, cum rotundo numero usus Moyses, sexcentesimum, exempli causa, Noe, aut centesimum Sem usurparet. Nam consuetudinem ipsam τὴν ἀκρίβειαν hic excludere; neque

[l] Ja. Cappel. histor. pag. 3. et 20. [m] Levit. cap. 25. ver. 2.

quicquam e Scripturis explorari posse, quod miror homini docto et industrio venire in mentem potuisse. Nam Sem quidem in Gen. cap. X. ver. 10. fuisse dicitur " centum annorum, quando genuit Arphaxad biennio post diluvium." Verum non a Semi centenario textura annorum mundi dependet, sed a " biennio post diluvium:" ut sive centesimo præcise acto natus fuerit Arphaxad, sive uno, alterove plus vel minus, ad mundi ætatem nulla inde accedat sive accretio, sive diminutio. Ad Noæ vero sexcentesimum quod attinet: aliquam fortasse scrupuli speciem injicere potuisset, si in illo solo textu Geneseos cap. VII. ver. 7. facta fuisset ejusdem mentio: " Erat sexcentorum annorum, quando diluvii aquæ inundaverunt super terram." Verum quum versiculo ejusdem capitis 11. " anno sexcentesimo vitæ Noæ, mense secundo, septimo decimo die mensis," diluvium cœpisse legamus: et capite sequente, versu 13. " sexcentesimo primo anno, primo mense, prima die mensis," siccatas fuisse aquas e superficie terræ: stuporis cujusdam fuerit negare e Scripturis explorari posse, utrum præcisum tempus annus ille sexcentesimus denotet, an vero unius, aut alterius anni vel additionem, vel diminutionem admittat.

Neque ullo modo andiendus est Josephus Scaliger, qui contra expressa hæc Scripturæ testimonia, in elencho orationis chronologicæ D. Parei[n], ex Geneseos cap. IX. ver. 28, 29. hanc nectet conclusionem: " Noa vixit annos 950. de quibus 350. vixit post diluvium. Deductis 350. de 950. remanet annus Noæ 600. post diluvium. Ergo diluvium inivit anno Noæ 599. non autem 600. ut hactenus omnes putarunt." Atqui deductis 350. de 950. relinquitur annus Noæ 600. non post diluvium, sed quo diluvium operiebat terram. Quum igitur Scaliger anno Noæ 599. diluvium iniise hinc concludit, et anno sexcentesimo Noæ currente finem accepisse, (id enim argumento hoc a se demonstratum esse, pag. 82. jactitat:) non modo contra clarissima, quæ nos produximus, Scripturæ testimonia, sed etiam contra textum quem pro causæ

[n] Pag. 53.

suæ firmamento adduxit ipse, aperte militat. Ea enim ratione 350. anni ab initio diluvii deducti 948. a fine vero 949. tantum annos integræ vitæ Noæ constituerent: quum annos 950. eum vixisse et Scriptura aperte affirmet, et ipse Scaliger agnoscat.

Illud igitur immotum maneat, quod a Spiritu Sancto tam luculenter habemus expressum: anno 600. vitæ Noæ, mense 2. die 17. diluvium cœpisse; anno 601. mense 1. die 1. superficiem terræ aquis liberatam, et mense 2. die 27. tellurem plene arefactam esse: et consequenter integrum annum, ut de excurrentibus diebus nihil dicamus, Noam in arca exegisse. De annis tamen illis 600. et 601. ulterior adhuc discutienda manet quæstio: num ineuntes illi, an vero completi sint hic accipiendi? Recentiorum enim chronographorum nonnulli pro completis eos accipientes, a rerum initio ad initium diluvii, annos 1656. absolutos numerant: quum nos, cum fine diluvii, annum et Noæ 600. et mundi 1656. terminandum existimemus. De quo ut rectius judicemus, textus ille Genes. cap. IX. (ubi post diluvium 350. in universum autem 950. annos Noa vixisse dicitur) cum altero Genes. cap. XI. ver. 10. (ubi Arphaxad natus fuisse memoratur, biennio post diluvium) conferendus est. Johannes Funccius cum sequacibus suis, unius anni interjectione ætatem mundi augens, ab initio anni 600. Noæ, usque ad initium diluvii, annum unum, ab initio diluvii ad finem ejusdem annum alium, et a fine diluvii ad nativitatem Arphaxadi, biennium numerat. Ergo cum Arphaxad biennio post diluvium natus dicitur, de diluvio finito hoc accipit, et recte accipit. Quum igitur Noa similiter post diluvium 350. annis vixisse dicitur: pari omnino ratione post finem diluvii tot annos exegisse putandus est. Jam si, ut Funcciana statuit hypothesis, ab ortu Noachi usque ad diluvii exitum, 601. anni transacti fuerint: additis 350. qui post decurrerunt, fierent omnes dies Noachi 951. annorum, non 950. ut habet Scriptura, Genes. cap. IX. ver. 29. Sethus Calvisius et discipulus ipsius Johannes Bohemus, ab initio quidem anni 600. Noæ usque ad initium diluvii, annum unum cum Funccianis numerat:

sed biennium post diluvium, quo natus Arphaxadus, non, ut illi, a fine, sed ab initio diluvii deducit. Admissa enim hypothesi, quæ sub finem anni 600. diluvium cœptum esse supponit: epocham annorum post diluvium numerandorum, non in exitu (ut visum illis, qui inter initium 600. anni Noachi et nativitatem Arphaxadi, quadriennii interstitium constituunt) sed in exordio diluvii esse collocandum, epilogismus ille annorum Noachi, quem ex Genes. cap. IX. ver. 28, 29. proposuimus, evidenter ostendit. Ea vero ratione, in serie annorum mundi constituenda, nulla omnino inter nos orietur differentia. Sive enim ponamus, sub initium anni 600. Noachi cœpisse diluvium, et a diluvii fine usque ad natum Arphaxadum effluxisse biennium; sive sub finem anni 600. cœpisse diluvium, et a diluvii initio usque ad natum Arphaxadum decurrisse biennium: non nisi tres annos inter initium 600. anni Noachi, et nativitatem Arphaxadi interjectos deprehendemus.

Quanquam vero ad summam rei nihil intersit, utra hypothesis admittatur: priorem tamen præferendam esse, his de causis existimamus. I. Genes. cap. X. ver. 1. ubi Moses scribit: "Hæ sunt generationes filiorum Noe, Sem, Cham, et Japheth, natique sunt ei filii post diluvium:" nemo est qui finem diluvii non intelligat. Quidni ergo eodem modo intelligatur, in loco parallelo? Genes. cap. XI. ver. 10. "Hæ sunt generationes Sem: Sem erat centum annorum quando genuit Arphaxad, biennio post diluvium." II. In posteriore isto loco Moses, orbis renovati chronologiam pertexere exorsus, ab Arphaxadi, ut vides, nativitate eam deducit, facta "biennio post diluvium." Quod si a diluvio incepto epocham suam repetiisset; sequeretur ipsum diluvii annum in novi orbis temporibus ab eo fuisse comprehensum. Atqui diluvii annus ad priscum[o] mundum, ut cum B. Petrus appellat, omnino pertinebat, non ad eum qui nunc[p] est: cujus idcirco annos ipse Annianus Berosus[q] "a salute humani generis

[o] 2 Petr. cap. 2. ver. 5.

[p] Ibid. cap. 3. ver. 6, 7.

[q] Pseudo-Beros. lib. 3, 4, et 5.

ab aquis," tanquam mundo tum denuo reviviscente, denumerat; sicut et "secundæ ætatis primam diem" appellant Beda et Marianus, 27. illam mensis secundi, qua de arca egressus est Noachus[r]. III. In historia diluvii postquam in septimo capite dixisset Moses, cœpisse illud anno sexcentesimo vitæ Noachi, mense 2. die 17. in capite sequente subjicit, mense 7. die 17. requievisse arcam in montibus Ararati[s], 10. mense, primo die mensis apparuisse cacumina montium[t], ac demum addit, "sexcentesimo[u] primo anno, primo mense, prima die mensis" siccatas fuisse aquas e superficie terræ. Si mensis 2. die 17. quo diluvium cœpit, ad finem vergeret annus vitæ Noachi 600. tum proximo mense septimo annus 601. fuisset numeratus. At neque 17. die mensis 7. neque etiam primo die mensis 10. annotatus est a Mose annus 601. sed primo primi mensis die, numerus epochæ primum est immutatus. Unde colligere liceat, 600. vitæ Noachi annum, si non totum, saltem maxima sui parte, anno inundantis diluvii respondisse. Ut recte observaverit Quintus Julius Hilario, "sexcentesimo anno Noe, et factum et consummatum esse diluvium."

Contra vero, absoluto sexcentesimo Noachi anno, et sexcentesimo primo ineunte, incepisse diluvium, completis a mundi origine 1656. annis et 1657. currente, tribus quoque rationibus pugnat Leonhartus Krentzhemius[x]. Ait primum, "annos generationis et ætatis patrum," Genes. cap. V. et XI. pro completis numerari. Semper enim," inquit, "ex annis ætatis patrum, qui antecesserunt generationem liberorum, et illorum numero qui secuti sunt a generatione ad vitæ exitum, colligitur summa quam producunt numeri annorum utrinque completi. Unde sequitur summam illam annorum 1656. ex annis istis ab Adam ad diluvium collectam, etiam pro completis accipi oportere." Nos vero sequi hoc omnino pernegamus. Annos quidem patrum, quibus genuerunt filios, intelligendos esse plus minus completos, atque ex iis

[r] Genes. cap. 8. ver. 14, 15.
[s] Ibid. ver. 4.
[t] Genes. cap. 8. ver. 5.
[u] Ibid. ver. 13.
[x] Krentzh. observat. chron. lib. 1. cap. 5. parag. 1.

simul collectis integros 1056. confici, facile Krentzhemio concedimus: ut longissime opinione sua fallatur ille, quum aliud ex nostra sententia sequi, denuo etiam hunc in modum repetit. "Falluntur[y] sua opinione, qui diluvium referunt ad annum mundi labentem 1656. hac enim ratione sequeretur, annos generationis patrum non pro completis, sed pro labentibus, quibus semper filiorum natorum annus primus includeretur, accipiendos esse: quod sacra historia manifeste refutat." Verum, quum non παιδογονία Noachi, sed tempus irruentis diluvii, alia plane locutionis formula, a Mose factum notetur, "anno[z] sexcentesimo vitæ Noachi, mense secundo, septimo decimo die mensis;" annum sexcentesimum 1056. completis additum 1656. labentem exhibere affirmamus. Nec obstat, quod nobis hic a Funccio est objectum. "Certissimum[a]," inquit, "est in sacris literis, et regula infallibilis; quod ubicunque annorum numerus ponitur, eique menses et dies mensis adjiciuntur, ibi sermonem esse de annis completis. Quod diligens lector facile animadvertet. Itaque cum Scriptura dicat: *Anno sexcentesimo vitæ Noah, mense secundo, septimo decimo die mensis, rupti sunt in ipsa die omnes fontes*, &c. manifeste indicat, diluvium venisse anno sexcentesimo primo Noah currente; qui fuit annus mundi 1657. currens, ut loqui solent." Secundum hanc igitur regulam, quum Moses Deuteronomium populo proposuisse legitur, anno post exitum ex Ægypto 40. mense 11. die mensis[b] primo, factum hoc intelligeretur, completis post exitum 40. annis et 10. mensibus. At neque ipsius Funccii chronologia hoc admittit, neque rei veritas. Nam ante exitum, 80. annorum fuisse Mosem constat[c]; et, mortis tempore[d], 120. ut inter exitum ex Egypto et mortem ipsius non nisi 40. anni interjici potuerint. Nec fallax modo est illa infallibilis Funccii re-

[y] Krentzh. observat. chron. lib. 1. cap. 5. parag. 3.
[z] Genes. cap. 7. ver. 11.
[a] Func. lib. 1. comment. in chron. ad ann. 1657.
[b] Deut. cap. 1. ver. 3.
[c] Exod. cap. 7. ver. 7.
[d] Deut. cap. 34. ver. 7.

gula, sed plane et omnino falsa. Nam quotiescunque litera Hebræa ב, Latinæ præpositioni IN respondens, certo annorum, mensium et dierum numero præfigitur; diem ad mensem, et mensem ad annum cujus proxime facta est mentio, pertinere semper indicat. Unicam hic ἔνστασιν contra profert Calvisius[e] ex libro primo (aliis tertio) Regum cap. VI. ver. 1. sed in ea fallitur. Quum enim ibi templum ædificari cœptum fuisse dicitur, anno post exitum ex Egypto 480. mense 2. annus ille non exactus, sed inceptus fuisse intelligitur. Quod præter recentiores chronographos animadvertit inter veteres etiam Eusebius. Sic enim ille, in chronici sui prooemio: "A Moyse, usque ad Salomonem, et primam ædificationem templi, anni 479. secundum minorem tamen numerum, quem tertius liber Regum continet:" et in Græcis excerptis[f]: Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴν, ἔτη υοθ.

Secundum argumentum petit Krentzhemius ab "obitu Methusalah avi Noah; quem mortuum esse constat ipso anno irruentis diluvii. Affirmat autem Judæorum quædam antiqua traditio a patribus accepta, obitum hujus patriarchæ præcessisse diluvium diebus tantum septem. Incidit igitur in diem decimum mensis secundi. Sed Methusalah natus est anno patris Henoch 65. plus minus completo, qui fuit annus ætatis Adami 687. completus: et vixit annis 969. itidem completis. Summa igitur ex duobus proximis numeris collecta, producit annos completos 1656. Obiit igitur Methusalah die 10. mensis 2. anni inchoati 1657. qui est annus labens diluvii irruentis." Hæc ille. Nos vero non multis diebus ante cœptum diluvium Mathusalam defunctum fuisse, ultro agnoscimus: ut ad Judæorum traditiunculas hic recurrere nihil sit necesse. Septem diebus postquam in arcam ingredi jussus est Noachus, Deum diluvium distulisse legimus Genes. cap. VII. ver. 4. 10. Tot dies luctui Mathusalæ datos fuisse, Hebræi inde colligunt. "Docet Deum suspendisse illis septem dies luctus Mathusalæ justi, quo agerent

[e] Calvis. Isagog. chron. cap. 35. [f] Pag. 32.

pœnitentiam, et non egerunt:" inquit vetustissimus author Bereshith Rabb. et R. Salomo Jarchi in locum eundem.

At Hebræi iidem, qui septem diebus antequam inciperet diluvium, Mathusalam obiisse statuunt, anno mundi 1656. hoc contigisse agnoscunt; et quidem post mortem Lamechi quinquennio: quemadmodum in R. Abrahami Zakuti libro Johasin videre licet. Quod idem affirmamus et nos: cum B. Hieronymo tenente, "nongentesimo[g] sexagesimo nono anno vitæ suæ Mathusalam mortuum esse eo anno quo cœpit diluvium." In eo vero fallit ista Krentzhemii argumentatio, quod pro concesso sumit, Mathusalam vixisse annis 969. completis. Nam annos quidem vitæ 969. tribuit illi Moses: sed ita quoque in regum Israeliticorum chronologia, Jeroboamo regni annos 22. Nadabo 2. Baasæ 24. Elæ 2. Achabo 22. sacra tribuit historia. Ut igitur illic, horum collatione cum temporibus regum Judæ instituta, deprehendimus, postremum quemque dictorum regum annum inchoatum fuisse tantum, nequaquam vero absolutum: quod suo loco, Deoque volente videbimus[h]: ita et hic, Mathusalæ et Noachi temporibus inter se comparatis, extremum longævi illius patriarchæ annum similiter inchoatum, non completum fuisse, intelligimus. Non enim eadem *ἀκρίβεια* in annis *παιδογονίας*, et integræ vitæ patrum est quærenda. Ut annos *παιδογονίας* mutilemus nulla ratio nos suadet, et ne mutilemus persuadet illa, quod ita incerta redderetur integra annorum mundi series. Ut postremum vitæ patriarcharum *μακροχιωτάτου* decurtemus annum, evidens non cogit ratio: et ne id faciamus, nullum est incommodum quod deterreat, quum ab annis generationis, non integræ vitæ patrum, chronologia mundi dependeat: quemadmodum in hujus capitis initio ex Josepho est annotatum.

Tertiam rationem ex Geneseos cap. VII. ver. 6. petit Krentzhemius. "Cum Moses scribit: Noah erat filius sex-

[g] Hier. tradit. Hebr. in Genesin. [h] Vide part. 2. cap. 1.

centorum annorum, quando aquæ diluvii inundaverunt super terram: manifeste docet, Noah ante diluvium complevisse annos ætatis 600. Sequentes igitur annotationes chronologicæ, de diluvio inundante anno[i] ætatis Noah 601. mensis 2. die 17. et de exsiccatis aquis anno[k] ejusdem 601. die primo mensis primi, intelligendæ sunt de completis annis." Atqui certissimum est, ex Hebræorum idiotismo, per filium sexcentorum annorum designari eum qui sexcentesimum annum quoquomodo est ingressus, utcunque eum non exegerit: fallique omnino Johannem Funccium, qui hic "necessario[l] integros annos esse intelligendos" asserit. Nam pari ratione, filius[m] octo dierum jubetur circumcidi, qui octavum a partu diem attigit: et "בן־שנה[n] primi anni" agnus appellatur, qui die octavo et deinceps offerri poterat Domino. Nam in agno quoque paschali legem illam Levit. cap. XXII. ver. 27. ab Hebræis fuisse observatam, ostendit Maimonides[o]. Porro Funccianam illam sententiam, quod ingruente diluvio sexcentesimus Noachi annus non tantum fuerit inchoatus, sed plane completus, exactis præterea 47. diebus anni sexcentesimi primi; tribus novis argumentis firmare conatus est Benedictus Pererius[p]; sed fundamento, ita extra modum ridiculo, subnixis, ut ea referre pudeat. Omnino enim aliud agebat vir doctus quum ista scriberet, nec ipsum ea sine mora deleturum fuisse dubitamus, si quis monitor opportunus intervenisset.

[i] Genes. cap. 7. [k] Ibid. cap. 8.

[l] Func. lib. 1. comm. ad ann. 1657.

[m] Gen. cap. 17. ver. 12. [n] Exod. cap. 12. ver. 5.

[o] Of offering sacrifice, chap. 1. sec. 12, 13. vide de phrasi eadem paschali Exod. cap. 29. ver. 38. Num. cap. 28. ver. 3. Confer Levit. cap. 22. ver. 27. et cap. 9. ver. 3. et cap. 23. ver. 18, 19. Num. cap. 7. ver. 87, 88. cum cap. 28. ver. 3. 9. 19.

[p] In Gen. lib. 12. sec. 3.

CAP. IV.

De biennio post diluvium, quo Semo natus est Arphaxad: ubi etiam de ordine trium filiorum Noachi, et cui eorum primogenitura debeatur.

De biennio diluvium proxime insequente locus habetur, Genes. cap. XI. ver. 10. "Sem erat centum annorum, quando genuit Arphaxad, biennio post diluvium." Pro quo Græca versio habet: "δευτέρου ἔτους μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν, secundo anno post diluvium." Eum annum pro completo acceperunt, qui Septuaginta interpretum numeros secuti, a diluvio ad ortum Abrahami annos vel 912. (ut Eusebius, et ejus sequaces) vel, admisso in patrum numerum Cainane, 1072. (ut Augustinus de Civitate Dei, libro decimo sexto, capite decimo, et Julianus Toletanus libro tertio contra Judæos) supputaverunt. Alii vero, in quibus et Paulus Crusius et Jacobus Cappellus, pro inchoato capientes, sacrum calculum ea ratione unius anni detractione mutilarunt. Atqui Spiritus Sanctus in textu originali non dicit בשנה השנית vel בשנת שתים quomodo loqui[a] solet, quum annum secundum currentem denotare vult: sed simpliciter voce dualis numeri שנתים utitur, ut in hoc eodem libro, Genes. cap. XLV. ver. 6. זה שנתים "Biennium est quod cœpit fames esse in terra, et adhuc quinque anni restant," de septem scilicet, "quibus nec arari poterit nec meti." Unde recte et in Syra, et in Chaldaica (tum Onkelosii, tum ea quæ Jonathani tribuitur) paraphrasi, Arphaxad natus ponitur "תרתין שנין duobus

[a] Exod. cap. 40. ver. 17. 3 Reg. cap. 15. ver. 25. 4 Reg. cap. 1. ver. 17 cap. 14. ver. 1. cap. 15. ver. 32. Esai. cap. 37. ver. 30. Daniel. cap. 2. ver. 1 Hagg. cap. 1. ver. 23. cap. 2. ver. 10. Zachar. cap. 1. ver. 1. 7.

annis," et in Hieronymiana translatione, biennio post diluvium: nee non in Ruffiniana Josephi versione, " Sem filius Arphaxad natus est post annos duos facti diluvii," lieet in Græea editione hodie eorrupte legatur, (ιβ pro β posito:) Σήμα δὲ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδης ἦν μετὰ ἔτη δώδεκα τῆς ἐπομβρίας γενόμενος. Ut admodum ridicule Stanislaus Gisepsius in futili libello De multiplici sielo et talento Hebraico, ex eorrupto hoc Josephi loco absurdissimum hoe pronuneiatum deduxerit: " Sieut sex talenta dicuntur talentum, ita et sex anni dicuntur annus apud Hebræos." Neque vero eommentitii Berosi autoritate moveri debebat Crusius, ut ineunte a diluvio anno altero natum Arphaxadum eoneluderet: quum apud homines eordatos nullius omnino ea sit momenti neque ratio ulla reddi possit, quare, eum in reliqua tota per patrum παιδογονίας a Mose contexta chronologia, anni vel completi, vel quasi eompleti accipiantur, in hoc solo artieulo inehoati sint intelligendi.

At alii non solum annum seeundum ineuntem hie aceipiunt, sed ab ineunte etiam diluvio epocham ejus deducunt; atque ita biennium hoc, inter exitum diluvii et ortum Arphaxadi interpositum, in annorum mundi supputatione prorsus negligunt. Hi enim, ex Genes. cap. V. ver. 32. eolligentes Noaehum, eum 500. esset annorum, genuisse Semum; et ex Genes. cap. XI. ver. 10. Semum, eum 100. esset annorum, genuisse Arphaxadum, anno post diluvium altero: ineunte anno Noaehi 601. et desiisse diluvium et natum fuisse Arphaxadum, inde coneluserunt: cumque inter initium anni 600. Noachi, et nativitatem Arphaxadi, juxta Johannis Funceii seetatores (de quibus in tertio eapite diximus) quadriennium, juxta alios, ad quos et nos aecedimus, triennium, juxta illos de quibus proxime jam egimus biennium solidum interjeetum supponatur; ex horum rationibus unus tantum annus, isque ille idem quo terras diluvium oeeuparit, relinquetur.

Atque hæe fuit Theophili Antiocheni, capite primo ehronographi illius qui ad annum decimum tertium Alexandri Severi tempora perduxit[a]; Julii Africani, Severi Sulpitii, Josephi Christiani scriptoris, in Hypomnestico, nondum

[a] Tom. 2. antiquæ lectionis Henr. Canisii, pag. 581.

edito; Constantinopolitani chronici, authoris fastorum Siculorum, sive quod Alexandrini nomine a M. Radero est editum; Maximi monachi, in computo; Syri mei chronographi, et aliorum aliquot sententia: a qua etiam non abscedunt multum Nicolaus Vignerius in bibliotheca sua historiali, ad annum mundi 1657. et Josephus Scaliger, in Elencho orationis chronologicæ D. Parei, ubi de primogenitura Semi disserens, quum generalem thesin statuisset, "hunc ordinem filios in Scriptura habere quem illis natura dedit:" particularem hanc hypothesin ista, quam vocat, demonstratione stabilire nititur: "Anno Noæ 601. ineunte, Sem genuit Arphaxad, annos natus centum; centesimo anno absoluto postquam pater ejus cœpit generare. Quare si Noa annorum 500. erat quum cœpit generare, et filius ejus annorum 100. cœpit generare, anno patris sui 601. ineunte, nullus ergo filius Noæ natus est ante Sem. Propterea errant, qui natalem Arphaxad statuunt anno mundi 1658. Noæ ætatis 602." Ita Scaliger.

Nos vero cum longe majore, et meliore chronologorum parte, Scripturæ ductum secuti, quæ biennio post terras ab aquarum eluvione liberatas, Arphaxadum ortum non obscure significat, ineunte anno mundi 1659. et ætatis Noæ 603. natum illum fuisse defendimus: et Scaligerum, ad ineuntem annum Noæ 601. natalem ejus referentem, et a veritate, et a fundamentis propriis hic discessisse affirmamus. Si enim ineunte anno Noachi 601. natus fuisset Arphaxadus, ut Scaliger et veteres illi putarunt, statim post finitum diluvium in lucem eum editum fuisse oporteret: nam sexcentesimo primo anno, primo mense, prima die mensis amovisse Noachum operculum arcæ; et mense secundo, die mensis 27. siccata terra, egressum ex ea fuisse Scriptura sacra testatur[b]. Si continuo post egressum ortus fuisset Arphaxadus, non dixisset Scriptura: "Sem[c] erat centum annorum quando genuit Arphaxad, biennio post diluvium:" sed potius, "Statim[d] post dilu-

[b] Gen. cap. 8. ver. 13, 14.

[c] Ibid. cap. 11. ver. 10.

[d] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐθέως ὁ Σὴμ ὢν ἐτῶν ρ ἐτέκνωσε τὸν Ἀρφάξαθ. Theophil. ad Autolycam, lib. 3.

vium Sem centum annorum existens, genuit Arphaxad," quemadmodum antiquissimus alterius sententiæ assertor loquitur Theophylactus Antiochenus.

Quis autem credat, invalescentibus super universam terram aquis diluvii, Semum in arca, quasi in sepulchro, conditum, liberis operam dedisse? Uxoremque ejus eodem carcere conclusam, fœtum animatum atque adeo partui jam maturum, in utero gestasse? quod vix, aut ne vix quidem, cum illo apostoli pronunciato poterit consistere: "in[d] arca paucas, id est, octo animas servatas fuisse in aqua." Adde, cum Torniello[e], eos qui in arca erant, nimio terrore correptos, pœnitentiæ potius opera exercuisse, lugentes communem illam humani generis cladem; nec ad mulieres accedendum esse existimasse, usque quo intelligerent Deum humano generi esse placatum, ac de ipso reparando deliberasse: alioqui videri posse, frustra Dominum, expleto diluvio iterum protulisse verba illa de generatione liberorum; "Crescite[f], et multiplicamini," &c. redintegrato naturæ ordine, sicut erat in principio[g].

Nec illud prætereundum, quod Genes. cap. X. ver. 22. et 1 Paralip. cap. I. ver. 17. filii Semi recenseantur, Elam, et Assur, et Arphaxad. Quod si, (ut hic contendit Scaliger) "eum ordinem filii in Scriptura habeant, quem illis natura dedit:" necesse est ut Elam et Assur ante Arphaxadum geniti fuerint, neque ineunte Noachi 601. sive primo post diluvium anno, omnino nasci potuit Arphaxadus. Et certe dignatione gratiæ Arphaxad utroque fratre prior fuerit; non alia videtur afferri posse ratio, cur tertio nominatus ille sit loco, quam ob nativitatis ordinem. Nam quod potissimum pro Arphaxadi primogenitura a Jacobo Cappello contra Augustinum Torniellum urgetur argumentum, a tempore priorum filiorum alimoniæ assignando petitum; quod "tum neque nutrix ulla, nec lactis pecuini copia, suppeteret:" ab ipso Torniello ad annum mundi 2. num. 1. prolixe est solutum. Neque illud etiam

[d] I Pet. cap. 3. ver. 20.
[e] Torniell. ann. mundi, 1657. parag. 19.
[f] Genes. cap. 9. ver. 1. 7. [g] Ibid. cap. 1. ver. 28.

a Scaligero est animadversum, labefactari hic ab eo illam epocham quam prius ignoratam et a se constitutam esse jactitat, "Omnium[h] aut sacræ historiæ aut exoticæ certissimam, unde omnes rationes temporum biblicæ historiæ pendeant; ut[i] vere possis illam vocare matrem cæterarum epocharum." Epocham nimirum Exodi, quando migratum est ex finibus Egypti: quam et alibi semper, et in hoc quoque Elencho, in annum mundi 2453. conjicit, atque in annum tertium annalis Hebdomadis currentis. Si enim ineunte anno Noachi 601. Arphaxadum natum admiserimus; nec in annum 2453. incurret Exodus (posito etiam natali Abrahæ in anno Tharæ 70.) nec anni mundi per septenarium divisi, hebdomadem annalem exhibebunt: indeque Johannes Bohemus, hoc observato, ab effatis magistri sui hoc quidem in loco necessario sibi discedendum esse putavit.

Erroris vero fundamentum in eo est positum, quod Noachus tum præcise 500. annorum fuisse existimatur, quando Semum genuit: idque ex textu illo colligi putatur: "Et[j] fuit Noah filius quingentorum annorum," id est, quingentesimum agebat annum, "et genuit Noah Semum, Chamum et Japhetum." Cum autem uno et eodem anno, omnes istos tres nequaquam susceperit, non aliud voluisse Mosem consentaneum est, quam Noachum anno ætatis 500. liberis operam dare cœpisse, adeoque primogenitum procreasse: sed cui eorum primogenitura danda, res est non adeo perspicua, ac prima facie posset videri. Illam enim Scaligeri rationem, quæ "hunc ordinem filios in Scriptura habere" statuit, "quem illis natura dedit," admodum infirmam esse ostendit Benedictus Pererius. "Quamvis[k] enim," inquit, "illud videatur arguere, Sem fuisse primum natu filiorum Noe, quod semper in Scriptura cum nominantur filii Noe, primus omnium censetur Sem (ut Genes. cap. V. VI. IX. X. et initio prioris libri Parali-

[h] Scalig. in animadvers. Eusebian. pag. 31. col. 2.
[i] Scalig. in canon. Isagog. lib. 3. pag. 282.
[j] Genes. cap. 5. ver. 31.
[k] Perer. in Gen. lib. 15. sec. 132.

pom.) idque pro magno argumento ad id ipsum probandum afferunt nonnulli: attamen id non magnam vim habere videtur. Namque etiam Cham inter filios Noe secundus memoratur, quem tamen minimum fuisse ómnium, planum[l] est. Similiter Isaac[m] nominatur ante Ishmaelem, et Jacob[n] ante Esau, non propter priorem ortum, sed propter prærogativam electionis et benedictionis divinæ, majoremque eorum dignitatem. Quanquam non satis liquet cur semper Cham nominetur ante Japhet; cum et ortu et dignitate posterior eo fuerit." De quo postremo tamen illa B. Ambrosii observatio non est prætermittenda: "Ubi[o] generantur, hunc ordinem esse; ubi autem generant, Japheth primo loco scribi, tertio Sem," non Cham, ut habetur in impressis omnibus Ambrosii exemplaribus. Nam et in Genes. cap. X. et in 1 Paralipom. cap. I. ubi filiorum Noæ posteritas explicatur, Japheti progenies primo loco proponitur, Semi tertio: semper autem in medio Cham relinquitur, quasi et hic locum haberet, quod ab eodem Ambrosio ex Homero[p] ibidem est productum: "κακοῦς δ' ἐς μέσσον ἔλασσεν, Malos autem in medium inseruit," quomodo etiam ab aliis[q] est notatum, semper medium poni Cham improbum inter duos probos; quod ita sit Ecclesia comparata utrinque, ut inter improbos ut hostes versari cogatur.

Cum autem in utroque illo Scripturæ loco, duplici modo recenseantur filii Noæ: ubi generati commemorantur, Sem, Cham, et Japhet, ubi generantes, ordine retrogrado, Japhet, Cham, et Sem: posteriorem hunc, ut genituræ ordini respondentem, amplectuntur quidam, inter quos R. Levi ben Gersom, in Genes. cap. IX. ver. 24. Nicolaus Lyranus, et Alphonsus Tostatus Abulensis; in quorum sententiam et nos libentissime concederemus, si persuaderi nobis posset Semo juniorem fuisse Chamum: quod illa retrograda ordinis inversio sic re-

[l] Genes. cap. 9. ver. 24.
[m] 1 Paralip. cap. 1. ver. 28. Gen. cap. 25. ver. 9.
[n] Gen. cap. 28. ver. 5. Josu. cap. 24. ver. 4.
[o] Ambros. de Noe et Arca, cap. 2.
[p] Iliad. 4.
[q] Mercer. in Genes. cap. 10. ver. 1.

sponderet aptissime ejusdem generis loco illi alteri, Genes. cap. XI. ver. 26. ubi Thara genuisse dicitur Abrahamum, Nachorem, et Haranem; cum naturalis generationis ordo, Haranem, Nachorem, et Abrahamum ponendos requirit. Priorem vero modum sequuntur alii, in quibus Pseudo-Clemens libro recognitionum primo, Ambrosius[r], Epiphanius[s], Johannes Chrysostomus[t], Augustinus[u], R. David Kimchi[x], et alii plurimi. Benedictus Pererius, cum Flavio Josepho[y], Semum primo, Japhetum secundo, Chamum tertio loco; Thomas Lidyatus Chamum primo, Semum secundo, Japhetum tertio natum loco existimat: Tremellius vero, cum Hebræorum et nostrorum aliquot, Chamum ultimo, medio Semum, Japhetum primo loco collocat. Quam sententiam et nos cæteris omnibus præferendam esse judicamus: si clare ex Scripturis ostendi possit, Chamum Semo majorem natu non fuisse.

Et quidem "Sem fuisse priorem natu quam ipsum Cham," ex Genes. cap. IX. ver. 24. manifestum esse docet Pererius[z]; "appellari enim illic Cham filium Noe minorem præcise: quod apud Hebræos idem significat atque filius parvus vel minimus. Totam igitur contentionem esse inter Sem et Japhet de principatu ortus." Ita Josephum quoque sensisse videmus, notissimam illam historiam, Genes. cap. IX. de retecta Noachi nuditate, ita enarrantem: "*Θεασάμενος*[a] *δ' αὐτὸν ὁ νεώτατος τῶν παιδῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιγελῶν δείκνυσιν· οἱ δὲ περιστέλλουσι τὸν πατέρα, καὶ Νῶχος αἰσθόμενος, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παισὶν εὐδαιμονίαν εὔχεται· τῷ δὲ Χαμᾳ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτῷ μὲν οὐ κατηρᾶτο, τοῖς δ' ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπεφευγότων τὴν ἄραν, τοὺς Χαναναίου παῖδας μέτεισιν ὁ Θεός.* Id conspicatus filiorum natu minimus, per ludibrium fratribus indicavit: illi vero parentem operuerunt. Sensit hoc Noachus, et precatus aliis filiis felicitatem, ne Chamum quidem diris devovit, respectu sui sanguinis, sed tantum

[r] In lib. de Noe et Arca.
[s] Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 4.
[t] In Genes. serm. 29.
[u] De civitate Dei, lib. 16. cap. 3.
[x] In 1 Paralipom. cap. 1.
[y] Lib. 1. Antiquit. cap. 5.
[z] Perer. in Genes. lib. 15. sec. 132.
[a] Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 1. cap. 7.

ejus posteros: quas cum cæteri evasissent, Chananæi liberos ultio divina est consecuta."

Verum quum nepotes dicantur filii avi, non minus quam filii ipsi, quod, ne a proxima Semi ipsius progenie discedamus, ex 1 Chronic. cap. I. ver. 17. cum Genes. cap. X. ver. 23. collato liquet: non desunt qui parvum filium in ea historia nequaquam Chamum ipsum, sed filium ipsius Chananem, intelligendum esse existiment. Ita ex Hebræis, R. Levi ben Gershom, et R. Abraham Aben Ezra in Geneseos cap. IX. e nostris Theodoretus quæst. 57. in Genesin, (si[b] non Origenes potius; cujus expositio, ab Hebræo magistro suo accepta, ex Catena Græca a collectore fragmentorum Theodoreti hic inserta fuit) et Procopius Gazæus in Geneseos cap. IX. Quam sententiam licet in Elencho orationis chronologicæ D. Parei summopere propugnatus fuerit Josephus Scaliger; nihil ille tamen attulit, quod a simplici et recepta historiæ intelligentia cogat nos abscedere.

"Quid fecit Cham patri suo?" inquit ille, "Nihil; tantum fratribus de patris probro nuncius fuit. Atqui Scriptura diserte dicit nescio quid Noæ a minore filio factum, propter quod Noa in maledictionem eruperit." Respondeo; nihil illud Scaligeri, aliquid profecto fuisse factum filio indignissimum. "Oculum qui subsannat patrem, aut spernit obedientiam matris, hunc effodient corvi vallis, aut comedent eum juvenes aquilæ:" dicit Sapiens, Proverb. cap. XXX. ver. 17. et ipse Plutarchus, in libro *περὶ φιλαδελφιάς*, sive de amore fraterno. *Οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν μείζων ἐπίδειξις ἀθέου γέγονε τῆς περὶ γονεῖς ὀλιγωρίας καὶ πλημμελείας. διὸ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀπείρηται· μητρὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ τὸ μὴ παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς δρῶντας ἀεὶ καὶ λέγοντας ἀφ' ὧν εὐφρονοῦνται, κἂν μὴ προσῇ τὸ λυποῦν ἀνόσιον ἥγηνται καὶ ἄθεσμον.* Quomodo vero Chamus erga patrem suum se gesserit, ex Theodoreto, quem suæ sententiæ vindicem laudavit, intelligere hic poterat Scaliger. "Ὁ[c] *Χὰμ τὴν τοῦ πατραλοίου κατηγορίαν ἐδέξατο, ὡς παραβὰς τὸν τῆς φύσεος νόμον. ὅτι γαρ καὶ τὸ γεραίρειν*

[b] Vide Græc. Caten.

[c] Theodoret. in Genes. quæst. 57.

τοὺς γεγεννηκότας ἡ φύσις ἐδίδασκε, μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Χὰμ ἀδελφοὶ, οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου τὸ πάτος μεμαθηκότες τοῦ πατρὸς, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς εἰς τοὐπίσω βαδίζοντες συνεκάλυψαν τὸν πατέρα, ὡς ἂν ἥκιστα ἴδοιεν ὅθεν σπαρέντες ἐβλάστησαν· τοιγάρ τοι καὶ μάλα εἰκότως καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδρέψαντο. Cham parricidii reus habitus est, tanquam transgressus legem naturæ. Nam quod natura ipsa doceret venerari et colere parentes oportere, testificantur fratres ipsius Cham: a quo cum intellexissent quod patri acciderat, multo cum pudore retro gradientes patrem operuerunt, ut minime viderent, unde erant prognati. Itaque merito benedictionem a patre acceperunt." Et si illi ob tectam patris ignominiam benedictionem fuerint consecuti; ob contrarium certe factum Chamus maledictionem meruerit: quippe qui patris nuditatem non modo non texerit, sed etiam publicaverit, et lumina faciens hic noxia, et linguam quoque.

" Atqui Scriptura diserte dicit, nescio quid Noæ a minore filio factum, propter quod Noa in maledictionem eruperit. Experrectus enim vidit quod sibi minor filius fecerat, quod quidem Scriptura non exprimit, sed tamen constat factum esse; ut eleganter monet doctissimus Aben Ezra. Propter aliquod enim factum maledictio emissa est, non quod Cham pudenda patris viderat. Id enim experrectus ipse nescire non potuit." Ita Scaliger. Resp. Factum illud quod experrectus rescivit Noa, et maledictionem ab eo expressit, ut extra Scripturam quæramus non est opus: sufficit abunde illud, quod Chamus[d] nuditatem et turpitudinem patris sciens et libens aspexit, cum contemptu irrisit, divulgavit, et fratres suos ad ejus irrisionem provocavit. Tanta in uno hoc facto crimina recte notavit Pererius: qui de ratione etiam qua pater ista rescire potuerit, conjecturam affert admodum probabilem. Noe[e] expergiscens, cum vidisset pudenda sua propria veste nudata, et alieno pallio contecta, causam ejus rei quæsivisse ex filiis: atque ita eos ad narrandum quod ac-

[d] Perer. in Genes. lib. 14. sec. 146.
[e] Perer. in Genes. lib. 14. sec. 154.

ciderat esse compulsos: de qua et Chrysostomus: "Πόθεν[f] ἔγνω; ἴσως οἱ ἄδελφοι ἐγνώρισαν, οὐχὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν διαβαλεῖν βουλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς ἐγένετο διδάσκοντες, ἵνα καταλλήλον ἐκεῖνος τῷ τραύματι τὴν βοήθειαν δέξηται. Unde cognovit? forte fratres significaverunt: non accusationis quidem gratia, sed rem ut facta erat docentes; ut conveniens ille suo vulneri remedium acciperet." Ne quis opus esse existimet, cum fastorum Siculorum, et Glossæ interlinearis authore, ac R. Levi ben Gershom ad spiritum propheticum et divinam revelationem hic confugere.

Sed pergit Scaliger. "Si Cham aliquid fecisset, in eum competebat maledictio. Sed in Chanaan destricta est illa. Chanaan igitur fecit: atque adeo ipse est qui dicitur minor frater." Verum in filio punitum hic fuisse ipsum patrem, si non ex Chrysostomo[g] vel Augustino[h], certe ex ipso (quem ut sententiæ suæ vindicem hic protulit) Theodoreto discere potuisset Scaliger de Chamo ita scribente: "'Επειδὴ[i] υἱὸς ὢν ἐξήμαρτεν εἰς πατέρα, διὰ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρᾶς δέχεται τὴν τιμωρίαν. Quia, cum filius esset, in patrem deliquit, ob id per filii maledictionem pœnas luit." Additque, Noachi verba non tam imprecationem in se continere, quam futurorum prædictionem. "'Επειδὴ γὰρ ἤμελλεν ὁ 'Ισραὴλ ἐκ τοῦ Σὴμ κατάγων τὸ γένος, τῆς Παλαιστίνης παραλαμβάνειν τὴν δεσποτείαν, ταύτην δὲ πάλαι ᾤκουν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χαναὰν βεβλαστηκότες· εἰς ἀρὰν σχηματίζει τὴν πρόῤῥησιν, προαγορεύων μὲν τὰ ἐσομένα, δεδιττομένος δὲ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐσομένους μὴ πλημμελεῖν εἰς γονέας. Nam cum Israel ex Sem genus ducens, Palæstinam occupaturus esset, quam olim incoluerant qui ex Chanaan descenderant; in maledictionis formam prophetiam effert: prædicens quidem futura, deterrens autem posteros ne peccent in parentes." Similia habet et Diodorus Tarsensis[k] in hujus loci explicatione: et Augustinus[l] rem totam breviter ita expediens: "Quæ-

[f] Chrysost. in Genes. serm. 29.

[g] Chrysost. in Gen. serm. 29.

[h] August. de civit. Dei, lib. 16. cap. 1.

[i] Theodoret. in Gen. quæst. 58.

[k] Catena Græc. in Genes. cap. 9.

[l] Quæst. 17. in Genes.

ritur quare, cum peccans Cham in patris offensa, non in seipso sed in filio suo Chanaan maledicitur? nisi prophetatum est terram Chanaan ejectis Chananæis inde et debellatis, accepturos fuisse filios Israel, qui venirent de semine Sem."

Quum vero subjungit Scaliger, in sermone Hebræo avos vocare nepotes suos "בנים הקטנים filios minores:" prolato aliquo Scripturæ testimonio probare hoc potius ille debuerat, quam id quod huc omnino non facit; a filiis familias "filios fratrum fratres vocari." In sacris literis certe, ejusdem parentis immediatos filios ad seniorem fratrum ætatem respectu habito filios minores appellari, vel ex loco illo Genes. cap. XXVII. ver. 11. 15. constat: ubi Rebecca dicitur accepisse vestes Esau "בנה הגדל filii sui majoris," iisque induisse Jacob "בנה הקטן filium suum minorem." Licet illi, qui ex præjudicata opinione Chamum ætate medium filiorum Noæ fuisse existimaverunt, relicta propria et simplici vocis intelligentia, qua filius illius minor sive *νεώτερος*, ut Græci interpretes reddiderunt, fuisse is significabatur, vel ob corporis[l] staturam parvam, vel ob animi "ruditatem, quasi in quadam intellectus infantia constitutum," ut loquitur Ambrosius[m]: vel ob fortunæ etiam sui conditionem "הפמול והבזוי abominabilem et contemptibilem," quemadmodum ex versu secundo prophetiæ Obadiæ R. Salomo Iarchi id explicandum censuit. "*Νεώτερον δὲ ὅταν φῇ υἱὸν, οὐκ ἡλικίας ὄνομα ἀναγράφει, νεοτεροποιίαν δ' ἐμφαίνει τρόπου διάθεσιν.* Cum juniorem filium appellat, non tempus ætatis describit, sed morum dispositionem novis rebus studentem:" inquit Philo, in libro de resipiscentia Noæ; et Chrysostomus, serm. 29. in Genes. Chamum Japheto majorem natu fuisse existimans, cur Chamus tamen junioris[n] et Japhetus senioris[o] appellationem adeptus fuerit, tropologicam hanc similiter reddit rationem: "*ὥσπερ οὗτος ὅπερ εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, προὔδοκεν τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τῆς προαιρέσεως, οὕτως ὁ Ἰάφεθ, ὅπερ οὐκ εἶχεν*

[l] Jo. Behm. chronol. lib. 1. tit. 2. cap. 6.
[m] Ambros. lib. de Noe et Arca, cap. 31.
[n] Genes. cap. 9. ver. 24. [o] Ibid. cap. 10. ver. 21

ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, τοῦτο προσέλαβεν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιοῦς γνώμης. Sicut Cham, id quod natura habuit, nequitia voluntatis amisit; ita Japhet quod natura non habuit, saniorem ob mentem accepit."

Ut a Chamo igitur ad Japhetum jam transeamus, et hujus cum Semo de principatu ortus contentionem expendamus: eam Semo deberi dignitatem confirmat Salianus[p], non ea solum conjectura, quod primo semper loco nominatur, et quod Noe in benedicendis filiis, Semum Japheto prætulit; sed ea potuis ratione, quod Scriptura Semum vocat fratrem Japheti majorem[q]. Sed conjecturarum illarum duarum infirmitatem satis aperuit Pererius, licet et ipse non minus quam ille acer primogenituræ Semi patronus: alias causas afferri posse docens, quare Semus et primo loco nominatus et a patre ante Japhetum benedictus fuerit, præter illam unam ab ætatis ratione desumptam. De imbecillitate argumenti ab ordine recensionis fratrum ducti, verba illius supra produximus: quam et ipsi postea, Deo volente, in loci consimilis Genes. cap. XI. ver. 26. tractatione, pluribus sumus patefacturi. Varias autem causas ob quas Noe Semo benedixisse dici posset ante Japhetum, problematice hunc in modum proposuit Pererius[r]: "Cur prius benedixit Sem quam Japhet? An quia ille primogenitus erat? An quod sanctimonia et prudentia morumque gravitate præstaret; idcirco patri Deoque carissimus esset? An quod ipse vehementius objurgasset Cham, autorque fuisset Japheto id erga patrem faciendi quod factum ab illis esse legimus? An potius propter excellentiam posteritatis ejus in qua futuri erant patriarchæ, reges, prophetæ, et, quod super omnia est, Messias ipse?" Adde in benedictione Semi fundatam fuisse benedictionem Japheti; nec nisi illa prius proposita, hanc omnino intelligi potuisse: "Dilatet[s]," vel potius alliciat, "Deus Japhet; et habitet in tabernaculis Sem."

De textu igitur illo, Genes. cap. X. ver. 21. tota

p Salian. ad ann. mundi 1559. parag. 2.
q Genes. cap. 10. ver. 21.
r Perer. in Gen. lib. 14. sec. 185.
s Genes. cap. 9. ver. 27.

est controversia: "Sem quoque nati sunt, patri omnium filiorum Heber, fratri Japheth majori." Sed utrum Sem an Japheth fuerit natu major inter filios Noe, non facile hinc posse determinari agnoscit Torniellus[t], propter Hebraici textus ambiguitatem: in quo legitur, אחי יפת הגדול. Cum enim casibus Hebræi careant, illud הגדול vel dativi casus esse poterit et referri ad Sem, vel genitivi et referri ad Japheth. Et ut uno modo reddidit editio vulgata Latina, "fratre Japheth majore:" ita altero, editio vulgata Græca: "ἀδελφῷ Ἰάφεθ τοῦ μείζονος, fratri Japheth majoris." Licet enim Augustinus, libro decimo sexto de civitate Dei, capite tertio, majore in Latino suo codice hic vel legerit, vel legendum esse putaverit: in Græco tamen, eodem quo hodie modo, τοῦ μείζονος, lectum fuisse, ex eo quod postremum ex Chrysostomo citavimus testimonio manifestum est.

Salomoni Gesnero, in Genes. cap. X. quæst. 8. "Textus Hebræus id potius innuere videtur, Semum esse fratrem Japheti grandiorem: quia ה præfixum voci גדול non genitivum, sed nominativum casum innuit;" quum si ad Semum hoc loco referatur, non nominativi, sed dativi casus esse oporteat: et articulum ה omnium casuum nominibus promiscue præfigi solere constet; et genitivi speciatim, in loco huic simili a nobis producto ex Geneseos cap. XXVII. ver. 15. ubi Rebecca accepisse dicitur "את בגדי עשו בנה הגדל vestimenta Esau filii sui majoris." Eandem sententiam hac ratione persuadere conatur Pererius: "Omnino[u], quæ hic narrat Moses de Sem, ad commendandam ejus excellentiam dignitatis pertinent: ut, quod ipse pater fuerit omnium filiorum Heber, id est, populi Hebræi, et tot tantorumque virorum qui in eo populo claruerunt. Ergo quod subdit, ipsum fuisse fratrem Japheth majorem, ad ejusdem spectat commendationem. Quorsum enim hoc loco Moses dignitatem Sem significans, dixisset illum fuisse fratrem Japhet majoris ipso?" Sed hanc rationem probabilem tantum esse, fatetur ipse Pererius: et quidquid in ea probabilitatis est ex eo totum

[t] Torniel. ann. mundi 1659.

[u] Perer. in Gen. lib. 15. sec. 134.

dependet, quod nondum nobis liquet, quæ de Semo hic narrantur, encomiastico, et non mere historico modo a Mose fuisse proposita; aut si commendationis aliquid hic ille spectaverit, Semi potius dignitatem a populi Hebræi præstantia, an populi sui Hebræi dignitatem a patris Semi præstantia æstimandam, illum voluisse, ex quorum neutro erit consequens, in altero membro, quod ætatis Semi et Japheti collationem continet, aliud fuisse spectatum, quam simplicem historicæ veritatis enarrationem. Nam quod, velut a Pererio prætermissum, Harvillæus hic addendum censuit; secundum hoc membrum, non minus quam prius illud, esse, ut ille loquitur, " declarativum seu confirmativum qualitatum Sem :" nihil omnino rem promovet. Utrumque enim membrum declarationem, non qualitatum quidem, sed relationum Semi complectitur: paternæ, ubi dicitur fuisse " pater omnium filiorum Eberi;" fraternæ deinde, quum dicitur fuisse frater Japheti non major, quod ille hoc argumento confectum frustra putabat, sed natu maximi, ut Tremellius et Junius sunt interpretati: hac etiam interpretationis suæ ratione et explicatione addita.

" Hæc, rationem accentuum, fidemque historiæ sequuti, sic exposuimus. Nam quum Noach quingentesimo demum ætatis anno gignere cœperit[x], sexcentesimo sit diluvium expertus[y]; sexcentesimo secundo, id est altero post diluvium anno Schem Arpacschadum agens centesimum annum genuerit[z]; omnino hunc constat non fuisse natu maximum. Cham autem diserte minimus natu fuisse dicitur[a]. Necessario itaque de Japhetho locum hunc sic oportuit accipere: ut natus 500. annos Japhethum, natus 502. annos Schemum, natus eo plures annos Chamum genuerit. Cur autem hic frater Japhethi appelletur excluso Chamo, id ex illa Noachi historia cognoscendum est, quæ habetur supra[b]."

Huic argumento, a Nicolao Lyrano et Alphonso Tostato ad probandam Japheti primogenituram ex Hebræ-

[x] Gen. cap. 5. ver. 32.
[y] Ibid. cap. 7. ver. 6.
[z] Gen. cap. 11. ver. 10.
[a] Ibid. cap. 9. ver. 24.
[b] Gen. cap. 9. ver. 23. et sequ.

orum scriniis producto, Pererius probabiliter responderi posse judicat: "Vel[c] Noe non cœpisse generare quingentesimo ætatis suæ anno præcise, sed quingentesimo secundo, eoque ipso anno generatum esse Sem, ob idque biennio post diluvium eum fuisse centum annorum; vel Sem secundo anno post diluvium cum generavit Arphaxad, non fuisse centum annorum præcise, sed fuisse centum et duorum annorum." Cum divinæ Scripturæ mos sit, parvis et minutis numeris tacitis ac prætermissis, maximum et integrum numerum duntaxat commemorare. Addit Cornelius a Lapide in Genes. cap. XI. ver. 10. "Quid hic numerus minutus exprimitur, scilicet quod, biennio post diluvium, Sem fuerit centum annorum, qui non exprimitur cap. V. ver. 32. hinc Moysem hic potius, quam capite V. præcise videri consignare annos Sem." Itaque de altero loco, Genes. cap. V. respondet Salianus: "Anno[d] quingentesimo Noe nullum ipsi filium natum esse, sed velle tantum Moysem docere hosce tres filios natos esse post annum quingentesimum patris, et non ante. Cui locutioni," inquit, "quæ non paucos induxit in fraudem, Cajetanus affert aliam longe simillimam ex Geneseos cap. XI. ver. 26. ubi de Thare dicitur, eum vixisse 70. annis et genuisse Abram, Nachor, et Aram, qui tamen divisis valde annis geniti sunt;" ubi tamen explicationem istam negativam, quod Thare non ante 70. annos incepit generare, ista, ita ipse Salianus accipit, ut anno illo 70. expleto, aliquem illorum trium nasci oportuisse agnoscat. "Alioqui[e]," inquit, "falsum esset, Thara genuisse Abram, et Nachor, et Aram cum vixisset 70. annis, si neque de omnibus neque de ullo eorum id verum esset." Qui idipsum proculdubio de altera illa "locutione longe simillima," Genes. cap. V. ver. 32. fuisset pronuntiaturus, si de Semi primogenitura præjudicium mentem illius non occupasset.

Sed condonato illi hoc errore, accipiamus quod ipse ultro dat[f], et ex Scriptura Genes. cap. XI. ver. 10.

[c] Perer. in Gen. lib. 15. sec. 138.
[d] Salian. ann. mundi 1559. num. 3.
[e] Salian. ann. mundi 1979. num. 4.
[f] Ibid. 1559. num. 1.

" perspicue confirmari" agnoscit, natum fuisse Semum anno Noæ 502. exacto, et annis 98. ante finitum diluvium. Hoc enim ad firmandam veritatem chronologicam, quam in hoc capite defendendam suscepimus, abunde sufficit; et ad eorum errorem refellendum, qui integro biennio annorum mundi seriem mutilarunt: quem ipsum jamdudum animadversum, et hoc eodem argumento refutatum a Quinto Julio Hilarione videmus, in libello de mundi duratione ita hac de re dicente: " Quia anni Sem. 98. in consummatione diluvii completi sunt; duo scilicet anni ad rationem summæ, quam post diluvium designavimus necessarii sunt. Ipse enim Sem biennio post diluvium fuit annorum centum, et sic genuit Arfexat: quos annos duos descriptores hujus rationis in numerum annorum non posuerunt, quomodo eos minime præviderunt."

CAP. V.

De multiplicatione generis humani post diluvium, et gentium dispersione ad argumenta ab historia petita, quibus Johannes Morinus Hebraicæ chronologiæ veritatem infirmare conatus est.

Sed in biennio post diluvium nimis diu hæsimus. De temporibus illud insecutis, usque ad 70. annum Tharæ, jam dispiciendum est, quorum, cum illo conjuncto, summam ex Græcis codicibus ita Augustinus[a] colligit: "Fiunt anni a diluvio usque ad Abraham 1072. secundum vulgatam editionem, hoc est interpretum Septuaginta;" de Hebræis deinde subjiciens: "In Hebræis autem codicibus longe pauciores annos perhibent inveniri: de quibus rationem aut nullam, aut difficillimam reddunt." In his enim a diluvii exitu ad finem anni 70. Tharæ, quo Abrahami ortum ille retulit 292. tantum numerantur anni, ex quibus solum 101. a finito diluvio ad nativitatem Phalegi, quo confusionem linguarum et dispersionem gentium esse referendam idem censuit, decurrisse statuuntur; atque in his anni Cainanis quos ille in summa sua exposuerat, omnino prætermittuntur. Ut autem tam brevi annorum spatio, tanta ex tribus Noachi filiis oriri posset hominum multitudo, quæ coloniis quaquaversum per orbem deducendis sufficeret, atque ut ex patriarcharum serie Cainan ille expungeretur, quem non in vulgata tantum Moysis editione sed etiam in evangelio[b] locum obtinuerat, res Augustino expeditu difficillima videbatur.

Confusionem vero linguarum, et cum ea conjunctam

[a] Lib. 16. de civit. Dei, cap. 10.

[b] Luc. cap. 3. ver. 36.

migrationem gentium, in ortum Phalegi incidisse, ex verbis illis Scripturæ, Genes. cap. X. ver. 25. et 1 Paralipom. cap. I. ver. 19. colligunt: "Natique sunt Heber filii duo: nomen uni Phaleg, eo quod in diebus ejus divisa sit terra; et nomen fratris ejus Jectan, vel Joktan;" de quibus Augustinus, in libri citati capite secundo: "Intelligendum est ipsum Heber propterea tale nomen imposuisse filio suo, ut vocaretur Phalech, quod interpretatur divisio; quia tunc ei natus est, quando per linguas terra divisa est." Quanquam alii post nativitatem Phalegi divisionem hanc factam fuisse malunt: tum quod Scriptura non in ortu sed in diebus ejus divisam terram fuisse dicat; tum quod inter colonarium duces, filii tredecim Joktanis, fratris Phalegi, recenseantur[b]. Cum autem, juxta veritatem Hebraicam, 34. tantum annorum fuerit Heberus, quum natus ei fuit Phalegus: etiamsi 17. tantum annorum illum fuisse concederemus quum natus est ipsi Joktan, et totidem Joctanem quum susceptus ab eo fuisset filiorum illorum tredecim natu maximus: reliquos duodecim tempore nativitatis patrui sui Phalegi in lucem nondum fuisse editos, necessario consequetur. Quod si eo tempore natus fuisset ipse Phalegus, quo conspirantes turbæ turris Babylonicæ insanam structuram primum moliri cœperunt "ne[c] dispergerentur in superficiem totius terræ;" stultissimo huic conatui, nominis hujusmodi impositione, opportune Heberus occurrere potuisset; recens nati pueruli diebus gentium dispersionem, quam illi frustra impedire conabantur eventuram prædicendo. Nam et a futuro eventu nomina interdum imponi fuisse solita, ex Genes. cap. V. ver. 29. et Hos. cap. I. ver. 6. apparet: et Heberum vaticinio quodam filio suo Phaleg nomen hoc imposuisse, Chrysostomus sermone trigesimo in Genesim, Hieronymus libro quæstionum Hebraicarum in Genesim, R. Jose in Seder olam Rabba, capite primo, R. Salomon Jarchi in Genes. cap. X. et alii affirmant.

Verum hæc licet satis verisimilia, certitudinis tamen non sunt tantæ, ut a simpliciore et magis recepta Josephi

[b] Gen. cap. 10. ver. 26.

[c] Ib. cap. 11. ver. 4.

atque Augustini sententia cogant nos recedere. Neque enim Mosi, quod primo hic loco considerandum venit, in decimo hoc Geneseos capitulo fuit propositum, omnes omnium coloniarum, quæ ante ipsius tempora fuerunt, ductores memoriæ tradere, sed earum tantum quæ Abrahami ortum præcesserunt. Aliarum enim quæ postea accesserunt, ut Israelitarum, Midianitarum, Ammonitarum, Moabitarum, Idumæorum, Amalekitarum, origines, suo postea loco commemoratas fuisse videmus. Et ipsarum illarum antiquiorum coloniarum deductio, quod secundo loco est perpendendum, quo tempore in lucem editus est Phalegus, cœpta tantummodo fuit, non autem ad exitum perducta. Terra enim per centum totos annos inculta indeque partim putrescentibus graminibus palustris effecta, partim etiam senticetis et dumetis obsita colonos quousque vellent, cito currere non sinebat: ut proinde viciniora primum loca occupare, procedenteque tempore et crescente populi multitudine ulterius progredi, atque in remotioribus regionibus longo post tempore sedes figere cogerentur. Quo fortasse respiciens Moses in diebus potius quam in ipso ortu Phalegi, divisas fuisse terras dicere maluit.

Adde quod non omnes Noachi posteri, turris et urbis Babylonicæ structuram sunt aggressi, sed ii quos filios hominum Moses[d] nominat; cujusmodi et idem paulo ante filiis[e] Dei opposuerat, et quorum "*ὁμόνοιαν πονηρίας* consensum iniquitatis," author[f] libri Sapientiæ hic incusat. Isti enim a cæteris, (numero quidem paucioribus, sed quorum posteros multitudine auctos, in varias sedes urgente necessitate dispergendos, nescire non poterant,) segregati, ut potentiores et aliis magis formidabiles sese redderent, unitis viribus intra unius munitissimæ civitatis septa continere se, quamdiu poterant, conabantur. Etsi vero structuræ illius per confusionem linguarum facta interruptio, gentium dispersioni primum dederit initium: Moses tamen coloniarum deductionem[g] ante linguarum illam *σύγ-*

[d] Gen. cap. 10. ver. 5.
[e] Ibid. cap. 6. ver. 2.
[f] Sapien. cap. 10. ver. 5.
[g] Gen. cap. 10.

χυσιν[h] enarrans, non ab iis tantum qui turris Babylonicæ ædificationi interfuerant, sed et universim ab omnibus Noachi filiis ante ortum Abrahami deductas colonias traditas a se fuisse significare voluit: quod et in catalogi totius generali illo epilogo declaravit apertissime: "Hæ[i] familiæ filiorum Noæ juxta populos et nationes suas. Ab his divisæ sunt gentes in terra post diluvium." Quo minus mirum videri cuiquam debeat, post natum Phalegum, tredecim ipsius ex fratre Joktane nepotes inter harum coloniarum duces recenseri.

Ut numerum posterorum Noachi, qui circa tempus nati Phalegi existere potuerit, conjectura aliqua Johannes Temporarius assequeretur, in secundo Demonstrationum suarum chronologicarum libro, tres Noachi filios, similiterque posterorum eorundem unumquemque 20. ætatis annos assecutum, singulis annis gemellos ex conjugibus suis suscepisse censet: indeque per progressionem arithmeticam anno post diluvium 102. mares simul et fœminas 1554420. ex illa stirpe prognatos fuisse colligit. Nos dimidia illius summæ parte dempta, (quod illa de natis unoquoque anno gemellis aliquanto durior videatur esse hypothesis) 388605. marium, totidemque fœminarum, numerum assumimus: ex quo tantam[k] Babylonicæ turris extructoribus deduci posse arbitramur, quæ primarum coloniarum deductioni (de propagatione enim res est alia) pro ratione temporis esset suffectura. Nam si statim pubertate (quam ab exacto 14. ætatis anno ordiebantur Romani) novos illos orbis instauratores, (viribus ad hoc peragendum a Deo suppeditatis,) liberis operam dedisse, geminosque sæpius et quandoque tergeminos suscepisse, liberet admittere: de numero hominum, anno post finitum diluvium 102. in colonias deducendorum non est quod magnopere futuri essemus solliciti; præsertim si consideraverimus, Noacho et tribus filiis ejus bis a Deo prolatam fuisse benedictionem illam: "Crescite[l] et multiplicamini

[h] Gen. cap. 11.
[k] Turbam vel multitudinem.
[i] Ibid. cap. 10. ver. 33.
[l] Gen. cap. 9. ver. 1. 7.

et replete terram," ad[m] certitudinem promissæ fœcunditatis fidem faciendam (ut notat hic Pererius) et ut nullo modo dubitarent fore, ut tanta illorum paucitas in amplissimam posteritatis multitudinem brevissimo tempore multiplicanda esset.

Ex tanta tamen in tam brevi tempore posteritatis ipsorum multiplicatione, Hebraici calculi fidem Johannes Morinus ita elevare nititur: "Est[n] admodum mirabile, quomodo tam potentes reges, adeoque multi, regnaverint vivente Abrahamo; cum Abrahæ nativitatem a diluvio, quo Noe solus cum tribus filiis superstes fuit, anni trecenti juxta Judæos non effluxerint: tum ad Indos usque ex omnium calculo imperabat Ninus Assyriorum rex potentissimus: Ægyptum tenebat rex magnus, apud quem aliquandiu vixit Abraham tribus mensibus, ut scribit Seder Olam. Reges alii plurimi quorum mentio fit in sacris literis Abrahæ coætanei erant; ut novem illi de quibus Genes. cap. XIV. quorum uni, scilicet Chodorlahomor, quinque reges annis duodecim servierant, annoque decimo quarto redintegratum est bellum, quo Loth captus est, et ab Abrahamo servatus. Ecce Abrahamo juvene quam multi reges, quam multa bella, quam variæ et a se invicem dissitæ nationes. Trecentorum tamen annorum spatio (juxta Judaicum calculum) hæc omnia ex quatuor hominibus pullularunt. Quantum inde multiplicationis Israelitarum in Ægypto ex 75. animabus ducentorum et aliquot annorum spatio factæ miraculum elevatur? Imo si tantum non fuisset Israelitarum incrementum, sterilitatis a Deo damnati tum temporis credi potuissent."

Verum non satis hic æqua inter incrementum Israelitarum et primorum, edito in lucem Phalego, novi orbis colonorum instituta ab eo est comparatio. Cum enim multo diutius quam Israelitæ, patres illi primi vixerint; æqualem ab his et ab illis liberorum numerum expectari, haudquaquam rationi consentaneum est. Et verum quidem

[m] Perer. in Genes. lib. 14. num. 4.
[n] Morin. exercitat. bibl. 7. cap. 2.

illud est, "Filios[o] Israelis fœtificavisse, progenuisse, atque adauctos et corroboratos fuisse quamplurimum; adeo ut terra Ægypti impleretur ipsis," et juxta Dei promissionem[p] efficerentur ibi gens magna: sed hoc pro miraculo nusquam in Scripturis habetur traditum. Ut enim a viris septuaginta quinque vel septuaginta, vel etiam paucioribus, intra 215. annorum spatium, ultra sexcenta[q] virorum millia, præter fœminas et parvulos, propagarentur, nihil[r] ab ordinariis naturæ viribus alienum requirebatur, quum non minus fortasse mirandum fuerit, ab uno Amaleko, Esaui ex filio Eliphaso nepote, gentem[s] adeo numerosam processisse; ut tantæ Israelitarum multitudini ipso post egressum eorum ex Ægypto mense altero, opponere se auderet, et prælium cum ipsis consererer[t]. Ut autem minore quam dimidio annorum illorum 215. spatio, a tribus solummodo Noachi filiis tanta hominum exoriretur multitudo, quæ Babylonicæ turris extructione relicta, tempore nati Phalegi dispersa in superficiem totius terræ, divisioni illius primariæ daret exordium; peculiaris aliquis repetitæ illius benedictionis, de qua est dictum, fructus requirebatur. Ut non sine causa monuerit hic D. Petavius, "Singulari[u] Dei providentia factum, ut ad incrementum sobolis humanæ, ad orbis vastitatem instaurandam, præcipua quædam in illis fœcunditas inesset, quæ justam alioquin ætatem anteverteret; ut vel a pueris ipsis, quod nonnulli suspicantur, probabile esset generandi vim illis et usum potuisse suppetere."

A nativitate vero Phalegi usque ad Abrahami adventum in Chanaanis, quando novem illi reges, quorum Morinus meminit, vixerunt, juxta nostras rationes ex Scriptura Hebraica deductas, non minus quam 324. anni decurrerunt: quæ temporis diuturnitas tanta fuit, ut intra eam ex tot hominum myriadibus qui urbi et turri Babylonicæ extruendæ operam dederunt, ut de cæteris nihil dicam,

[o] Exod. cap. 17. ver. 12.
[p] Gen. cap. 46. ver. 3.
[q] Exod. cap. 12. ver. 37. cum cap. 38. ver. 26. et Num. cap. 1. ver. 46.
[r] Vid. infra, cap. 11.
[s] Gen. cap. 36. ver. 12.
[t] Exod. cap. 7. ver. 8.
[u] Petav. doctrin. tempor. lib. 9. cap. 14.

eam procreari potuisse multitudinem quæ amplissimis regnis complendis possit sufficere, nemo qui logisticæ aliquem usum habuerit dubitare poterit. Nam ex novem illis Geneseos cap. XIV. commemoratis regibus, quinque non regionum, sed urbium fuerunt reguli, et quatuor reliquorum tantæ non fuerunt copiæ, ut Abrahamum cum 318. servis suis eos persequentem, a præda ablata recuperanda potuerint cohibere. Quam magnus fuerit rex ille Ægypti, apud quem aliquandiu vixit Abraham, Scriptura non indicat, ejusdem autem Abrahami tempore vel antea, " Ad Indos usque ex omnium calculo imperavisse Ninum Assyriorum regem potentissimum," nimis audax est assertio; quum præter alios patrem historiæ Herodotum omnium quos habemus exoticorum, rerum Assyriacarum tractatorem antiquissimum, ad longe posteriora tempora Nini imperium retulisse constet. De quo videndi annales nostri ad annum mundi 2737. Thomas Lydiatus in defensione sua adversus Scaligerum, libro primo, et Nicolaus Abramus in Phari veteris Testamenti libro sexto, qui est de regno Assyriorum.

Exagitata deinde inepta illa Judæorum opinione, qui confusionem linguarum et primam gentium dispersionem ad postremum vitæ Phalegi annum referunt, altero hoc argumento Hebraicæ chronologiæ numeros suspectos reddere conatur: " Conciliare difficile est quæ ait sacra Scriptura de partu Saræ in senectute, cum illis numeris. Se parituram diffidebat Sara propter senectutem, dicens: Postquam[x] consenui, et dominus meus vetulus est, voluptati operam dabo? Num vere paritura sum anus? rursumque ait: Quis[y] auditurum crederet Abraham, quod Sara lactaret filium, quem peperit ei jam seni? Cum hæc dicebat Sara, annos natus erat Abraham 99. Sara vero aliquot junior," toto videlicet decennio; ut ipsius Abrahami verba illa, (ne cum Morino ad Judaicas fabulas recurrere hic sit necesse) Genes. cap. XVIII. ver. 17. clare ostendunt: " An nato centum annos nascetur proles? an

[x] Gen. cap. 18. ver. 12, 13. [y] Ibid. cap. 21. ver. 7.

etiam Sara nata nonaginta annos pariet?" Sed pergit ulterius quærere Morinus. "Quæ causa tum admirationis, quæ stuporis, si nonagenaria mulier pareret? cum si numeros Judaicos sequamur, hoc esset omnibus mulieribus vulgare. Viderant oculis suis Abraham et Sara avos, proavos, abavos, atavos, tritavos, et tritavorum avos et abavos, annis ducentis, trecentis, quadringentis, filios generantes. Cum hæc diceret, vivebant pater, avus et proavus Abrahæ, atque etiamnum Saræ abavus. Vegetus tum temporis adhuc erat Abrahæ tritavus Heber, utpote qui Isaaco genito, 139. annis supervixit. Vivebat Heberi tritavi Abrahæ, pater Sala, avus Arphaxad, proavus Sem. Sala enim post natalem Isaaci 74. annis vixit, Arphaxad 48. Sem 110. Quid ipse totius orbis pater Noe? ad annum usque quinquagesimum octavum Abrahæ vitam protraxit. Nemini dubium esse potest quin idem de mulieribus dicendum sit. Quæ ergo in Sara tanti causa stuporis, cum tot avias, post ducentos vitæ annos, filios generare quotidie videret."

Atqui ut stuporis illius causa, et Moriniani illius effati veritas, nonagenariæ partum tum temporis "omnibus mulieribus fuisse vulgarem," recta ratione patefieret; non cum proavis, abavis, atavis, tritavis, et tritavorum avis atque abavis, sed cum Abrahami et Saræ æqualibus instituenda fuisset comparatio. Quum enim post Phalegi ortum dimidio quam ante breviores vitæ patrum fuerint effectæ, mirum nemini videri debet, Abrahamum et Saram, licet non ipsum Phalegum, neque etiam pronepotem ejus Nachorem, jam vita functos, (vitiosam enim Morini chronologiam examinare hic non libet,) Noachi tamen posteros Phalego natu majores, post trecentesimum ætatis annum filios generantes, oculis suis videre potuisse. Considerandum deinde et illud est; inter ipsos etiam qui eodem seculo nati sunt, eam vivacitatis esse disparitatem, ut alii aliis citius senescant, et qui plures ætatis annos numerant minus effœto sint corpore quam qui multo pauciores: Et ut Sara quidem nonagenaria appareret, illius quoque ætatis hominibus rarioris res exempli videri potuisset; eti-

amsi aliud impedimentum nullum intervenisset[z]; sed miranda plane, ut ex ea nonagenaria, maritus centenarius prolem susciperet, quam septuagenarius ex eadem sexagenaria suscipere non poterat. Ut autem ipse Abrahamus, qui 175. annos vivendo exegit, juxta naturæ vires eo tempore ordinarias, ex alia uxore, nisi maturior senectus et virium debilitas accedisset, procrearet filium; non magis mirum videri debet, quam ut ii qui nostro ævo moriuntur septuagenarii, liberos progignant quadragenarii. Certe Abrahami nepos Jacobus, qui 147. annos vixit, quum annorum plurium quam 97. (imo et 110. ut in capite decimo postea videbimus) Benjamin suscepit; pater autem Terachus, qui 205. vixit annos, quum 130. esset annorum, ipsum Abrahamum progenuit: quemadmodum suo loco declarabitur. Verum ut Dei potentia in dando, et patris credentium fides in suscipiendo promisso semine magis eluceret; inter annum 86. quo Ismaelem et 100. quo Isaacum genuit, ut prius conjugis Saræ, ita jam ipsius quoque Abrahami corpus ad generationem quasi mortuum evasisse, confirmat apostolus[a], qua *νεκρώσει* per Dei beneficium hoc demum sublata ita vegetum habuit corpus, ut post 37. deinde annos, Sara mortua, sex filios ex Ketura generaverit[b].

In Primasii commentariis ad Rom. cap. IV. ver. 19. "Quæritur quomodo Abraham postea de Cethura filios generaverit, qui de Sara non potuit;" et respondetur: "Idcirco de Sara non genuit, quia anus erat, et sterilis: de illa vero, quæ in ætatis juventute posita erat, facile valuit procreare." In Sedulii ad eundem locum collectaneis eadem habetur responsio, sed addita et ista alia: "Quod de Cethura postea genuit Abraham filios; quia donum gignendi quod a Domino accepit, etiam post obitum Saræ uxoris mansit."

Tertium argumentum, quo calculi Hebraici fidem imminui posse putat Morinus, est hujusmodi: "Quomodo

[z] Gen. cap. 11. ver. 30. cap. 18. ver. 11. cum. Hebr. cap. 11. ver. 11.
[a] Rom. cap. 4. ver. 19. et Heb. cap. 11. ver. 11.
[b] Genes. cap. 23. ver. 2. cap. 25. ver. 1, 2.

tam multi reges tanta tamque sæva bella gesserunt, Abrahamo juvene; cum adhuc non modo viveret, sed etiam robustus et vegetus esset Sem? vixit enim post Abrahæ natalem ducentis et aliquot annis. Nullamne filii, nepotes, pronepotes, venerandi senis rationem ducebant? Nullamne Noachi? Num regibus cesserant Noe, Sem, Arphaxad, cæterique majores, jus imperii Babyloniorum, Ægyptiorum, Sicyoniorum, aliorumque populorum; cum ætate, viribus et animo, maxime vigerent? Num siccis oculis filios suos barbare sese trucidantes conspiciebant? Nullane patria potestate aut intercessione sua pacem conciliare satagebant? Esau boni patris pessimus filius, extrema fratri minitans, in ipso iracundiæ fervore patrem lecto decumbentem reverebatur. Venient[c], inquit, dies luctus patris mei; et occidam Jacob fratrem meum. Credibile non est Noachi tot posteros hominem ita penitus exuisse, ut parentes suos ætate vigentes, filiosque alios generantes nullo loco habuerint."

" Hæc incommoda sane difficillime cum recta ratione in gratiam redire posse," Morinus sibi persuadet: quæ tamen levissimis hypothesibus, et frigidissimis conjecturis nituntur omnia. A Noacho enim, Semo, Arphaxado, eos, qui contra ipsorum voluntatem secessione a piis facta, et conjuratione contra Deum inita, urbis et turris Babylonicæ extructioni incumbentes, a Deo in superficiem totius terræ sunt dispersi, cessionis jus aliquod expectaturos quis nisi Morinus crediderit? quis aliud jus a ductoribus coloniarum et urbium conditoribus, quam populorum quibus præfuerunt consensum, quæsitum fuisse existimaverit? Nam jure belli finibus imperii sui propagandis toto hoc tempore studuisse Nimrodum tantum et Cedorlaomerum regem Elami invenimus: quicquid de "tantis tamque sævis bellis, Abrahamo juvene" gestis, Morinus nobis hic occinat. Nam quæ de patrum in filios affectu et filiorum erga patres reverentia ille rhetoricatur, nugatoria plane sunt atque ridicula. Quasi vero bellatoribus illis patres defuissent, si Græcum magis quam Hebraicum libeat

[c] Gen. cap. 27. ver. 41.

nobis sequi calculum: et quasi Esaui de morte fratris, ob patris reverentiam, consilium plus adversus bella illa faceret, quam pro illis fratricidium a Caino[d] et Absolamo[e], nihil obstante patribus honore debito, reipsa perpetratum. A proximis quoque parentibus ad remotiores illos, Noachum, Semum, Arphaxadum ascendenti, considerandum primum illi fuerat posterorum eos bellis, per tot orbis provincias longe lateque dispersorum, præsentes non adfuisse; ut vel pro deponendis inimicitiis intercedere, vel filios suos sese trucidantes sive siccis sive madidis oculis possent conspicere: deinde et absentiam et distantiam istam, ex posterorum pectoribus, tum erga majores tum erga æquales, quantumvis cognatione propinquissimos, στοργὴν illam et naturalem consanguinitatis affectum plurimum imminuisse et debilitavisse. Cujus posterioris in Josepho, mercatoribus[f] Midianitis et Ismaelitis ab invidis fratribus vendito, exemplum habemus evidentissimum. Cum enim Abrahamus ex Hagara Ismaelem, ex Sara Isaacum, et ex Ketura Midianem sustulerit; Josephum, ut Isaaco ex filio Jacobo nepotem ita Ismaeli et Midiani ex fratre Isaaco pronepotem esse oportuit. Et tamen necessitudinis adeo propinquæ tam exigua, inter cognatos habitatione dissitos, habita eo tempore est ratio, ut Josephum a Midianitis et Ismaelitis, perinde ac e nostris aliquem a Turcis, ut mancipium coemptum esse videamus.

Sequitur difficultas longe gravior, et vindice dignus nodus, de insitione Cainanis inter Arphaxadum et Salam: ubi S. Lucas, uti Morinus[g] objectat, "Septuaginta interpretes amplectitur, Hebræis codicibus præferens; si modo Hebræi codices aliter tunc constanter legebant quam Græci." Sed quia operosiorem quæstio hæc requirit disquisitionem, proprium illi caput dicare statuimus.

[d] Gen. cap. 4. ver. 8. [e] 2 Sam. cap. 13. ver. 28, 29.
[f] Genes. cap. 37. ver. 28.
[g] Morin. exercit. biblic. lib. 7. cap. 7.

CAP. VI.

De Cainano Arphaxadi filio, in vulgata editione Græca memorato, et commentitiis illius annis in sacram chronologiam non admittendis.

Præter Cainanem illum, Enoshi filium inter veteris mundi patriarchas celebrem[a]: duo ejusdem nominis alii post diluvium in editione Græca adjecti leguntur, quos Moses omnino non agnoscit: Semi dictus filius unus[b]; Arphaxadi vero alter[c], in Christi genealogia Lucæ cap. III. ver. 36. pariter commemoratus. Quæ apparens inter Lucam et Mosem dissonantia perplexam illam quæstionem excitavit, cui solvendæ imparem se fuisse Beda profitetur; in præfatione commentariorum suorum in Acta apostolorum, difficultatis rationem sic exponens: "Lucas testimoniis Græcis utitur potius quam Hebræis. Ex quo accidit quod maxime miror, et propter ingenii tarditatem vehementissimo stupore perculsus nescio perscrutari, qua ratione, cum in Hebraica veritate a diluvio usque ad Abraham decem tantum generationes inveniantur, ipse Lucas, qui Spiritu Sancto calamum regente nullatenus falsum scribere potuit, undecim generationes, juxta Septuaginta intrepretes adjecto Cainan, in evangelio ponere maluit;" et in erratione evangelii secundum Lucam; "Scito ergo beatum Lucam generationem Cainan de Septuaginta interpretum editione sumpsisse; ubi scriptum est, quod Arphaxad centum triginta quinque annorum genuerit Cainan, et Cainan cum centum triginta

[a] Genes. cap. 5. ver. 9.
[b] Ibid. cap. 10. ver. 22.
[c] Genes. cap. 11. ver. 12.

fuerat annorum genuerit Sela. Sed quid horum sit verius, aut utrumque verum esse possit, Deus noverit."

Quæ tanti viri modestia inconsideratam Antonii Contii temeritatem satis redarguit: qui hinc occasione arrepta, in notis ad secundum caput Chronologiæ Nicephori CP. contra Hebraicæ veritatis defensores ita debaccatur: "Cum computationi Septuaginta interpretum suffragetur divini Lucæ evangelistæ genealogia a Christo ad Adamum replicata; nefas duxit tam Græca quam Latina ecclesia Hebraicam sequi numerationem, ac non potius eam amplecti quæ ex evangelio autoritatem accipit. Eant nunc novi Pseudo-Christiani et Hebraisantes molestissimi, qui Judaica obstinatione et nuda literarum atque apicum autoritate freti, adversus divinam Septuaginta interpretum translationem, et cum translatione conjunctam prophetiam, et Hebraicorum mendorum emendationem, quotidie blasphemant."

Latinæ vero ecclesiæ usum in notis ad præcedens Nicephori capitulum, ita ille confirmaverat: "Ecclesiæ occidentales chronologiam ex vetere Septuaginta interpretum editione mordicus retinuerunt: ut testantur Beda, Isidorus, auctor fasciculi temporum, Hugo et alii passim auctores. Sed et argumentum hujus rei evidentissimum præbent tabulæ quæ quotannis in ecclesiis cathedralibus Franciæ cum cereo paschali publice proponuntur." Neque interim animadvertit, et Bedam in martyrologio (nam extra illud, ubi de temporum ratione ex professo agit, Hebraicam illum veritatem secutum esse constat) Isidorum et minorum illos gentium ab eo nominatos auctores, ipsasque illas ab eo productas tabulas ecclesiasticas, ejusmodi ex Septuaginta editione petitam chronographiam retinuisse, quæ Cainanem tamen, in quo tantopere Contius sese jactitat, ejusque annos prorsus e medio sustulerit. Talem enim, ab Eusebio acceptam, numerandi annos mundi rationem, non martyrologia solum, Romanum, Usuardi, Rabani, Adonis et aliorum (ad diem 25. Decembris) usurparunt: sed Latini etiam chronologi et historici, Hieronymus in chronico, Orosius[d], Idacius, Victorius

[d] Lib. 1. cap. 1.

in paschali computo, Prosper, Victor Tunnunensis, Marcellinus Comes, Cassiodorus, Isidorus, Gregorius Turonensis[e], author appendicis ad Aimoin. historiam adjectæ[f], Nennius in historia Britonum: quibus et ille addatur qui de mirabilibus sacræ Scripturæ scripsit[g], et quotquot alii vel a diluvio ad Abrahamum, annos 942. vel ab Adamo ad Christum annos 5199. numeraverunt. Ita enim Hermannus Contractus in chronico suo, Dominum nostrum natum scribit, "transactis ab initio mundi secundum Hebraicam veritatem annis 3952. secundum Septuaginta interpretes vero 5199." et 250. post eum annis, Bartholomæus Cottomius Norwicensis monachus, in Angliæ historia: "Ab origine mundi," inquit, "usque ad annos gratiæ, 5199. quicquid alii dicant; quorum redarguitur contradictio et varietas."

Unde, quum hi qui in aliis Septuaginta interpretum supputationem sunt secuti, in annorum Cainanis adjectione illos dereliquerint; eos satis mirari non possumus, qui in aliis textus Hebraici calculum amplexati, in Cainanis solius annis sequendos sibi Septuaginta censuerunt. Itaque argumenta, quibus ad id faciendum sunt inducti, jam expendenda veniunt: quorum primum, et omnibus commune, est ejusmodi. Si generatio Cainanis inter Arphaxadum et Salam sit interponenda: annorum illorum numerus, quibus ante genitum Salam vixit Cainan, ad Hebraicam chronologiam necessario est adjiciendus. Sed generatio Cainanis inter Arphaxadum et Salam est interponenda. Ergo annorum illorum numerus, quibus ante genitum Salam vixit Cainan, ad Hebraicam chronologiam necessario est adjiciendus.

Propositionem vero illam hypotheticam docti quidam negant; et, admissa Cainanis interpositione, numerum tamen annorum Hebraicæ chronologiæ idcirco necessario esse augendum minime concedunt. Ut enim in Christi genealogia, Matthæi capite I. ver. 8. Joram dicitur ge-

[e] Lib. 1. histor. Francor. cap. 7. [f] Lib. 4. cap. 54.

[g] Lib. 2. cap. 4. in 3. tomo operum Augustini.

nuisse Oziam; quamvis proxime Ochoziam ille genuerit, Oziæ proavum: ita et dici potuisse, ab Arphaxado genitum fuisse Salam[h], ut ab avo nepotem; intercedente proximo Arphaxadi filio Cainane[i]. "Quod[k] si vere Arphaxad," ait Genebrardus, "genuit Cainan, deinde Cainan Selam: genuit Cainan anno 18. et Cainan Selam anno 17. Qua ratione Sela natus est ipsi Arphaxad, cum Arphaxad ageret 35. annum;" sicut in textu habetur Hebraico. Ubi si quis cum doctissimo Spanhemio[l] nobis objiciat, non agi hic *περὶ τῶν δυνατῶν*, sed *περὶ τῶν ὄντων*, non de possibilibus, sed de gestis: meminisse illum oportebit, non opponentium partes nunc a nobis suscipi, quibus a posse ad esse argumentari non est licitum, sed respondentium, et quidem ad conditionatam propositionem respondentium; cujus negandæ sufficiens redditur ratio, quum fieri posse ostenditur ut illud non contingat, quod hypothesi sua admissa, disputator necessario inde consequi affirmaverat. Atque ita negatæ propositionis probabili, et a Fr. Gomaro[m] probata, ratione reddita; assumptionis refutationem a Petro Possino hisce verbis propositam, subjicere pergimus.

"Magnis[n] viris assentior, Abulensi, Eugubino, Cajetano, Cornelio Jansenio episcopo Gandavensi, Sixto Senensi, Genebrardo, Benedicto Pererio, Cornelio a Lapide, Dionysio Petavio, aliisque antiquioribus et recentioribus multis: nullum unquam fuisse inter homines Cainanum qui Arphaxad quidem filius, Salæ vero pater extiterit. Id invicto argumento conficere mihi videor affirmatione diserta Mosis, genitum ab Arphaxado Salam narrantis. Quod testimonium quin prout sonat, ac prout jacet accipiendum sit, causa nulla idonea potest afferri. Si ergo cum idem Moses, eodem loco, genitum aut a Semo Arphaxadum, aut a Sala Heberem, divina qua valuit autoritate, revelasse nobis creditur, proprie et *ἀμέσως* Heberem

[h] Genes. cap. 11. ver. 12. [i] Luc. cap. 3. ver. 36.

[k] Genebrard. chron. ann. mund. 1659.

[l] Spanhem. Dub. evang. part. 3. dub. 23. sect. 29.

[m] In libelli de genealogia Christi cap. 2.

[n] Possin. Dialectic. theogenealogic. cap. 2.

Salæ fuisse patrem, Semo Arphaxadum filium; adeo ut qui proferre auderet alios quosdam quorum generatio media inter istos fuerit, convitio repellendus videretur, tanquam temerarius et lumini rebellis, divinæ, inquam, revelationis, per Moysen Sancti Spiritus interpretem, nobis oblatæ contemptor contumax: non video quis superesse locus possit isti de insititio Cainano sententiæ."

Adjiciantur his et Benedicti Pererii illa. "Sic[o] cum animo meo reputare soleo. Aut hæc generatio Cainan ignota fuit Mosi, aut nota. Ignotam fuisse Mosi, quæ perspecta fuerit et cognita Septuaginta interpretibus, quis audeat dicere? cum Moses tanto propior quam illi, fuerit illi ætati, solusque illorum temporum historiam tanta cum diligentia et cura conscripserit. Sin autem ea generatio nota fuit Mosi; cur igitur eam prætermisit? præsertim autem cum ejus generationis vel adjectio vel detractio non parum variet chronologiam, quæ inter diluvium et Abraham a Mose describitur: quam quidem chronologiam voluisse Mosem integre, exacte ac perfecte tradere, illud est clarissimum indicium, quod seriem generationum quæ fuerunt inter diluvium et Abraham distincte et accurate percenset, et suos cuique generationi annos subtiliter computatos proprie assignet. Qui fit igitur credibile Mosen, generatione Cainan prætermissa, vitiosam nobis chronologiam aut voluisse tradere, aut, cum minime vellet, inscienter tamen tradidisse? Equidem diu multumque cogitans, nullam rationem, quæ mihi animum expleret, reperire potui, cur Moses generationem Cainan, siquidem ea inter Arphaxad et Sale intercessit, præterire debuerit aut potuerit. Nam quod aiunt quidam, voluisse Mosen generationes quæ fuerunt ante et post diluvium ad duas tantum decades redigere: id nec probari ab istis potest, et leve ac futile est, nec tale ut propter id debuerit Moses chronologiam, cujus exacta cognitio magni erat momenti, perturbare atque confundere. His adde, quod saltem in libris Paralipomenων, in quibus supplentur quæ alibi in sacris literis derelicta fuerant, unde nomen etiam

[o] Perer. in Gen. lib. 16. sect. 174, 175.

illi habent, commemorata fuisset generatio hæc Cainan, si quidem in exordio prioris libri Paralipomenων, series generationum quæ fuerunt ante et post diluvium, similiter atque hic recensentur; nec ullum tamen verbum fit de generatione Cainan."

Huc accedit, quod Cainanem istum nec Onkelosius, paraphrastes Chaldæus, agnoscat, nec Flavius Josephus in primo libro Originum, capite septimo, neque Berosus Chaldæus, in sequente capite ab eodem citatus; "μετὰ κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ, post diluvium decima generatione," Abrahamum fuisse significans; uti et cum eo Eupolemus ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, ab Alexandro Polyhistore[p] productus. Quem denarium, secluso Cainane, generationum numerum, "Berosum et Eupolemum ab Hebræis, qui a clade decem tribuum toto terrarum orbe sparsi fuerunt, haud dubie didicisse," Salianus[q] affirmat. Quibus tamen omnibus primo authoritas Septuaginta interpretum, deinde Lucæ evangelistæ, ab ipso Saliano et aliis hic opponitur.

In vulgata enim editione Græca, quæ Septuaginta interpretum nomen præfert, locus ille undecimi capitis Geneseos ita legitur: "Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀρφαξὰδ, ἑκατὸν τριακονταπέντε, ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Καινᾶν. Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀρφαξὰδ, μετὰ γεννῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Καινᾶν, ἔτη τετρακόσια, καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, καὶ ἀπέθανε. Καὶ ἔζησεν Καινᾶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλὰ. Καὶ ἔζησε Καινᾶν, μετὰ τὸ γεννῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Σαλὰ, ἔτη τριακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ ἀπέθανε. Et vixit Arphaxad 135. annos, et genuit Cainan. Et vixit Arphaxad, postquam genuit Cainan, annos 400. et genuit filios et filias, et mortuus est. Et vixit Cainan 130. annos, et genuit Sala. Et vixit Cainan, postquam genuit Sala, annos 330. et genuit filios et filias, et mortuus est;" licet in annis Arphaxadi post genitum Cainanem, pro 400. quos ex Græca editione Romana posuimus, Latina Flaminii Nobilii versio habeat 300. Aldina et Germanicæ editiones

p Apud Eusebium libro 9. præparationis evangelicæ.

q Salian. præfat. in 3. tom. annal.

cum omnium antiquissimo exemplari Cottoniano, Syro meo chronographo et fastis Siculis, 330. Georgius Syncellus 355. Arabicus meus Geneseos interpres 363. Complutensis cum Alexandrino quem in Anglia habemus codice, 430. Tanta Græcæ lectionis hic est inconstantia. Sed et in annis qui Cainani tribuuntur post natum Salam, licet in nonnullis exemplaribus 330. legi notet Georgius Syncellus[r], ipse tamen ea sequitur quæ 430. legunt: quod et a Syro meo chronographo, cui Georgio quoque nomen fuit, est factum; nam Arabicus meus Geneseos interpres hic etiam, ut in Arphaxado et Sala, 363. habet.

Ad argumentum hinc deductum jam respondendum est: quod est hujusmodi. Si in Septuaginta interpretum editione Cainan inter Arphaxadum et Salam reperiatur interpositus; repudiari ille omnino non debet. Sed verum est antecedens. Ergo et consequens.

Propositionem istam connexam nos simpliciter negamus. Frustra enim Salianus nobis hic occinit, "Potuisse[s] illos Septuaginta viros, qui non meros agebant interpretes, sed prophetas, quique Spiritum illum Scripturarum authorem inhabitantem habebant, ut plerique sanctorum patrum scripto prodiderunt, non solum ea in Græcum sermonem convertere quæ in Mose reperissent, sed supplere etiam, quæ ab illo justa quidem, parum tamen nobis explorata, ratione fuissent prætermissa: nec magis dubitandum esse eos Cainan in vertendo Mose supplere potuisse, quam Spiritum ipsum Sanctum, qui per eorum ora loquebatur." Qui si attentius considerasset, divina Græcæ illius editionis authoritate semel admissa, vulgatam[t] editionem Latinam, a concilio Tridentino authenticam declaratam, totam esse corruptam cogi suos fateri: cum socio suo Bellarmino pronunciaturus potius fuisset, patres illos qui scripserunt Septuaginta seniores dictante Spiritu Sancto fecisse quod fecerant, "pie quæsivisse rationes excusandi

[r] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 115.
[s] Salian. præfat. in 3. tom. annal.
[t] Bellarm. de verbo Dei, lib. 2. cap. 6.

et defendendi eam versionem, qua tunc Ecclesia utebatur;" et cum Martino Martini Hispano theologo: "Hieronymus[u] in prophetis crebro illorum Septuaginta negligentiam carpit; interdum affirmans literarum similitudine fuisse deceptos, interdum non satis intellexisse quod transferebant. Denique nullibi non adimit iis Spiritum Sanctum; nec immerito profecto. Quare, si me judice translatio Græca cum nostra," vulgata Latina, "de primatu contenderet; non dubitarem primas nostræ translationi deferre, et fateri longo intervallo illam a nostra fuisse superatam. Nec adduci possum ut credam ullum tam stupidum, dummodo illas inter se et cum Hebraico contulerit, qui de hac re dubitare possit et nobis refragari."

Atque in his etiam insititii Cainanis patronis verum esse illud deprehenditur, quod a Beda olim est observatum: "Hos[x] qui Septuaginta magnis divinisque laudibus ad cœlos tollunt," breviorem tamen annorum mundi summam in textu Hebraico et editione vulgata Latina traditam sequi non dubitare; quod et a Dionysio Petavio sic illis videmus esse objectum: "Illi ipsi, sicubi commodum est, Septuaginta suos facessere jubent, aut eorum codices depravatos esse defendunt. In duplici genealogiarum ordine, quem ab Adam ad diluvium, et a diluvio ad Abrahamum Moyses perduxit, scimus quam diversi sint Græcorum calculi ab Hebraicis et nostris. Neque vero recens est discrimen istud, sed ab antiquissimis notatum scriptoribus, ut proinde mendi non nisi levis possit esse suspicio. Hic illi qui Græcos interpretes tanti faciunt et prophetas appellant, ab eorum rationibus discedunt nihilominus, easque falsas et conturbatas esse non dubitant. Quare cur non idem et in Cainani nomine usurpare nobis liceat, et Græcis illis codicibus Hebræorum, ad vulgatæ nostræ editionis autoritatem præferre?" Ita Petavius, libro nono, de doctrina temporum, capite decimo septimo.

Quin et in Cainanis ipsius temporibus consignandis,

[u] Martin. Hypoteposeon. theologicar. lib. 1. cap. 4.

[x] Beda, in præfat. lib. de ratione tempor.

Septuaginta suos deserere isti deprehenduntur. Cum enim Marianus Scotus, qui omnium primus, Hebræorum in cæteris retento calculo, Cainani in mundi chronologia contexenda locum dedit, editionem Græcam simpliciter secutus Arphaxado ante genitum Cainanem 135. Cainani ante genitum Salam 130. annos tribuisset: 200. totos eo ex numero annos subducendos novi nostri censuerunt temporum arbitri, Bellarminus, Gordonus, Torniellus, Salianus, Samerius, Harvillæus, Henricus Philippi, et alii, cum Pererio scilicet statuentes, "Additionem[y] illam centum annorum ad annos quos habent Hebræi et Latini codices mendosam esse, nec a Septuaginta interpretibus profectam, sed vitiose in translationem eorum aliunde infusum." Atqui centum annorum illa additio in omnibus constanter non est observata: ut in Jaredo, Mathusala, Lamecho, et Nachore videre licet. Complutensis enim, et eam hic secuta Romana editio, quæ Nachori ante genitum Tharam 179. annos pro 79. adscribit, plane vitiosa est. Deinde et minoris numeri in annis Cainanis inconstans reperitur lectio. Jornandes enim in libro de regnorum successionibus, et Georgius Syrus in chronologicis suis tabulis Cainani ante natum Salam annos 135. tribuunt. Et licet vulgatum 130. annorum numerum Georgius Syncellus præferat; in aliis tamen codicibus 139. fuisse lectum simul agnoscit, ita hac de re scribere: "Ἡ[z] δὲ τῆς Γενέσεως πρώτη Μωυσέως βίβλος τῷ ρλʹ ἔτει αὐτοῦ φησὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Καϊνᾶν γεγεννηκέναι τὸν Σάλα ἐν τοῖς ἠκριβωμένοις τῶν ἀντιγράφων, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐστοιχειώσαμεν. ἔν τισι γὰρ ρλθʹ φέρεται αὐτοῦ Καϊνᾶν. Primus autem Geneseos a Mose conscriptus liber, in accuratioribus, Cainanem ætatis anno 130. Salam genuisse refert, quemadmodum et nos supputavimus. In quibusdam enim, anno 139. Cainanis natus ille fuisse fertur." Quam posteriorem lectionem authores Constantinopolitani computi, a Græcis et Moscovitis hodie recepti, qui ad annum mundi 5509. Christi natalem retulerunt, secutos fuisse confirmat Sca-

[y] Perer. lib. 16. in Genes. cap. 11. sect. 183.
[z] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 186.

liger[a]. Ut nullo certo argumento constare nobis possit, utrum ad chronologiam mundi constituendam assumendus hic a nobis fuerit annorum 30. 35. aut 39. vel etiam 130. 135. aut 139. numerus. Cum enim centenariorum annorum illa additio non in nostris solum, sed in antiquissimorum etiam Christianorum patrum codicibus, iisque etiam qui ante Christi tempora sunt exarati, ut ex Demetrii chronologia postea ostendetur, locum obtinuerit: cur eam magis, quam hanc de Cainane totam laciniam, " vitiose in translationem τῶν Septuaginta aliunde infusam," fuisse dicamus, nullam possumus rationem reddere idoneam.

At negat Salianus " Fuisse[b] quempiam aliquando mortalium tam effuse temerarium, aut audaciæ tam projectæ, qui non unam aliquam commutare vocem in sacrosanctis codicibus, sed integram hoc loco periodum inserere atque infercire ausus fuerit;" multumque hic ille rhetoricatur: pluribus ea urgens, quæ a socio ipsius Henrico[c] hisce interrogatiunculis sunt comprehensa: " Quæ vel Septuaginta interpretum, vel aliorum audacia tanta esse potuit, quæ non modo nomen Cainan, sed et annos, quos ante, quos post genitum filium vixisse memoratur, in sacrum textum intruderet, si Cainan nunquam extitit? Quæ malitia, quæ spes utilitatis aut Septuaginta seniores, aut eorum amanuenses potuit ad hoc mendacium impellere, tam disertis verbis, toties nomine repetito, tam accuratis annorum numeris concinnandum?" Sed quod verba audiam, cum facta videam? et tot aliarum periodorum et capitulorum aliquando pluribus periodis constantium, tum additiones tum detractiones in Græca ista editione alibi occurrant, quarum causa nulla reddi potest, præter merum ipsius scriptoris arbitrium. Cum prætermissorum tantum esse numerum confirmet Hieronymus, ut " si[d] ea vellet cuncta digerere, non libro, sed libris opus futurum" dicat; atque additamenta, vel in uno Estheræ vo-

[a] Scalig. Canon. Isagog. lib. 3. part. 2. cap. 1. epoch. 2.

[b] Salian. præfat. in 3. tom. annal.

[c] Henr. Philipp. quæst. chron. 1. in Gen. cap. 11.

[d] Hieron. lib. 3. comment. in Jerem. cap. 17.

lumine, tanta et talia ab Origene, in epistola ad Julium Africanum, sint notata; ut propter ea "liber[e] hic quamvis Hebraicus et Hebræis receptus, sero admodum apud Christianos canonicam authoritatem receperit."

Ad assumptionem jam veniendum est; et videndum, an in germana Septuaginta interpretum editione Cainan inter Arphaxadum et Salam fuerit interpositus. Ubi primitiva primum Mosaicæ Pentateuchi versio, quæ Hebraico textui exactissime respondebat, ut in nostro de Septuaginta interpretum editione syntagmate est ostensum, et consequenter Cainanem istum insititium, neque ab Hebræis, neque ab eorum sequace Beroso Chaldæo, illis temporibus agnitum, habere non poterat, a liberiore illa totius veteris instrumenti interpretatione est secernenda, quæ post quartum Ptolemæi Philometoris annum, ut ex fine libri Estheræ liquet, concinnata, procedente tempore Septuaginta seniorum locum et nomen obtinuit. De posteriore deinde illa ex Hieronymo est sciendum: "Aliam[f] esse editionem, quam Origenes, et Cæsariensis Eusebius, omnesque Græci tractatores κοινὴν, id est, communem appellant atque vulgatam, et plerisque Λουκιανὸς, vel Λυκιανὶς, dicebatur; aliam Septuaginta interpretum, quæ in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperiebatur; et quidem κοινὴν istam, hoc est, communem editionem, ipsam esse quæ et Septuaginta; sed hoc interesse inter utramque: quod κοινὴ pro locis et temporibus, et pro voluntate scriptorum veterum corrupta editio est; ea autem quæ habebatur in ἑξαπλοῖς, ipsam esse quæ in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata Septuaginta interpretum translatio reservari" credebatur. In communi illa tum vetere, quæ ante Origenis tempora erat in usu, tum nova a Luciano martyre interpolata, Cainanem interjectum fuisse agnoscimus; eo quo supra ex vulgatis libris proposuimus modo. In altera vero, quæ incorrupta et immaculata Septuaginta editio a doctis censebatur, quamque in Alexandrina Cleopatræ bibliotheca repositam, et in Ægypto, Palæstina et

[e] Sixt. Senen. Bibl. Sanct. lib. 1. sect. 2.
[f] Hier. epist. 11. ad Sun. et Fretel. op. tom. 2. pag. 627.

Syria tum receptam, Hexaplis suis Origenes inserendam curavit, Cainanem locum habuisse negamus; atque ita textum Mosaicum repræsentatum fuisse defendimus:

"Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀρφαξὰδ ἑκατὸν τριακονταπέντε ἔτη, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλά· Καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀρφαξὰδ, μετὰ γεννῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν Σαλὰ, ἔτη τρία καὶ τετρακόσια (al. τριακόσια) καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, καὶ ἀπέθανε. Et vixit Arphaxad 135. annos et genuit Sala. Et vixit Arphaxad, postquam genuit Sala, annos 403. (al. 303.) et genuit filios et filias, et mortuus est."

In communi editione τῶν Septuaginta, Origenes "Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quæ minus fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur opposita:" ut in apologia adversus Rufinum habet Hieronymus[f]: ubi et codices istos ab Origene elaboratos, Palæstinis suis Eusebium et sodalem ejus Pamphilum tradidisse significat. Hic vero Origenes ea quæ ad Cainan spectant uti invenit, ita et reliquit; sed virgula sive obelisco prænotata: quod ex illis Procopii Gazæi in Geneseos cap. XI. intelligimus: "Hebraica veritas habet, Selam genitum esse ab Arphaxad. Quæ deinde in medio ponuntur obelisco signata visuntur." Ipse vero Eusebius, in priore chronici sui libro annos patrum ex triplici textu, Hebræo, Græco et Samaritano, recensens, in nullo eorum Cainanem posuit; sed in eo etiam qui est κατὰ τὴν ό ἑρμηνείαν (juxta Septuaginta interpretationem) Arphaxadum, annos 135. natum, genuisse Salam commemorat. Quod magnopere se mirari Georgius Syncellus dicit: "Lectos[g] per omnes Christi ecclesias sacros Geneseos libros" Cainanem habere affirmans; et ob illum prætermissum, tum Eusebium, tum alium quendam ætate sua vetustiorem erroris coarguens. Ignorabat enim ille quod Eusebio probe erat cognitum, discrimen inter communem et sinceriorem illam τῶν Septuaginta editionem, quæ in Hexaplis fuerat, ex quibus in Cæsariensi bibliotheca a Pamphilo suo repositis, illam annorum mundi seriem seligendam putavit quam germanæ Septuaginta interpretum sententiæ magis congruentem esse judicavit.

[f] Op. tom. 4. pag. 125.

[g] Georg. Syncell. pag. 86. et 169.

Neque alicujus est momenti quod ab Henrico Philippæo opponitur. Eusebium quidem "aliquando dissimulare Cainan:" sed quum eum "alibi exprimat, negasse non esse censendum." Fefellit enim hic eum socius ipsius Jacobus Salianus: qui in tertii annalis prooemio, hoc ex Latina Eusebii chronici versione, in præfatione cujus est initium, "Incipiunt tempora," confirmat; atque locis aliquot pro Cainane facientibus ex putido illo excerptorum Barbaro-Latinorum libello, a Scaligero edito, descriptis, ex illis videre nos posse concludit, "pro qua sententia Eusebius stare censendus sit;" quasi qui aliquid omnino videt, excerpta illa non ex Eusebio solo, sed ex aliis etiam ab Eusebii chronographia summe dissentientibus, desumpta fuisse ignorare potuerit: et alteram illam præfationem, ut eam Saliano appellare libuit, "aut alius auctoris esse, aut pauca Eusebiana intermixta" habere, ipse Scaliger[h] non monuerit; et illud ad præsentem causam attinere satis non evicerit, quod in ea "ab anno diluvii usque ad nativitatem Abrahæ anni 1072." numerentur: quum Eusebius[i], tam juxta Septuaginta interpretationem, *κατὰ τῶν ό ἑρμηνείαν*, quam juxta textum Samaritanum, a diluvio usque ad primum annum Abrahæ annos 942. supputaverit. Cumque in omnibus suis epilogismis hunc numerandi modum Eusebius constanter retineat, et per eum Cainanis annos a sua chronologia penitus excludat, atque ob hoc ipsum non a Georgio Syncello, sed etiam ab illo longe antiquioribus chronographis Alexandrinis[k], Aniano et Panodoro, reprehensum eum fuisse constet: temeritatis certe notam illi effugere non possunt, qui vel Eusebium Cainanem agnovisse affirmaverint, vel ab editione *τῶν* Septuaginta, quam ille sequendam proposuerat, Cainanis generationem abfuisse negaverint.

Sed et ante Eusebium Origenis æqualis Julius Africanus, cui ad bibliothecam Alexandrinam, in qua authenticum erat editionis illius, quæ tum germanam Septuaginta

[h] Scalig. animadversion. Eusebian. pag. 10. a.
[i] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 86, 87, et 88.
[k] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 35, 36.

seniorum interpretationem continere credebatur, exemplar, continuus patebat accessus, prætermisso Cainane, Arphaxadum[l] annos 135. natum genuisse Salam, et ab Adamo usque ad mortem Phalec annos 3000. fluxisse memorat. A mundi enim initio annos 2262. usque ad nativitatem Arphaxad, neglecto, ut alibi est dictum, biennio post diluvium, ille numerat. Quibus additi anni 130. Salæ ante natum Eberum, et Eberi 134. ante natum Phalegum, cum integræ vitæ Phalegi annis 339. tot enim in Græcis codicibus illi tributos invenimus, simul annos 3000. conficiunt. "Καὶ[m] *ὁ ὑπονοούμενος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς τοῦ κόσμου διαμονῆς ἄριθμος εἰς δύο διῃρέθη ἰσαιτατα. τρισχίλια γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὑπάρξεως ἔτη ἐπερατώθη.* Et qui mundi durationis annorum numerus esse existimatur, hinc in duas partes æquales est divisus. Ex quo enim ille est natus, anni mundi conditi ter mille elapsi sunt:" ut apud Eustathium patriarcham Antiochenum legitur: *γενέσει* proculdubio *τελευτῇ*, nativitate pro morte, librarii vitio, substituta: sicut sequentia illa clare ostendunt: "*Γίνεται οὖν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Φαλὲκ ἔτη τρισχίλια.* Ab Adam itaque usque ad mortem Phalec anni ter mille numerantur." Quæ etiam annorum mundi medietas ab Hesychio in Christi natalem, apud Anastasium Nicænum: in Scriptur. quæst. 93. Suida in Φαλὲκ, Johanne Malela Antiocheno et Georgio Cedreno, in chronicis suis est constituta: loco Genes. cap. X. ver. 15. et 1 Chronic. cap. I. ver. 19. ita accepto ac si diebus Phalegi in duas æquales partes dividenda fuissent mundi tempora. Ejusmodi enim divisionem Hebraico nomine Phaleg significatam putabant; sicut Danielis cap. VII. ver. 25. in originali Chaldaico פלג עדן dimidium temporis; et cap. IX. ver. 27. in Syriaca interpretatione פלגות שבועא dimidiatam vel mediam Septimanam denotat: et 6000. annis integrum præsentis seculi spatium definiebant: quæ recepta fuerat apud Hebræos, Græcos, et Latinos opinio; ut in Barnabæ tributa epistola, dicto illo domus Eliæ apud Talmudicos celebri,

[l] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 86. [m] Eustath. in Hexamer. pag. 55.

Cabalistico authore libri טורום in primum Geneseos versiculum, Lactantio[m], Tichonio in regula quinta et aliis videre licet.

Sed et Julio Africano author antiquior Theophilus Antiochenus, in libro tertio ad Autolycum, temporum epilogismum juxta Septuaginta instituens, omisso Cainane Arphaxadum Salæ patrem facit. Imo et ipsorum apostolorum temporibus Dositheus, in textu, quem interpolatum Samaritanis suis dedit, Hebraico, patrum post diluvium annis ante παιδογονίαν ex Septuaginta editione desumptis, Cainanem cum suis annis prorsus prætermisit: numeratis[n] hoc modo a diluvio usque ad primum Abrahami (vel 70. Tharæ potius) annis 942. "ὁπόσα ἦν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ό. quot erant et juxta Septuaginta," ut ex Eusebio refert Georgius Syncellus. Qui numerorum in Eusebianis et nostris Samaritanis exemplaribus consensus imprimis est observandus: ne quis Grotianum illud commentum in errorem inducat; quod "Samaritani[o] quos nunc habemus codices facti fuerint ad Græca exemplaria, ex quo Samaritani ab Justiniano coacti sunt suscipere Christianismum."

Addi his poterant, præter Eusebii sequaces, etiam Josephus in Hypomnestico suo adhuc inedito, et Quintus Julius Hilarion in libello de mundi duratione, anno æræ Christianæ 397. conscripto: qui annorum calculo juxta Septuaginta instituto, Cainanis tempora præterierunt. Ab argumento enim a Septuaginta ad gravius illud alterum, a Lucæ evangelistæ authoritate deductum, libet jam accedere; quod ita sese habet. Si B. Lucas Spiritus Sancti amanuensis, in Christi genealogia Cainanem inter Salam et Arphaxadum interponendum esse censuit; ea de re dubitandi nullus amplius relinquitur locus. At verum est prius: ut ex Lucæ cap. III. ver. 35, 36. liquet. Ergo et posterius. Ubi ad hypotheticam illam propositionem distinguendo primum respondetur: si quidem ex propria sententia hic locutus evangelista fuerit, veram

[m] Lib. 7. cap. 14. [n] Syncell. chron. pag. 88.
[o] H. Grot. annotat. in Levit. cap. 17. ver. 4.

eam esse; sin ex aliorum, non item. Non magis certe, quam Melchisedecum reipsa "sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia, neque initium dierum neque finem vitæ habuisse," oportere credi; quia ex vulgo recepta sententia id apostolus[p] pronunciaverit. "Consuetudinis[q] enim Scripturarum est, ut opinionem multorum sic narret historicus, quomodo illo tempore ab omnibus credebatur. Sicut Joseph ab ipsa quoque Maria[r] appellabatur pater Jesu: ita et Herodes dicitur contristatus, quia hoc discumbentes putabant:" inquit Hieronymus. Et "Septuaginta[s] prophetam non dixere Ananiam: ne scilicet prophetam viderentur dicere, qui propheta non erat. Quasi non multa in Scripturis sanctis dicantur juxta opinionem illius temporis quo gesta referuntur, et non juxta quod rei veritas continebat." Atque in libro secundo adversus Helvidium: "Evangelistæ opinionem vulgi exprimentes, quæ vera historiæ lex est, patrem dixerunt Joseph Salvatoris."

Ita igitur evangelista Lucas, patres Salvatoris omnes, tam vulgo ita habitos quam veros, recensendos sibi proponens; genealogiam ipsius ita exorsus, "*ὢν ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱὸς Ἰωσὴφ, τοῦ Ἡλὶ, τοῦ Ματθὰν*, existens, ut putabatur, filius Joseph, filius Eli," patris Mariæ Deiparæ, "filius Matthan," nominativo illo *υἱὸς* in sequentibus omnibus *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* repetito: in progressu quoque ejusdem inter Christi patres et Cainanem nominare poterat; non quod talis revera ipse esset, sed quod a Judæis Hellenistis et Christianis, non alia quam Græca Testamenti veteris interpretatione usis, quorum maximus erat numerus, inter Abrahami majores numeraretur. Etsi enim in ea editione, quæ Alexandriæ in Cleopatrina bibliotheca reposita pro genuina Septuaginta seniorum postea est habita, Cainanis istius nullam extitisse mentionem ostensum fuerit: in *κοινῇ* tamen sive vulgata, quæ in communiori usu fuerat, Cainanem locum etiam ante Christi tempora obtinuisse, Demetrii in libro de his qui in Judæa regnaverunt

[p] Heb. cap. 7. ver. 3.
[q] Hieron. Commentar. in Matthæi cap. 4. ver. 9.
[r] Luc. cap. 2. ver. 48.
[s] Hieron. in Jer. cap. 28. ver. 10.

chronologia, apud Eusebium[r] ab Alexandro Polyhistore proposita, demonstrat. Ea enim, usque ad Jacobi et filiorum descensum in Ægyptum, ab Adamo annos 3624. a diluvio, 1360. (vel potius 1362.) ab Abrahami ex Charane in Chananæam adventu 215. dinumerans, 130. annorum Cainanis interpositionem necessario requirit. Quod si a Grotio fuisset animadversum, in eam opinionem nunquam concessisset; in Lucæ cap. III. ver. 36. primum Cainanis nomen errore quodam fuisse repositum: "Deinde cum late spargi ea lectio per Lucæ exemplaria cœpisset, Græcos Christianos etiam in versione Geneseos secundum Septuaginta, inter Arphaxadum et Salam interposuisse nomen Cainanis, annis etiam additis, quo magis Lucæ, quem sic scripsisse arbitrabantur, sua auctoritas constaret."

Longe igitur probabilior, ut ad assumptionis examen jam veniamus, altera est sententia, Cainanis nomen ex *κοινῇ*, sive vulgata Geneseos editione, ut in primum libri prioris Paralipomenων capitulum, ubi neque in Græco codice Vaticano, neque in bibliorum Jayanorum versione Arabica, neque in Ruthenica sive Illyrica translatione vetere, adhuc insertum illud reperitur, ita in Christi apud Lucam genealogiam fuisse transfusum. De eo, in secundo chronicorum suorum libro, Christianus Massæus: "In primis dubium videri potest, utrum beatus Lucas ita scripserit. Quis enim audeat asseverare, quod probari non potest? Quis autem non videat potuisse contingere, ut non ab ipso, sed ab aliis Græcis post mortem ejus insertum sit, si viderint evangelium a suis bibliis discrepare, quod fieri non debuisse constabat: in eo maxime loco ubi generationum series scribebatur; ubi facillime putari potuisset, non voluntatem, sed inadvertentiam affuisse scriptoris?" Et, in commentariis ad Geneseos cap. XI. Benedictus Pererius: "Ex[s] his recte concluditur generationem Cainan non fuisse in omnibus libris Septuaginta interpretum. Unde probabiliter etiam conjicitur eam non fuisse traditam a Septuaginta interpreti-

[r] In Evangelicæ præparationis lib. 9.
[s] Perer. in Gen. lib. 16. sect. 178, 179.

bus: atque eos libros qui ea generatione carebant, ut qui cum Hebræis codicibus congruerent, veros et integros esse judicandos; eos autem qui generationem Cainan habebant, ut corruptos atque mendosos esse abjudicandos, ac rejiciendos. Facile autem fuit, aliquem nactum libros septuaginta interpretum in quibus erat generatio Cainan, inde eam transtulisse in evangelium Lucæ: quod a principio non animadversum non solum inhæsisse in uno eo libro, sed in eos postea qui usque ad hanc diem exscripti sunt, esse derivatum. At enim vero, si quod de veritate librorum Septuaginta interpretum circa generationem Cainan satis bene probatum est, idem quoque de libro evangelico B. Lucæ probaretur; equidem sententiam hanc toto assensu complecterer. Verum neque hac ætate ullus est liber B. Lucæ qui in genealogia Salvatoris non habeat generationem Cainan; nec legi fuisse unquam aliquem, qui diceret, vel a se, vel ab aliis visum esse codicem ullum B. Lucæ qui tali generatione careret." Ita ille.

Atqui librum B. Lucæ Græco-Latinum, in antiquissimis membranis, literis majusculis, sine spiritibus et accentibus, descriptum ipsi vidimus: ubi in Græco, *του Φαλεκ, του Εβερ, του Σαλα, του Αρφαξαδ, του Σημ*, in Latino: "Qui fuit Phalec, qui fuit Eber, qui fuit Sala, qui fuit Arphaxad, qui fuit Sem," exerte legebatur; Cainanis hujus mentione prorsus prætermissa. Codex ille, quatuor evangeliorum et Actorum apostolorum historias complectens, ex Græcia olim in Galliam perductus, in monasterio S. Irenæi in suburbio Lugdunensi est repositus; ibique oriente civili bello anno 1562. repertus, a Theodoro Beza anno demum 1581. publicæ Cantabrigiensis academiæ bibliothecæ est donatus. Neque hujus generis Græcus ullus MS. est alius, vel a Beza commemoratus, vel in Angliam e Græcia nuper missus: quicquid in notationibus suis ad hunc Lucæ locum dicat Hugo Grotius.

Quærit hic igitur Salianus; quæ sit "vis[t] in manuscripto uno, sive Gallico, sive Anglicano, in quo Cainan in

[t] Salian. præfat. in annal. tom. 3.

evangelio Lucæ omissus fuerit, ut omnibus omnium bibliothecarum id genus libris opponi possit?" Negatque omnino Gomarus[u], unum illum codicem tantæ videri esse vel "antiquitatis, ut reliquis omnibus priscis patribus sit conferendus, nedum præferendus;" vel "sinceritatis, ut fidem præ cæteris mereatur." Quasi aliam huic codici vim a causæ hujus patronis adscribi fuisset necesse, quam quanta ad objectum universalem exemplarium Lucæ in Cainane retinendo consensum refellendum sufficeret; quæ cui lectio esset præferenda, non ex hujus codicis vel antiquitate vel sinceritate, sed ex Mosis et Ezræ authoritate, æstimandum relinquentibus.

In profundioris autem antiquitatis exemplaribus varietates occurrere plurimas, quæ in posteriorum temporum Manuscriptis nullibi apparent, vel hic ipse de quo agimus codex fidem facit: qui unus in evangeliis plures a vulgatis libris discrepantes lectiones nobis exhibet, quam aliarum fortasse bibliothecarum exemplaria conjuncta simul omnia. De cujusmodi in libris novi Testamenti suo tempore reperta varietate, ita et Origenes non monuit: "Multam[x] differentiam inter exemplaria invenimus, sive per negligentiam scribentium, sive ex temeritate quorumdam, sive propter eos qui negligunt emendare Scripturas: vel propter eos qui quod ipsis videtur in emendationibus vel abjiciunt, vel subducunt."

Itaque quemadmodum in Romanorum cap. I. ver. 17. recte nos hodie legimus, "Justus ex fide vivet:" ubi libri qui Hieronymi tempore extabant (quemadmodum libro primo commentariorum ipsius in Habakuk, cap. II. liquet) primæ personæ pronomine ex Septuaginta addito, "Justus ex fide mea vivet," legerunt: ita vice versa, ubi hodie apud Lucam ex *κοινῇ*, sive vulgata Græca editione Cainanem videmus repositum; in illa quæ Origenis tempore ferebatur codicum varietate eundem pari consensu non fuisse adjectum, tum ex nostro hoc venerandæ antiquitatis exemplari argumentum capere possumus, tum ex ipsius Origenis verbis illis, tractatu

[u] Gomar. de geneal. Christi, cap. 2.

[x] Origen. in Matt. tract. 8.

vigesimo in Johannem: "Ἀβραὰμ εἰκοστὸς γεγέννηται ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου· δέκα γὰρ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἐπὶ Νῶε, καὶ δέκα ἀπὸ Νῶε ἐπὶ Ἀβραάμ. Abraham a primo homine vicesimus natus est. Decem enim generationes ab Adamo sunt ad Noe, et decem a Noe ad Abraham." Ut Noe enim, seniore Cainane connumerato, ab Adamo decimus; ita Abrahamus ab eodem, nisi secluso Cainane juniore, numerari nullo modo poterit vicesimus; quibus addendum quoque quod Josephus, vetus scriptor Christianus, in Græco suo Hypomnestico, recensens generationes ab Adamo ad Christum, post Arphaxad ponit Sala; insititio isto Cainane prorsus omisso.

Sed et ex Romanensium castris Johannes Cordesius, in Gallico de genealogia Christi libello, Cainanis nomen in primitivis Lucæ codicibus non extitisse confirmat. Hic enim est anonymus ille cujus contra Cainanem argumenta recensuit in Dubiis[z] suis evangelicis noster Spanhemius: ut "homo non leviter eruditus," cujus rationibus hac in parte respondere conatus est, in tertii sui annalis præfatione, Jacobus Salianus. Cui et comites adjicere liceat, ex eadem e qua Salianus fuit societate Jesu, theologos tres: quorum primus, ab ipso Cordesio productus, Cornelius a Lapide, in commentariis suis ad Geneseos, cap. XI. ver. 12. docet Cainan in Lucam inrepsisse "errore librariorum, vel scioli alicujus, qui Hebraice nesciens cum in versione Septuaginta, quæ olim vulgata fuit, in Genesi inveniret additum Cainan, eundem ex Septuaginta in Lucam transtulit, illumque ei inserendum putavit." Alter Dionysius Petavius, in libro nono de doctrina temporum, capite decimo septimo, non debere "mirum aut incredibile videri si Cainanis nomen ex Septuaginta corruptis libris in Evangelium Lucæ redundasse suspicemur." Tertius denique Petrus Possinus, in Diallactico genealogiæ Christi capite nono, confidenter concludit; "ex corrupta jam editione Septuaginta longo demum intervallo libris Lucæ inditum a sciolis exscriptoribus fuisse nomen Cainanis. Nam quis

[z] Part. 1. dub. 23.

nescit," inquit ille, "Testamentum novum librorum omnium frequentissime fuisse descriptum? Quod ergo assueti editioni Septuaginta jam mendosæ, semidocti Græculi descriptionem evangeliorum accederent, restituere, ut ipsis quidem videbatur omissum apud Lucam nomen non dubitaverunt: quæ hallucinatio emendationis eruditæ authoritatem habuit, ut in omnes brevi codices vulgaretur, si tamen in omnes." Et de testimoniis, pro retinendo Cainane, a Septuaginta interpretum et Lucæ evangelistæ authoritate deductis, ista dicta sufficiant.

Aliud enim illud argumentum ab Harvillæo[a] "a nationibus, ortis ab ipso Cainan," petitum pondus in se habet omnino perexiguum. "Eusebius," inquit ille, "libro primo chron. S. Epiphanius[b] in Ancorato, et chronicon Alexandrinum, dicunt ab ipso Cainan ortos fuisse Gasphenos." At vero Epiphanius Caianos, nescio quos, hic nominat; chronicon Alexandrinum, vel Constantinopolitanum potius, Sarmatas; Eustathius Antiochenus[c] Soggodianos; de Cainane hoc præterea addito: "Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἡ ἀστρονομία καὶ οἰωνισμοὶ ἐπανοήθησαν. Ab isto astronomia et auguria excogitata sunt." Ortos autem ab eo fuisse Gasphenos, non Eusebius, quem Cainanem illum omnino non agnovisse ostendimus, sed Georgius Syncellus memorat: eadem qua et alterum illud narrat fide. "Τῷ[d] βφπε ἔτει Καινᾶν διοδεύων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ εὗρεν τὴν γραφὴν τῶν γιγάντων, καὶ ἔκρυψεν παρ' ἑαυτῷ. Mundi anno 2585. Cainan deambulans in agro, scriptum gigantum reperit, et penes se recondidit." Eutychius filius Patricii Alexandrinus patriarcha, in Arabico suo chronico, anno Phaleki 36. mense Ab, Cainanem mortem obiisse notat. Catenæ autem in Pentateuchum Arabicæ, quæ in Bodleiana bibliotheca habetur, collector, eundem 13. die mensis Elul, feria sexta, vita excessisse scribit: filios ejus eum pollinxisse, sepeliisse, et per 40. dies luxisse, adjicens. Nempe, qui

[a] Harvil. Isagog. chron. sec. 37.
[b] Epiph. cap. 5.
[c] Hexaemer. pag. 54.
[d] Georg. Syncell. chron. pag. 46.

filium Arphaxadi eum revera fuisse existimarunt, ne nudum nomen videretur, quicquid vel de eo commenti sunt ipsi, vel ab aliis acceptum nimis secure posteritati commendandum putaverunt.

CAP. VII.

De secundæ, et tertiæ mundi ætatis connexione legitima: ubi Abrahamum ante mortem patris in Chananæam non venisse, ex Mose, Stephano, et aliis ostenditur; et ante annum patris 130. in lucem non fuisse editum defenditur.

In secunda annorum mundi periodo, de connexione mortis Tharæ cum filii ipsius Abrahami in Chananæam profectione, quæ tertiæ periodo dat initium, quæstio adhuc discutienda restat. A qua, quia tertiæ quoque mundi ætatis exordii determinatio dependet: utramque, syllogismo ita expositorio comprehensam, exhibere visum fuit.

Tempus quo Charane profectus est Abrahamus in Chananæam, initium est peregrinationis Hebræorum in terra non sua.
Dies 15. mensis septimi (primi postea dicti) mortem Tharæ proxime subsecutus, tempus illud est quo Charane profectus est Abramus in Chananæam.
Ergo dies 15. mensis septimi, mortem Tharæ proxime subsecutus, initium est peregrinationis Hebræorum in terra non sua.

Majoris propositionis confirmationem, quia tertiæ periodi explicationem magis spectat, ad proximum differemus: minoris in hoc capite aggrediemur. Et quia mensis et diei ratio in capite tertio supra est reddita; hic de connexione mortis Tharæ cum Abrahami in Chananæam profectione tantum agemus: quam a Mose, in fine undecimi, et initio duodecimi Geneseos capituli, ita habemus declaratum.

Et fuerunt dies Tharæ ducentorum quinque annorum; et mortuus est Thara Charane.
Et dixit Dominus ad Abram: Egredere de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et e domo patris tui, in terram quam ostendam tibi.

Et faciam te in gentem magnam, et benedicam tibi, et magnificabo nomen tuum; et esto benedictio.

Et benedicam benedicentibus tibi, et maledicentibus tibi maledicam: et benedicentur in te omnes familiæ terræ.

Et profectus est quemadmodum est locutus ad eum Dominus, et profectus est cum eo Lot, et septuaginta quinque annorum erat Abram, cum egrederetur Charane.

Ubi inprimis perpendendum est quod sub capitis tertii initium, supra a nobis est explicatum, patriarcharum omnium qui post diluvium nati sunt, integræ vitæ annorum summa consulto prætermissa, solius Tharæ universos quos vixit annos esse hic commemoratos; et cum mentione mortis ejus, profectionis Abrami in Chananæam narrationem deinde esse conjunctam, ut inde intelligeretur, ubinam constituendum esset secundæ mundi periodi finis, et tertiæ exordium. Quod Mosis consilium non animadvertentes hic alii, per prolepsin et anticipationem mortem Tharæ ante Abrahami e Charane profectionem ab eo positam fuisse dixerunt: et Scripturam alias "incertum relinquere, quanto tempore post mortem Tharæ venerit Abraham in regionem Chanaan; utrum illo anno quo Thara mortuus est, an aliquot post annis quam mortuus fuerat." Ita Pererius. Cui reponimus, quod ab ipso agnoscitur: "Chronologiam[a] voluisse Mosem integre, exacte ac perfecte tradere:" addimusque in hunc ipsum finem mortem Tharæ et profectionem Abrahæ, ut eodem anno factam, simul conjunxisse; ut annorum primæ mundi periodi cum annis secundæ connexionem patefaceret. Nulla enim ratio erat cur Abram, ex Ur Chaldæorum a Deo vocatus[b], et vocationi ejus obsecundans, simul cum patre Chananæam versus iter instituens, et cum illo Charanæ aliquandiu subsistens[c], patre demum mortuo, Charanæ diutius moraretur, et injunctum a Deo iter amplius protraheret, etiamsi nulla iterata Dei vocatio intercessisset. Post mortem vero patris, Abramum Charane in terram Chananæam migravisse, disertis etiam verbis

[a] Perer. in Gen. lib. 16. num. 195. Id. ibid. num. 174.

[b] Genes. cap. 15. ver. 7. Nehem. cap. 9. ver. 7. Act. cap. 7. ver. 2.

[c] Genes. cap. 11. ver. 31.

protomartyr Stephanus[d] confirmat, sic de eo narrans. "Τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων κατῴκησεν ἐν Χαῤῥάν· κακεῖθεν, μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, μετῴκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε. Tunc exiens e terra Chaldæorum, habitavit in Charran: et illinc, postquam mortuus est pater ejus, transtulit eum Deus in terram hanc, in qua nunc vos habitatis." Cui tam claræ luci, mirandum profecto est, quantas offundere conentur tenebras illi, qui anno 70. Tharæ Abramum natum fuisse opinantur: et in quam varias, ut hoc efficiant, se convertant formas. Hieronymus, in Quæstionibus Hebraicis in Genesim, "indissolubilem quæstionem" hanc appellat. Josephus Scaliger, in Elencho posterioris orationis chronologicæ D. Parei, "Eliam expectandum" esse ait, "qui nodum solvat." Melchior Canus, et memoriæ lapsum ex concionis æstu in Stephano admittit. Abramus Bucholcerus, in Isagoge sua chronologica, dicit esse "examinanda Acta ad Genesin, non Genesin ad Acta; lignum ad normam exigendum, non normam ad lignum:" additque "esse in Stephani narratione plura, quæ cum grano salis, ut loquuntur, accipienda, et commoda interpretatione lenienda sunt." Quasi hic aliqua inter Genesin et Acta intercederet differentia; et quasi ut primarius historiæ hujus author citatus hic fuisset Stephanus, et non ut Mosis fidissimus interpres, qui nos doceret locationem Abrahami initio Geneseos cap. XII. propositam, recto et naturali ordine, sine recapitulatione aut ὑστέρῳ πρώτῳ ullo mortis Tharæ fuisse subnectendam, cujus mentio immediate præcesserat: aut quasi grano salis condiri illius dicta necesse haberent, quem angelo magis quam homini similem orationem hanc exorsum et Spiritu Sancto plenum eandem finiisse, Spiritus ipse Sanctus confirmat[e].

Addit his Sethus Calvisius, "Quod[f] affirmatur ex Stephano Abrahamum post defunctum Tharam in terram Chanaan profectum esse, id ex versione Septuaginta in-

[d] In Act. VII. ver. 4.

[e] Act. cap. 6. ver. 15. et cap. 7. ver. 55.

[f] Calvis. Isagog. chron. cap. 35.

terpretum mutuatum esse. Sed paraphrases Septuaginta interpretum, si pugnent cum fontibus et textu, cum grano salis accipiendas." Quum tamen in versione Græca, quæ Septuaginta interpretibus tribuitur, nihil omnino inveniatur quod pro hac sententia magis faciat, quam quod in ipsis fontibus et in textu legitur Hebraico.

Georgius Syncellus[f], Andreas Masius[g], et Nicolaus Abramus[h], verba Stephani non de morte Tharæ naturali, sed de spirituali idololatriæ morte interpretantur: quod apud Deos suos, quorum vanissimo cultui erat deditus, Charane manere statuisset, et filium inde a Deo vocatum in Chananæam sequi obstinatissime renuisset. Sed præterquam quod a sensu literali quem in historica sua narratione B. Stephanum spectasse non est dubium, ad mysticum et tropologicum verba protomartyris, præter omnem rationem, illi detorqueant: cum ipsius etiam historiæ veritate nobis certe videtur, eam expositionem omnino non posse existere. Etsi enim Tharam Diis alienis aliquando servivisse, a Josua[i] edoceamur: tamen cum filium Abramum ex Ure, idololatrica Chaldæorum urbe, miseratione divina vocatum, ultro Thara secutus fuerit, in Chananæam[k] quoque, si in itinere morbo Charanæ detentus et morte sublatus non fuisset, comitaturus; in Charane subsistentem ad vomitum suum fuisse reversum, et Servatoris progenitorem in tam fœda idololatria fuisse mortuum ut credamus, animum inducere non possumus.

Daniel Angelocrator, in suæ chronologiæ prodromo, quæstionis solutionem in voce *μετὰ* consistere arbitratur, quæ in loco Actorum non post, sed circa, vel sub significet: "Ut sit sensus, quod sub mortem patris vel circa mortem, hoc est ingravescente ætate ejus profectus sit." Verum neque exemplo ullo probatur, eam esse vocis *μετὰ* latitudinem, ut circa, vel sub significare possit: illud enim *μετὰ τὴν μετοικεσίαν*, ex Matthæi cap. I. ver. 12. productum, nihil aliud omnino denotat, quam revera post

[f] Georgius Syncell. chron. pag. 49.
[g] Mas. in Josu. cap. ult.
[h] Abram. in Pharo Vet. Testam. lib. 7. cap. 22. et 37.
[i] Jos. cap. 24. ver. 2.
[k] Gen. cap. 11. ver. 31.

exilium Babylonicum inchoatum, a Jechonia genitum fuisse Salathielem: et si maxime probaretur, hic certe ea significatio locum habere non potest. Quia enim diceret, circa vel sub mortem Tharæ profectum fuisse Abramum; si inter eam filii profectionem et mortem patris, 60. ipsi anni, ut Angelocratoris, in septuagesimum annum Tharæ natalem Abrahami conjicientis necessario requirit hypothesis, intercessissent.

Pererius[k], cum Abulensi, duas Abrahami profectiones ex Charane in Chananæam distinguendas esse asserit. Priorem, quum 75. esset ille annorum, patre adhuc vivente; posteriorem, quum esset annorum 135. patre jam mortuo, factam: de quarum priore Moses, de posteriore Stephanus meminerit. Per 90. vero postremos patris sui annos, non tam habitasse in terra Chanaan eum dici posse putat, quam peregrinatum esse; quod, per intervalla, patrem et fratres reviseret. Sed renuntiata patris morte, reversum in Charan, ut vel patris funus curaret, vel ne bona quæ paterna hæreditate sibi obvenerant perderet, egressum inde postea eum fuisse ait, firmissimo animo certissimoque proposito nunquam eo in posterum revertendi; ut perpetuus deinceps terræ Chananææ colonus et habitator esset: ita enim *μετῴκισεν*[l] *αὐτὸν* ille interpretatur: "Colonum et habitatorem fecit, eique quasi nunquam amplius reversuro domicilium in terra Chanaan statuit; siquidem vox *μετοικία,* non simplicem translationem, sed quasi coloniam denotat."

Verum hoc de duplice Abrami in Chananæam translatione firmamentum abunde refutarunt Torniellus, D. Gualterus Ralegh[m], Salianus, Bonfrerius, Henricus Philippi; et fusissime, Harvillæus[n]. Illa enim verba apostoli[o]: "Si patriæ illius memores fuissent ex qua exierant, habebant opportunitatem ad revertendum;" in Abrahamo præcipue locum habuerunt qui urgente fame, ad Ægyptios,

[k] Perer. in Gen. lib. 16. a num. 199. ad 204.
[l] Act. cap. IV. ver. 4.
[m] Histor. Mundi, lib. 2. cap. 1. sec. 3.
[n] In Isagog. chron. sec. 33. a col. 323. ad 340.
[o] Hebr. cap. XI. ver. 15.

non sine præsente vitæ periculo, proficisci maluit, quam ad suos reverti[o]; et tantopere cavit, ne filius suus Isaacus in eam terram reduceretur, ex qua ipse est egressus[p]. Illud autem μετοικίζειν nihil aliud denotare certum est, quam facere ut quis migret, vel sedes mutet: sive peregrinatio ea transmigratio dicenda fuerit, sive quid aliud; sive is qui migrat, fixe et constanter in termino quem petit, sive ad tempus sit permansurus. Unde et de μετοικεσίᾳ, sive transmigratione Babylonica, hoc ipsum vocabulum in hac ipsa Stephani concione usurpatum fuisse videmus. "Μετοικιῶ[q] ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα Βαβυλῶνος, Transferam vos trans Babylonem:" et; "Μετῳκίσθη[r] Ἰουδαία ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεος αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ πλήθους δουλείας αὐτῆς· Migravit Judæa præ humiliatione sua, et præ multitudine servitutis suæ." Atque ut Abrami migrationi e Charane[s] anno ætatis suæ 75. cum familia, re familiari tota et Dei jussu sese transferentis, μετοικίας appellatio maxime proprie convenit, ita et universam tam ipsius, quam posterorum ejus in Chananæa habitationem et commorationem, pro peregrinatione esse habendam, tum ex apostoli verbis illis liquet. "Per[t] fidem Abraham commoratus est in terra promissionis, tanquam in aliena, commoratus in tabernaculis cum Isaac et Jacob, cohæredibus ejusdem promissionis;" tum ex ipso Mose, Chananæam ut terram peregrinationum Abrahami, Isaaci et Jacobi subinde nobis exhibente[u]. Unde et Debril, Perkinsii, aliorumqne opinio quoque concidi; qui, seposito etiam illo de duplici Abrami ex Charane in Chananæam translatione commento, cum B. Augustino[w], difficultatem omnem per expositionem verbi μετῴκισεν tolli posse existimant, quod "collocavit," seu "firmiter habitare fecit" illi interpretantur: Abrahamum dicentes, 60. quidem annos in terra Chananæa[x], vivo adhuc patres transegisse, sed nihil in ea possedisse;

[o] Gen. cap. 12. ver. 10. 12.
[p] Ibid. cap. 24. ver. 5, 6. 8.
[q] Act. cap. 7. ver. 43.
[r] Threnor. cap. 1. ver. 3.
[s] Gen. cap. 12. ver. 4, 5.
[t] Heb. cap. 11. ver. 9.
[u] Genes. cap. 36. ver. 7. cap. 37. ver. 1. Exod. cap. 6. ver. 4.
[w] Libro 16. de civitate Dei, cap. 15.
[x] Genes. cap. 23. ver. 17, 18. cap. 25. ver. 9, 10. et cap. 50. ver. 13.

post patris vero mortem ex emptione possidere agrum et speluncam, atque hac ratione firmius domicilium ibi habere cœpisse, nulla interius proprietatis vel Latinæ vocis "transtulit" quæ motum quendam, vel Græcæ *μετῴκισεν*, quæ transmigrationem denotat habita ratione, quemadmodum recte hic a Bonfrerio est observatum: ut non addam, fixum hoc Abrahami juxta Hebronem domicilium, non minus peregrinationis ipsius locum fuisse habitum[y] quam reliquam Chananæam, in qua liberius antea oberrabat.

Ludovicus de Dieu, vir doctissimus et mihi quum vixit amicissimus, in animadversionibus ad Actorum cap. VII. ver. 4. hanc etiam conjecturam suam eruditis considerandam proponit: "Verbis illis Stephani, de translato Abrahamo *εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε*, in terram hanc in qua vos nunc habitatis, non videri innui terram Canaan universim, sed speciatim determinari eam partem qua tribui Judæ cesserat, in qua Judæi quos Hierosolymis alloquebatur Stephanus tunc habitabant, adeoque respici habitationem ejus in Mamre, et quidem postquam empto ibi, prope Hebron in meditullio tribus Judæ, agro firmam sedem ibi fixit." Cum autem Sarah, in cujus sepulturam ager iste emptus fuerat, decennio marito junior[z], annos 127. nata, ex hac vita decesserit[a]: et Abrahamum annos 137. natum tum fuisse oportuit, et altero jam anno vivere desiisse Tharam etiamsi ab ipso septuagenario Abrahamum susceptum fuisse admiserimus.

Sed neque ista explicatio cum serie orationis protomartyris satis quadrat: in qua mentioni commorationis Abrahami in Charane hæc statim subjiciuntur: "Et illinc postquam mortuus est pater ejus, transtulit eum Deus in terram hanc in qua vos nunc habitatis. Et non dedit ei hæreditatem in ea ne vestigium quidem pedis: et promisit, se illam daturum ei possidendam, et semini ejus post eum; quum non esset ei filius." Ubi ex Charane immediate, id enim vox *ἐκεῖθεν* illinc indicat, in aliam ter-

[y] Genes. cap. 35. ver. 27.
[z] Genes. cap. 18. ver. 17.
[a] Ibid. cap. 23. ver. 1.

ram translationem eam, de qua Stephanus loquitur, factam fuisse clarum est; non ex una Chananææ parte in aliam, post plures quam 60. a relicta Charane annos demum factam, migrationem alteram: quæ sive cum fixa domicilii sede conjuncta fuerit, sive secus ad rationem μετοικισμοῦ, ut dictum est, nihil omnino attinet. Deinde translationem hanc circa illud tempus contigisse Stephanus significat, quo pollicitus est Deus Abrahamo, se daturum terram illam semini ipsius, quum nondum haberet filium[b]. At fixam illam, quæ non a nostro solum Ludovico, sed etiam Delrio, Perkinsio, Pererio, et aliis hic obtenditur, Abrahami habitationem longe post natum Abrahamo filium multoque longius post hereditariam terræ promissionem, contigisse nemo dubitat.

Neque huic objectioni plane satisfacit responsio illa Petavii[c]: "Non translatum esse Abraham ait Stephanus, antequam haberet filium: neque enim illud prius, Et inde postquam mortuus est pater ejus transtulit illum, neque quæ deinceps dicuntur omnia necesse est, et ad idem pertinere tempus. Repromisit, inquit, dari illi enim in possessionem, et semini ejus post ipsum, quum non haberet filium. Sola ergo repromissio facta dicitur antequam haberet filium; non autem translatio, et secunda in Chananæam migratio: quasi diceret: Repromisit illi jam tum quum non haberet filium. Porro ista promissio jampridem edita est, cum primum e Chaldæa proficisceretur; ut indicat Stephanus." Ita enim scribit Petavius; quum promissionis vel illius vel ullius Abrahamo e Chaldæa proficiscenti factæ, ne uno quidem verbo Stephanus meminerit. At vero quam primum e Charane in Chananæam Deus illum transtulit, ut Stephanus loquitur[d], editam esse promissionem illam ostendit Moses: "Semini[e] tuo dabo terram jam tum quum non haberet filium. Indeque non unam a hanc;" Mose Abrahami migrationem anno ipsius 75. aliam a Stephano, anno ejusdem 127. factam; sed unam et eam-

[b] Act. cap. 7. ver. 5.
[c] Petav. Rationar. tempor. lib. 2. cap. 2.
[d] Act. cap. 7. ver. 4.
[e] Gen. cap. 12. ver. 7.

dem ab utroque intellectam fuisse concludimus. Nec aliud quidem voluisse Mosem, quam post patris demum excessum, primam Abrahami in terram Chananitidem profectionem esse susceptam, recapitulatione vel anticipatione nulla interposita, ex Charane primum decessisse apud Judæos qui Stephani tempore vixerunt communiter recepta fuit sententia; quod vel illa Philonis Judæi, in libro *περὶ ἀποικίας*, verba satis ostendunt: " *Οὐδένα τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων τοῖς νόμοις ἀγνοεῖν εἰκὸς, ὅτι πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαικῆς ἀναστὰς γῆς Ἀβραὰμ ᾤκησεν εἰς Χαῤῥᾶν, τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκεῖθι, κατὰ ταύτης μετανίσταται.* Neminem latere potest, qui legibus," sive libris Mosaicis, " studium adhibuerit, quod Abraham primum quidem e Chaldæorum terra veniens habitavit in Charan; ibi vero defuncto ipsius patre ex ea quoque profectus est." Itaque Dositheo, qui paulo post Samaritanis suis Mosaicum Pentateuchum a se interpolatum dedit, ita fuit persuasum, ut quum falsa opinione ductus, anno Tharæ septuagesimo natum fuisse Abrahamum existimaret, simulque Tharam 205. ætatis anno vitæ functum, ac deinde Abrahamum anno vita 75. Charane discessisse legeret; ista aliter inter se conciliare nesciens, pro 205. annis Tharæ, non in Hebræo solum, sed etiam in Græco et Caldaico textu repertis, 145. (numerum ex 70. Tharæ et 75. Abrahæ conflatum) inaudita audacia substituere non dubitavit. Ex quo apparet tamen, quam alte animis illius temporis ea insederit sententia quæ Abrahami ex Charane in terram Chanaanis profectionem cum patris morte fuisse conjunctam, indeque 430. peregrinationis Hebræorum annos, in Exodi cap. XII. ver. 40. memoratos, deducendos esse constituit, quæ Samaritanorum omnium chronologorum, ad hunc diem usque, communis est opinio: quam inter Christianos quoque fastorum Siculorum authorem fuisse secutum, non difficile fuerit animadvertere.

Pro nobis quoque facit Chrysostomus, homilia trigesima prima in Genesin, de Abrahami ex Charane discessu ita scribens: " Non antea eum Deus inde evocavit, donec mortuus Thara. Tunc enim, illo defuncto, inquit: Et dixit Do-

minus Abræ: Egredere[d] de terra tua," &c. et in homilia trigesima sexta: "Occupata Charan, postquam illic tabernaculum fixerunt, et morte functus est Thara, iterum præceptum est ei a Deo, ut exiret inde; Egredere, inquit, de terra tua," &c.

Neque aliud quid sentirent ulli alii; nisi Dositheano illo præjudicio, Abrahami a patre septuagenario suscepti, in transversum acti, hoc uno ariete, cum Abulensi, quæ a nobis dicta sunt concuti, et prosterni posse omnia sibi persuaserint. Si decessit Abraham Charane post mortem patris sui; natus fuisset ille, quum Thara esset annorum 130. Thara enim vixit 205. annos[e]. Abram vero erat 75. annorum quum egrederetur Charane[f]. Atqui a Thara genitum fuisse Abrahamum, quum esset 70. annorum, verba illa Mosis[g], clare ostendunt: "Vixitque Thara septuaginta annos, et genuit Abrahamum, Nachorem, et Haranem."

Et quidem si unius tantum filii hic, uti in antecedentibus a Mose facta fuisset mentio; nulla de nativitatis illius tempore suboriri poterat dubitatio. Verum quum tres simul ille nominet, quos omnes uno et eodem anno haudquaquam genitos fuisse constat; nihil aliud quam Tharam anno ætatis suæ septuagesimo, liberis operam primum dare cœpisse, et tres filios, suo quemque ordine, deinceps suscepisse, significare voluit; ordine eorum, dedita opera, confuso, ut non a tempore susceptæ primum ab eo prolis, sed a morte ipsius, et cum ea conjuncta Abrahami in Chananæam profectione, annorum mundi series continuanda fuisse intelligeretur; quemadmodum sub tertii capituli initium supra declaravimus.

Ita Procopius Gazæus, in hunc Geneseos locum scribens: "Quæritur," inquit, "quomodo Thara annos natus 70. procreaverit Abrahamum, et deinde concesserit fato, natus annos 205. Fuit autem eo tempore Abrahamus non 135. annorum, sed attigit annum 70." vel 75. potius, "juxta

[d] Genes. cap. 12. ver. 1.
[e] Ibid. cap. 11. ver. 32.
[f] Genes. cap. 12. ver. 22.
[g] Ibid. cap. 11. ver. 26.

Scripturæ sacræ testimonium. Verum enim vero mihi elucescere videtur, Tharam genuisse Abrahamum (lego Arran vel Haranem) non instante anno septuagesimo, sed eo perfecte completo. Nec etiam continuo, ubi ille annus finem accepit, natus est Abraham: sed demum 130. Tharæ. Nec Moses recordatur Abrahami, ut inter primogenitos eum connumerari velit, sed ejus meminit ut primi, et præcipui, et filiorum celeberrimi, qui vel imprimis nenessarius sit ad præsentis historiæ relationem." Et post: "Hinc quis intelligat, Arran annorum numero anteivisse Abrahamum et Nahor? licet in narrationis serie priore loco Abraham sit positus, non tamen id accidit, ut senior cæteris sit habendus: sed id tributum est honori patriarchæ."

Similia habet et Theodoretus, ex Catena Græca ab Aloysio Lipomano productus, docens Abrahamum novissimum trium filiorum in senecta patris fuisse genitum. Quin et ipse Augustinus, licet opinioni quæ a Thara septuagenario Abrahamum susceptum statuit sit addictior, in apparente tamen inter Mosem et Stephanum differentia enodanda, explicationem hanc non esse negligendam ultro agnoscit: quæstione 25. in Genesin, de difficultate ista hunc in modum scribens: "Potest et sic solvi, quoniam Scriptura quæ dixit: *Cum esset Thare annorum septuaginta genuit Abraham et Nachor et Aran;* non utique hoc intelligi voluit, quia eodem anno ætatis suæ omnes tres genuit; sed ex quo anno generare cœpit, eum annum commemoravit Scriptura. Fieri autem potest, ut posterior generatus sit Abraham, sed merito excellentiæ, quæ in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus: sicut propheta priorem nominavit minorem: *Jacob*[i] *dilexi, Esau autem odio habui;* et in Paralipomenon cum sit quartus ordine nascendi Judas, prior est nominatus, a quo Judaicæ genti nomen est datum, propter tribum regiam. Commodius autem plures exitus inveniuntur, quibus quæstiones difficiles dissolvuntur." Ita ille.

Josephus Scaliger in Elencho secundo rationis chronolo-

[i] Malach. cap. 1. ver. 2, 3. 1 Chron. cap. 2. ver. 3.

gicæ D. Parei, magna verborum pompa, sed nullo rationum pondere, solutionem hanc deprimere conatur: quam a Matthæo Beroaldo primum fuisse excogitatam ille opinatus est; quum non ab antiquis solum, sed etaim a recentioribus, Nicolao Lyrano, Cardinali Cajetano, Aloysio Lipomano, Jacobo Naclanto, et Johanne Calvino discere potuisset, ante Beroaldum eam fuisse traditam. Verum si hunc audire volumus, "illud omnem pervicaciam expugnaverit; quod Deus præcepit Abrahamo discedere ex Ur Chaldæorum, ut statim in terram Chananæorum contenderet, non ut in Charran resideret." Deinde ex B. Stephano hoc probato, sic ille infert: "Si præceptum datum est Abrahamo, non Tharæ: nihil antiquius Abrahamo esse debuit, quam in illam terram concedere, quam illi Deus indicaverat. Aliter non paruisset mandato Dei. Relicto igitur patre in Charran et assumpto Lot, juxta mandatum Dei, nulla interposita mora, in Chananæorum fines abiit." Atqui, præcepto isto nihil obstante, "Abrahamum aliquod tempus in Charran moratum esse," non Stephanus solum in Act. cap. VII. ver. 2. 4. quod et ipse agnoscit Scaliger, sed etiam Moses in Geneseos cap. XI. ver. 31. cap. XII. ver. 5. Cujus utriusque narrationi, nisi prius fides penitus derogetur, Scaligeri argumentum hoc nemini facturum est fidem; Abrahamum, "relicto patre in Charran, nulla interposita mora, in Chananæorum fines abiisse."

Neque multo majoris momenti est argumentatio illius altera: "Abraham primo loco genitus est, ut qui primus fratrum nominetur, itaque natus est septuagesimo patris sui anno." Cui cum opponeretur a Pareo, "nominari Abraham primo loco, non geniture, sed dignitatis ratione:" negat ille confidenter, "vel in sacris vel in exoticis scriptis filios aliter recenseri quam geniture ordine." Ille ait, "Scripturam nunquam aliter filios numerare quam ut quemque natura in lucem dedit." Sectator ejus Johannes Bohemus propositionem illam hac restrictione addita proferendam fuisse censuit: "Scripturam eo quo

[k] Joh. Boh. chron. lib. 1. titul. 2. cap. 6.

generati sunt ordine liberos, ex legitimo matrimonio natos, numerare solere:" ut præoccuparet scilicet locum illum ex 1 Chronicorum cap. I. ver. 28. objiciendum: "Filii Abraham, Isaac, et Ismael;" ubi Isaac anno centesimo Abrahami natus[l], præponitur Ismaeli, anno ejusdem 86. in lucem edito[m]; neque animadvertit ille tamen, quem ex Geneseos cap. XLVI. cum Scaligero ad confirmandam propositionem suam producit, eandem plane everti.

"Omnes filii Jacob," inquit Scaliger, et eum fide implicita hic secutus Bohemus, "secundum genituræ tempus recensentur: primo, quatuor ex Lea, secundo, duo ex Bala: tertio, duo ex Zelpha: quarto, duo ex Lea: quinto, duo ex Rachel, prout naturæ ordo eos protulit." At si quis locum ipsum Genes. cap. XLVI. consulere voluerit, inveniet primo loco susceptos ex Lea filios sex, et Dinam filiam; secundo ex Zelpha duos; tertio ex Rachel duos; quarto ex Bala duos: quinto ex nulla nullos; neque eo ordine omnes Jacobi filios ibi esse recensitos, quo natura eos in lucem protulit. Quod manifestius etiam in alia eorundem recensione, 1 Chronic. cap. II. ver. 1, 2. observari poterit. Addit deinde Scaliger, Scripturam alibi non solum primogenitum primo loco ponere, ut in 1 Chronic. cap. VI. Rubenem, licet jus primogeniti ille amisisset, sed etaim quis sit primus, quis secundus, quis tertius, designare[n]: quod etaim contra ipsum facere recte notavit D. Pareus[o]; quid enim alicubi diserta designatione opus fuisset, siquidem ubique naturalis ordo servatus fuisset. Dignitatis vero ratione, non Isaacum solum Ismaeli[p], sed etiam Jacobum Esavo[q], Ephraimum Manassæ[r], atque ob principatus prærogativam, Judam reliquis fratribus[s], et Mosem Aaroni fratri seniori[t] præpositum fuisse invenimus.

[l] Genes. cap. 21. ver. 5. [m] Ibid. cap. 16. ver. 16.

[n] 1 Sam. cap. 3. ver. 2, 3, 15. 1 Chron. cap. 6. ver. 28. et cap. 8. ver. 1, 2, 3. 30. 39. et cap. 23. ver. 19, 20.

[o] In comm. ad Gen. cap. 11. [p] Genes. cap. 25. ver. 9.

[q] Genes. cap. 28. ver. 5. Josu. cap. 24. ver. 4.

[r] Gen. cap. 48. ver. 20.

[s] 1 Chronic. cap. 2. ver. 3. cum cap. 5. ver. 2.

[t] Exod. cap. 7. ver. 7.

Porro ex tribus Tharæ filiis, Haran natu fuisse maximum, non Abrahamum, licet ob dignitatem primo loco is ponatur, non inde solum a Cardinale Bellarmino[u] confirmatur, quia obiit ante cæteros, et quia fratrum alter Nachor, filiam ejus Melcham accepit in uxorem; sed etiam quia alteram Haranis filiam Jescam ipse Abraham uxorem duxit. Ita enim in Geneseos cap. XI. ver. 28, 29. legimus: " Et mortuus est Haran in conspectu Tharæ patris sui, in solo natali suo, Ure Chaldæorum. Et duxerunt Abram et Nachor uxores: nomen uxoris Abram Sarai; et nomen uxoris Nachoris, Melcha filia Haranis patris Melchæ, et patris Jeschæ." Quo loco, inquit Bellarminus, " per Jescham non potest intelligi Sarai nisi, quæ, teste Josepho in Hieronymo, binominis erat. Neque enim ullo modo credibile, Scripturam prodere voluisse patrem Melchæ et non patrem Sarai, personæ longe dignioris: et deinde quorsum mentio fieret Jeschæ, si diversa esset a Sarai?" Et hæc certe non Josephi tantum[x], sed etiam omnium veterum Hebræorum communis est sententia: a B. Augustino[y] quoque et majore Christianorum parte recepta. Unde argumentum hoc nectit Nicolaus Lyranus in Geneseos cap. XI. "Secundum Hebræos et omnes alios expositores, Sara uxor Abram fuit filia Aran. De ipsa vero scribitur infra: Putesne[z] centenario nascetur filius, et Sara nonagenaria pariet? Ex quo patet, quod Sara erat junior Abram decem annis tantum. Si igitur Aran fuit junior ipso Abram, sequitur, quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram, imo nec octo; quia inter nativitatem Abræ et Aran fuerunt plus quam decem anni." Quod ipsum etiam concedunt Hebræi, in Sanhedrin cap. 8. et Seder Olam Rabba, capite secundo, in quo ita legimus " הגדיל הרן ו שנים ונשא אשה הרי ה שנה אחת ללוט שכח אחת ליסכה שהיא שרה Quum ad annorum sex ætatem Haran excrevisset, accepit uxorem: quæ peperit ei annorum octo existenti, uno anno Lotum, altero anno

[u] Bellarmin. controvers. de Sacram. matrimon. cap. 28.

[x] Lib. 1. Antiquit. cap. 7, et 8.

[y] Lib. 16. de Civit. Dei, cap. 12. 19.

[z] Genes. cap. 17. ver. 17.

Jescham, quæ et Sarah est." Neque ut hoc fieret, absurdum esse, inter Christianos Genebrardus[a] quoque somniavit. Verum sapientior Cardinalis, nova ex positione verborum illorum Genes. cap. XI. ver. 26. "Vixit Thare Septuaginta annis, et genuit Abram, Nachor, et Aran," difficultatem totam solvi posse. Ex quo loco ille colligit anno 70. Tharæ, jam natos fuisse tres illos filios. "Non enim," ait ille, "Scriptura significat, eodem anno omnes tres genitos fuisse; sed illo anno jam habere cœpisse ipsum Thara tres filios: unum videlicet illo anno genitum, et alios antea. Illo autem anno natus est Abraham. Scriptura enim in Genesi, semper indicat tempus nativitatis eorum, quorum texit genealogiam, ut sciamus ætatem totius mundi; aliis prætermissis, qui ad istam chronologiam non pertinent. Ita videmus Scripturam Genes. cap. IV. prodidisse, quoto anno ætatis Adæ natus sit Seth, per quem texitur chronologia; non autem quoto anno ejusdem Adæ natus sit Abel vel Cain. Et Gen. cap. V. dicitur Noe, cum quingentorum esset annorum, genuisse Sem, Cham, et Japhet; ubi notatur præcise annus quo natus est Sem, quia per illum deducitur chronologia: et in reliquis idem observare licet. Cum ergo solus Abraham ex filiis Tharæ sit is, cujus explicatur genealogia, et per quem texitur chronologia: necesse est dicere, illo anno ipsum natum esse, alios autem antea."

Atqui ut concessum Bellarminus hic sumit, quod a nobis pernegatur: per annos ætatis vel Abrahami, vel Semi, annorum totius mundi seriem Scripturam texere voluisse. Ut enim in omnibus illis locis in quibus unius cujusque patriarchæ ortus singulariter et distincte est memoratus, fieri hoc libenter concedimus: ita ubi tres simul mixtim et confuse nominantur, aliter longe rem se habere dicimus; et abrumpi ibi per annos alicujus illorum patrum, ætatis mundi continuationem, atque a nova epocha deinceps eam deduci asserimus, a diluvio videlicet, ubi Sem, Cham, et Japhet[b]; ab initio vero peregrinationis Hebræ-

[a] Genebrard. chronograph. in fin. ætat. 2.
[b] Gen. cap. 5. ver. 32. cum cap. 11. ver. 10.

orum, sive Abrahami ex Charane in Chananæam profectione cum obitu Tharæ patris conjuncta, ubi Abram, Nachor, et Haran simul enumerati reperiuntur[c]. Ex collatione vero prioris illius ternarii, ex Geneseos cap. V. a Bellarmino hic producti, nova hæc ipsius expositio commentitia esse deprehenditur. Ut enim in Geneseos cap. IX. ut rarum quid et maxime observandum nobis proponitur, quod ante annum quingentesimum Noe liberos gignere non cœpisset; cum cæteri omnes in eodem capitulo, inter annum 65. et 187. genuisse memorentur: ita et in XI. capite, cum reliqui omnes post diluvium nati, inter annum 29. et 35. genuisse legantur; quod Thare ante septuagesimum vitæ suæ annum liberis operam dare non cœpisset, ut res notatu non indigna, similiter nobis exhiberetur, par et eadem requirebat ratio. Et quum eodem uterque locus explicandus sit modo, in priore exponendo deceptum Bellarminum esse apparet, ibi "notari præcise annum, quo natus est Sem," existimantem. Quum enim 502. esset annorum Noe, susceptum ab eo fuisse Semum, in fine capitis quarti supra a nobis est ostensum: ideoque verum non esse, eum quum 500. præcise esset annorum, jam habere cœpisse tres natos, Sem, Cham, Japhet; de quo etiam iterum Nicolaum Lyranum audire liceat, in Geneseos cap. V. ver. 32. ita scribentem: "Dicunt Hebræi quod Sem non fuit primogenitus Noe; quod probant, quia hic dicitur quod quingentesimo anno vitæ suæ cœpit generare: et sic primogenitus ejus erat centum annorum tempore diluvii; quia tunc fuit Noe sexcentorum annorum. Sem vero non habuit centum annos; ut dicitur infra, undecimo capite."

At si anno 70. Tharæ natum Abrahamum fuisse non admitteremus; incertum futurum summi patriarchæ annum natalitium, objectant alii: "Quinquies vero exprimit Moses diversos annos ætatis Abrahæ; scilicet 75. 86. 99, 100. et 175. Cur igitur annum, quo natus est, reticeret? imo, quorsum attinebat majores istos ætatis Abrahæ annos nominatim exprimere; si primus Abrahæ, unde

[c] Gen. cap. 11. ver. 26. cum cap. 16. ver. 3.

pendebat reliquorum numeratio, ignoraretur?" inquit Abrahamus Bucholcerus. Verum nos primum annum Abrahami ignorari nullo modo concedimus. Subducto enim ab integræ vitæ Tharæ annis 205. numero annorum 75. quos Abrahamum egisse Scriptura confirmat, quum, cœptæ in Chananæam profectionis impedimento per mortem patris penitus sublato, Charane est egressus: inter nativitatem Tharæ et filii ejus Abrahami 130. annorum spatium intercessisse intelligitur. Neque officiunt quæ contra hoc a Bucholcero postea objecta esse videmus. I. "Abraham ipsum miraculi loco duxisse, si ex se centenario, et Sara nonagenaria nascatur filius Isaac[d]. II. Ne quidem annum 130. Tharæ certo assignari posse nativitati Abrahæ: obstante eo, quod migrare potuisset Abraham annis aliquot a morte Tharæ decursis." Sed ad posterius hoc, in capitis hujus initio, contra Pererium; ad prius illud, in quinto capitulo, contra Morinum, jam respondimus. Ut concludere tandem liceat; Abrahamum statim post mortem patris, ex Charane in Chananæam primum esse profectum: a qua profectione, et peregrinatio Hebræorum in terra non sua, et cum ea mundi ætas tertia, de qua deinceps acturi sumus, suum capit exordium.

[d] Gen. cap. 17. ver. 17.

CAP. VIII.

Peregrinationis Hebræorum annos 430. qui tertiæ ætatis mundi spatium constituunt, a prima Abrahami ex Charane in Chananæam profectione, non a Jacobi et filiorum in terram Ægypti descensu, arcescendos esse ostenditur.

Dionysius Petavius, suo more, sacri calculi certitudinem infirmaturus, de præciso tempore, et initii, et exitus tertiæ hujus periodi, sive ætatis mundi, quæstionem moveri posse existimat. "Nam[a] si quis," inquit, "pertinacius obsistere voluerit, urgeri potest, non constare, utrum anni illi 430. post quos legem datam esse Paulus testatur[b], præcise sic accipiendi sint; ut annus Abrahami 76. sit illorum primus, an 77. ita ut exeunte 76. promissa sit Abrahamo soboles. Tum utrum subinde 430. annis expletis, et in ipso 431. lex in monte lata sit, an post unum alterumve annum ab illis expletis: an labente 430. Pro hac enim varietate putandi, uno, aut duobus, aut tribus, aut eo amplius minusve, si Mosen rotundum numerum expressisse quis dicat, minuenda vel augenda erit annorum summa."

Atqui de utroque horum Moses nos certos reddidit. De initio quidem: Abrahamum docens, accepta promissione de semine, in quo benedicendæ essent omnes tribus terræ, ad quam respexit B. Paulus[c], ex Charane egressum fuisse, quum 75. esset annorum, et in terram Chananæam pervenisse[d], posteaque ingressum eum esse ad Hagaram ancillam, exacto decennio, ex quo in terra Chananæa ille habitaverat; quæ filium Ismaelem ipsi peperit, quum esset ille annorum[e] 86. Ex quibus inter se collatis, luce clarius

[a] Petav. Doct. temp. lib. 9. cap. 24.
[b] Galat. cap. 3. ver. 17.
[c] Ibid. ver. 14. 16, 17.
[d] Gen. cap. 12. ver. 1. 5.
[e] Ibid. cap. 16. ver. 3. 16.

est, ab ineunte anno Abrahami 76. et ipsius peregrinationis, et promissionis benedicti seminis, epocham a nobis, cum Eusebio, esse deducendam. De exitu, non minus claram explicationem, per verba illa Exodi cap. XII. ver. 41. idem nobis exhibet: "Et factum est post FINEM quadringentorum triginta annorum, ut eodem ipso die egrederentur omnes exercitus Domini de terra Ægypti." Et quum mense ab inde tertio legem in monte Sinai datam fuisse, ex Exodi cap. XII. ver. 1. 16. constet: legislationem illam ad annum 431. labentem esse referendam in dubio non relinquitur; adeoque totius tertiæ hujus periodi spatium 430. præcise annorum esse statuendum.

Sed hic imprimis locus ille primarius, Exod. cap. XII. ver. 40. paulo diligentius a nobis est expendendus.

"ומושב בני ישראל אשר ישבו במערים peregrinatio autem filiorum Israel, qui commorati sunt in Ægypto, fuit quadringentorum triginta annorum." Ad quorum verborum rectam intelligentiam notandnm est.

Primo vocem Hebræam מושב, uti Chaldaicam hic ei respondentem מותב; ut generatim quamvis habitationem, ita ad externos et advenas relatam, peregrinationem, non migrationem e patria denotare: quemadmodum ex ejusdem originis in utraque lingua vocabulis apparet. Ita apud Hebræos passim, תושב non incolam modo, sed etiam inquilinum et peregrinum designat. Unde Abraham[d] se in terra Chananæa גר־ותושב fuisse dicit: quod in Græca interpretatione πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος, in vulgata Latina, advena et peregrinus, est redditum. Similiter apud Chaldæos[e]; pro "ויגל et peregrinatus est", in Chaldæo ותותב habetur:" et cap. XXVIII. ver. 4. "את־ארץ מגריך terram peregrinationis tuæ," Chaldæus paraphrastes תותבותך ית ארעא reddidit. In Græca denique interpretatione, hoc ipso de quo jam agimus loco, ubi Romanus codex legit, "Ἡ κατοίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἣν κατῴκησαν, Habitatio autem filiorum Israel qua habitaverunt;" alii cum vetustissimo nostro Alexandrino habent:

[d] Genes. cap. 23. ver. 4. [e] Ibid. cap. 21. ver. 34.

" Ἡ δὲ παροίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἣν παρῴκησαν, Peregrinatio autem filiorum Israel qua peregrinati sunt."

Secundo; Chananæam terram peregrinationis, ut Abraham, Isaaci et Jacobi[f], ita et Israelitarum ab eis descendentium fuisse habitam; propter arctissimum videlicet illud quod inter majores et posteros necessitudinis intercedit vinculum. Et tribus certe illis patriarchis terram hanc peregrinationis ipsorum hæreditario possidendam eis se daturum Deus promiserat[g]: quod in posteris tamen eorum completum tantum fuisse novimus. Ut posteriorum possessio patribus; ita et patrum peregrinatio hic tribuitur posteris, eadem plane ratione, qua horum ipsorum posterorum posteri transitum maris rubri et Jordanis sibi cum patribus communem faciunt, in Psalmo LXVI. ver. 6. " convertit mare in aridam; per flumen transiverunt pede: illic lætati sumus in eo." Ita, quum in Bethele cum Jacobo locutus est angelus, in eo etiam cum posteris ejus locutus fuisse dicitur: " Bethel[h] invenit eum, et ibi locutus est nobiscum," et a patribus ad filios illa traducta est criminatio: " Numquid[i] hostias et sacrificium obtulistis mihi in deserto quadraginta annis domus Israel?" In solenni illa denique confessionis forma, quam Deus primitias sibi in festo Pentecostes offerentibus præscripsit, posteris ea omnia videmus attributa, quæ patribus ipsorum in Ægyptiaca hac peregrinatione contigerunt. "Syrus[k] periens erat pater meus, qui descendit in Ægyptum hominibus paucis, ut peregrinaretur illic; evasi autem illic in gentem magnam, robustam, et amplam. Quumque malo nos afficientes Ægyptii et affligentes nos, imponerent nobis servitutem duram; inclamavimus Dominum Deum majorum nostrorum: exaudiensque Dominus vocem nostram, respexit afflictionem nostram, molestiamque nostram, et oppressionem nostram. Nam educens Dominus nos ex Ægypto manu forti, et brachio extento et terrore magno,

[f] Exod. cap. 6. ver. 4. cum Gen. cap. 28. ver. 4. cap. 36. ver. 7. cap. 37. ver. 1.

[g] Psal. 105. ver. 11.

[h] Hose, cap. 12. ver. 4.

[i] Amos, cap. 5. ver. 25. Act. cap. 7. ver. 42.

[k] Deut. cap. 26. ver. 5. 9.

signis etiam et prodigiis, introduxit nos in locum hunc, deditque nobis terram hanc, affluentem lacte et melle." Quibus addantur et illa ad filios Israelis Dei verba: "An[i] non ex Ægyptiis, et ex Amoræis, et ex Amonitis, et ex Philistæis, Sidoniis quoque et Amalekitis, et Moabitis opprimentibus vos; quum clamaretis ad me, tum servavi vos e manu eorum?" et Samuelis: "Misit[k] Dominus Jerubbaalem, et Bedanem, et Jephtham, et Samuelem; eripuitque vos e manu hostium vestrorum circumquaque, ita ut habitaretis secure;" ubi manifeste et ipsi, et patres eorum simul comprehenduntur, ut in præsente loco, Exod. cap. XII. ver. 40. In quo si filiorum Israelis nominatione, patres hic excluderentur: nec ipse quidem Israel in horum peregrinantium numero fuisset comprehensus; quem tamen hujus in Ægyptum profectionis principem fuisse nemo dubitat.

Tertio, cum Hebræi casibus careant pronomen אשר ambiguæ hic esse relationis. Unde et in ipsa editione vulgata Latina, Biblia polyglotta Antwerpiana regia, et Jayana Parisiensia hic legunt, "Habitatio autem filiorum Israel, QUI manserunt in Ægypto, fuit 430. annorum:" ubi alia ejusdem editionis exemplaria habent, "Habitatio filiorum Israel, QUA manserunt in Ægypto." Quæ posterior relativi pronominis acceptio, *χρονογραφίαν* determinans, mansioni Israelitarum in Ægypto, ipsorum 430. annorum moram assignat; quæ tota parte dimidia brevior fuisse ostendetur. Quod incommodum prior illa explicatio, quam ut aptiorem textus originalis interpretationem, non ut veriorem vulgatæ editionis Latinæ lectionem proponimus, secum non adfert; *προσωπογραφίαν* tantum nobis exhibens, sive descriptionem eorum quorum universa *παροίκησις*, sive peregrinatio, ab anno 76. patris Abrahami cœpta, inde ad egressum ex Ægypto usque, 430. annorum spatio est continuata.

Eam autem Israelitarum descriptionem ab Ægypti tantum incolatu petendam, Moses censuit: quod illa patrum

[i] Judic. cap. 10. ver. 11, 12.

[k] 1 Sam. cap. 12. ver. 11.

in Chananæa peregrinatio et paucorum hominum extiterit, et interrupta fuerit aliquoties, et minus in oculos hominum incurrerit; "Cum[l] essent ipsi numero modici, paucissimi et inquilini in ea, et pertransirent de gente in gentem, et de regno ad populum alterum;" hæc vero filiorum, in Ægypto ingentem hominum multitudinem complexa, stabilis fuerit et apud omnes gentes celebratissima. Nam habitatio Hebræorum in Ægypto, tribus rebus fuit valde insignita et nobilitata: ut a Pererio[m] hic est annotatum. Primum enim Joseph eo tempore summo cum imperio universam Ægyptum per octoginta annos gubernavit, et eo tempore magna in prosperitate fuerunt Hebræi. Deinde, post mortem Josephi, perinsignis et admiranda fuit multiplicatio Hebræorum, licet laboriosissima servitute affligerentur ab Ægyptiis. Denique, liberationem eorum, atque exitum ex Ægypto, tot et tanta tunc facta prodigia, valde memorabilem et admirabilem reddiderunt.

Thomas Stapletonus in Antidotis suis apostolicis, ad Act. cap. VII. ver. 6. quiritatur: "Omnes horum temporum hæreticos, Rabbinorum potius calculo, quam apertæ Scripturæ subscribere, circa annorum numerum quibus filii Israel in Ægypto versabantur;" quos per totos 430. annos ibi versatos fuisse, ille asserit.

In cujus sententiæ rejectione, cum omnibus horum temporum, quos illi appellare libuit, hæreticis, omnes propemodum omnium temporum scriptores Catholicos consentire convenisset: si vel veritatis inquisitioni ipse studuisset, vel Lyranum saltem suum, in præsentem Exodi locum sic scribentem, consuluisset: "Manifestum est, non mansisse in Ægypto Hebræos quadringentis triginta annis. Sed iste numerus annorum incepit, secundum doctores CATHOLICOS, ab eo tempore, quo Abram ex Mesopotamia primum venit in terram Chanaan; in qua ipse et filii ejus habitaverunt tanquam peregrini usque ad descensum in Ægyptum." Sed Stapletonus Genebrardum magistrum

[l] Psal. 105. ver. 12, 13.
[m] Perer. in Exod. cap. 12. disput. 9. num. 116.

hic sequi maluit: quem absque ullo vel magistro vel suffragatore, opinionem initio evulgare fuisse ausum, ipsummet hisce verbis profitentem potuisset animadvertere: "Cum[m] ista in primis editionibus annotabam, carebam quidem Latino, aut Græco suffragatore: at postea reperi Augustinum Eugubinum in cap. XII. Exodi, in ea versari sententia." Quum tamen tum aliorum veterum, ex Augustini quæstione quadragesima septima in Exodum; tum antiquissimi Theophili Antiocheni, in libro tertio ad Autolycum, et Clementis etiam Alexandrini, ut videtur, in libro primo Stromatum fuisse sententiam comperimus.

Verum ab Abrahami in Chananæam et non a Jacobi in Ægyptum migratione, 430. annorum exordium esse capiendum ostendunt argumenta: quorum

Primum (non ab Hebræis solum, in Seder Olam Rabba, capite tertio, et in commentariis ad Geneseos cap. XV. et Exodi cap. XII. sed etiam a nostris, Augustino, quæstione 47. in Exodum, Sedulio in Galat. cap. III. Beda in libro de sex ætatibus mundi, et aliis productum) est hujusmodi. Kohath sive Caath, filius Levi, cum avo suo Jacobo descendit in Ægyptum[n]. Hujus vitæ anni fuerunt 133. filii vero ejus Amrami anni[o] 137. filius Amrami Moses 80. fuit annorum, quum liberandi essent Israelitæ a servitute Ægyptiaca[p]. Hi omnes anni simul juncti, 350. tantum summam conficiunt, ex qua detrahendi etiam anni sunt, tum quos Caath post natum Amramum, tum quos Amramus egit post natum Mosem; simul cum iis etiam quos ante descensum in Ægyptum exegit ipse Caath: ne iidem anni bis numerentur. Ex quibus manifeste colligitur, commorationem Israelitarum in Ægypto annorum 430. esse non potuisse. Duo quidem contra opponit Genebrardus: sed quæ Thaddæo Duno[q] sectatori suo adeo non satisfecerunt, ut agnoverit restare hic "difficultatem longe maximam et forte insuperabilem." Oppositiones tamen illas, quales sunt, non tacebimus; sed Benedicti Pererii responsionibus comitatas, hic subjiciemus.

[m] Genebrard. Chronogr. lib. 1.
[n] Gen. cap. 46. ver. 11.
[o] Exod. cap. 6. ver. 18. 20.
[p] Ibid. cap. 7. ver. 7.
[q] Dun. de peregrinat. filior. Israel in Ægypto, grad. 31.

Ait primo, cum dicitur, annos vitæ Amram fuisse 137. non esse intelligendum hoc de omnibus annis totius vitæ ejus; sed de annis vitæ, quam agebat[r] cum amisit patrem, aut cum genuit filios: "At quis non videt," inquit Pererius, "istud interpretamentum violentum esse et contrarium consuetudini loquendi Scripturæ? Cum enim ea recenset annos vitæ alicujus simpliciter et præcise, ut facit in commemorando annos vitæ Caath et Amram, haud dubie loquitur de totius vitæ annis: cujus rei tot sunt exempla in sacris libris, et ita passim obvia, ut legenti ea perspicuum et indubitatum futurum sit quod dixi." Sic Pererius. Duo vero Torniellus[s] hic opponit: primo, non esse sufficientem ejus responsionem.

Ait secundo Genebrardus, inter Caath et Amram, et inter Amram et Mosem, intervenisse alias personas prætermissas in libro Exodi: sicut Matthæus, in describendo genealogiam Salvatoris, dicens quod Joram genuit Oziam, intermisit tres reges intermedios, Ochoziam, et Joas, et Amasiam. Sed id profecto gratis ab eo esse dictum, recte respondet Pererius. "Nulla enim," inquit, "ratione ostendi potest, fuisse intermedios aliquos homines inter Caath et Amram, vel inter Amram et Mosem. Ubicumque enim Scriptura istam progeniem Levi recenset, semper facit ipsum Amram proxime succedere ipsi Caath, et Mosem et Aaron ipsi Amram. Tres autem illos reges prætermissos fuisse a Matthæo, propterea vere dicitur, quia liquido id constat ex libris Regum, et ex libris Paralypomenων; in quibus libris Regum illorum scripta est historia." Ita Pererius. Et vero (ut de Josepho[t], Mosem ab Abrahamo septimum numerante, nihil dicamus) ipsum Mosem, aut quis avus suus fuisset ignorare potuisse, aut si sciret, in genealogia sua præterire nomen ejus voluisse, quis animum ut credat poterit inducere? Quos scopulos Abrahamus Frisius, Jacobus Auzolæus, et Nicolaus Abramus ut devitarent, Cahathum in Ægypto fuisse natum, dicere maluerunt: in eorum decedendo sententiam qui contra ex-

[r] Perer. in Exod. cap. 12. disput. 19. num. 108.

[s] Torniell. ann. mundi 3329. num. 12.

[t] Lib. 2. Antiqu. cap. 5.

pressa Mosis verba contendunt, "non omnes qui Geneseos cap. XLVI. recensentur, jam natos fuisse, cum Jacob in Ægyptum descenderet;" de qua in capite decimo pluribus a nobis erit agendum.

Secundum argumentum a generatione Jochebedæ matris Mosis deducitur, quæ ipsius patriarchæ Levi fuit filia. Unde in Exodi cap. VI. ver. 2. Amram uxorem accepisse dicitur Jochebedam "דדתו amitam suam:" R. Salomo Jarchi, Abulensis, Cajetanus, Pagninus, Steuchius, Lipomanus, Driedo, Oleaster, recte sunt interpretati. Licet enim editio vulgata Latina patruelem, et Græca "θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, filiam fratris sui," hic reddat: priorem tamen explicationem præferendam esse, ipsius Mosis verba illa ostendunt: "Nomen uxoris Amrami Jochebeda filia Levi, quum ipsam Levi in Ægypto peperit" mater illius: hoc enim subaudiendum fœmininum illud verbum indicat, אשר ילדה אתה ללוי simulque evincit, frustra vim loci hujus eludere Salianum[w] et Bonfrerium fuisse conatos, dicendo eodem modo Jochebedam dictam fuisse filiam Levi, quo Ephraim[x] et Manasses dicuntur filii Jacob, Christus Dominus filius David, omnes Levitæ filii Levi, et Elizabeth[y] una de filiabus Aaron. Porro ex annis 137. quos vixit Levi[z], juxta nostras rationes in Ægypto acti sunt 87. juxta aliorum 93. circiter. Anni 93. juncti annis 80. quos tempore Exodi agebat Moses[a], efficiunt 173. qui a 430. subducti 257. relinquunt: quot saltem annorum, admissa Genebrardi sententia, Jochebedam esse oporteret, quo tempore Mosem peperit; etiamsi ipso 137. Levi patris anno genitum fuisse poneremus: quum juxta nostram chronologiam, Jochebedam annos centum natus gignere potuisset Levi, ætate minor quam Jacobus pater, quum suscepit Benjaminem: Jochebeda 85. annorum, quum Mosem peperit.

Tertium argumentum suppeditat ætatis Hesronis consi-

[u] Num. cap. 26. ver. 59.
[w] Salian. ann. mundi, 2452. num. 3.
[x] Bonfrer. in Exod. cap. 6. ver. 20.
[y] Luc. cap. 1. ver. 17.
[z] Exod. cap. 6. ver. 16.
[a] Exod. cap. 7. ver. 7.

consideratio, quem infantem cum Jacobo in Ægyptum fuisse deductum in capite decimo ostendemus: ille sexagenarius duxit filiam Machiris filii Manassis, quæ Segubum illi peperit[b], cujus filium Jairem, anno 40. post exodum, villas Bashanis, et regionem occupavisse ex Mose constat[c]. Unde consequitur, ex nostra etiam hypothesi, quæ moram Israelitarum in Ægypto constituit, plures quam 404. essent illi adscribendi.

Quartum argumentum ex genealogia seditiosorum, Coræ, Dathanis, et Abirami est desumptum: quorum avos cum Jacobo in Ægyptum descendisse, ex Geneseos cap. XLVI. ver. 9. 11. liquet. Ut enim Cahath Levi filius de Amrano Mosem; ita et ex Izhare nepotem habuit contradictorem illius Coram; similique modo, Rubenis filius Pallu ex Eliabo nepotes suscepit Coræ satellites, Dathanem et Abiramum[d]. Quæ unius tantum progeniei, inter descendentes in Ægyptum, et a terra in deserto absorptos, interpositio, manifestum facit moræ in Ægypto annos 430. tribui omnino non posse.

Quintum argumentum, a paraphrastica verborum Mosis explicatione est petitum, quæ in Græcis Bibliis[e] ita sese habet. "Ἡ δὲ παροίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἣν παρῴκησαν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ἔτη τετρακόσια τριάκοντα. Peregrinatio filiorum Israel, qua peregrinati sunt in terra Ægypti, et in terra Chanaan, ipsi et patres eorum, quadringenti triginta anni," ubi illud, "αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, ipsi et patres eorum," in Romano τῶν Septuaginta codice, librarii vitio, desideratur: quod tamen in Alexandrino nostro, non minoris antiquitatis exemplare, ut et in editione Complutensi et Aldina, atque aliis omnibus, ex Romana non expressis, eodem hic modo legitur, quo ab Eusebio in Chronico, Quinto Julio Hilarione in libello de mundi duratione, Augustino quæstione quadragesima septima in Exodum, Sedulio in Galat. cap. III. et veterum aliis habetur etiam citatum. Sed et ipsis

[b] 1 Chron. cap. 2. ver. 21.

[c] Num. cap. 32. ver. 41. Deuter. cap. 3. ver. 14.

[d] Num. cap. 16. ver. 1. et cap. 26. ver. 8, 9.

[e] Exod. cap. 12. ver. 40.

apostolorum temporibus Dositheus, alia Pentateuchi loca quamplurima, sic et præsens hoc ex Græca editione similiter interpolatum Samaritis suis tradidit. "ומושב בני ישראל ואבות אשר ישט בארץ כנען ובארץ מצרים שלשים שנה וארבע מאות שנה Peregrinatio autem filiorum Israel et patrum eorum, qua commorati sunt in terra Chanaan et in terra Ægypti, fuit quadringentorum et triginta annorum."

Ex his liquet, quantum Nicolaus Abramus operam[f] hic luserit, dum ex illa unius Romani codicis ab aliis discrepantia "conjecturam propemodum certam duci posse" existimat, non modo, *αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν*, quod solum, properantis librarii vitio, a Romano exemplari aberat, sed etiam, "*καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν*, aliud esse nihil quam glossema, quod initio margini adscriptum, lapsu temporis in contextum irrepserit; aut certe plagulam quandam ex translationibus assutam:" quod posterius, non minus inani opera, ex Hieronymi in librum Paralipomenωn præfatione adstruere ille nititur: in qua, "Origenes dicitur in editione Septuaginta interpretum Theodotionis editionem miscuisse, asteriscis videlicet designans quæ minus fuerant, virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita;" indeque, "in ecclesiis legi quod Septuaginta nescierunt:" quum ea, quæ ex Theodotione sub asteriscis ab Origene fuerunt addita, in Hebræo textu reperta fuisse constet: ideoque ad illa, *καὶ ἐν γῇ χαναὰν, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν*, ut in Septuaginta non in Hebræo extantia, obelum sive virgulam ab eo fuisse oppositam, dubitare non liceat. Neque quicquam nos lædit, quod ab eodem Abramo adjicitur: "illos ipsos, qui Septuaginta seniorum authoritatem plenis buccis hic opponunt: antequam ad duodecimum Exodi caput pervenirent, jam vicies a Græcorum interpretum authoritate discessisse." Non enim, si Græci interpretes, quicumque illi fuerint, quum textui originali aperte contradicunt, deserendi sunt; idcirco in Exodi cap. XII. audiendi non sunt, ubi eandem fere Mosis sententiam paraphrasi sua exhibent, quam cæteri Hebræi, qui eorum

[f] Bonfrer. in Exod. cap. 7.

interpretationem a textu originali dissidentem nihili faciunt, sunt amplexi.

Sextum argumentum ab insigni illo testimonio beati Pauli, Galat. cap. III. ver. 17. est desumptum: "Τοῦτο δὲ λέγω, διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς χριστὸν, ὁ μετὰ ἔτη τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ, εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. Hoc autem dico pactionem a Deo prius sancitam, respicientem in Christum, quæ post quadringentos et triginta annos extitit, irritam non facit, ut evanidam reddat illam promissionem." Ubi a promissione facta Abrahamo, de benedicendis in ipso omnibus tribubus terræ[f], usque ad legem, datam post egressionem Israelitarum ex Egypto mense tertio[g], annos 430. apostolus dinumerat. Unde ad anni Abrahami 76. exordium, annotat Eusebius in Chronico: "Primus annus repromissionis Dei ad Abraham: a quo, usque ad Moysen, et egressum gentis Hebræorum ex Ægypto, supputantur anni 430. quorum meminit Paulus." Et cum eo Augustinus: "Computantur[h] ab anno septuagesimo et quinto Abrahæ, quando ad eum facta est prima promissio, usque ad exitum Israel ex Ægypto, 430. anni: quorum apostolus meminit," et quæst. 47. in Exod. "Ex illa vocatione qua vocatus est Abraham et credidit Deo, post 430. annos factam legem dicit apostolus: non ex eo tempore, quo Jacob intravit in Ægyptum."

Atqui, si Genebrardum hic audire volumus nos, in Pauli verbis illud *post* "non refertur ad promissionem Abrahæ, sed ad legem quæ data est post 430. annos quam Hebræi venerant in Ægyptum, quasi dicat Paulus: Lex quæ post 430. annos facta legitur, Exodi capite XII. testamentum Dei, prius Abrahæ factum, non potest irritum facere." Cui bene respondet Pererius[i], robur argumentationis Paulinæ pendere a tempore promissionis Abrahæ, non autem a tempore habitationis Hebræorum in

[f] Gen. cap. 12. ver. 3. cum Galat. cap. 3. ver. 8. 14.
[g] Exod. cap. 19. ver. 1. 16.
[h] Lib. 19. de civitate Dei cap. 24.
[i] Perer. in Exod. cap. 12. disput. 19.

Ægypto, cujus nempe nec ullam ibi significationem facit Paulus; nec ea juvat consilium et propositum Pauli. Sic enim illum argumentari. "Deus Abrahæ promisit fore, ut in semine ejus, hoc est, in Christo, benedicerentur omnes gentes; quæ promissio facta est 430. annis priusquam daretur lex: nec lex tanto post data infirmare atque irritam facere potuit promissionem illam Dei. Ergo benedictio, et salus omnium gentium, non a lege, sed a Christo speranda et petenda est." Vide et Torniellum, ad annum mundi 2329. num. 15.

At nihil prohibere hic, objectat Nicolaus Abramus[i], "ut Paulum dicamus argumentari ad hominem, ut loquuntur, et scribentem ad Galatas, non ex sua, sed ex eorum sententia, et ex Septuaginta seniorum codicibus, prout usu publico viritim terebantur, hunc annorum numerum protulisse." Sed si revera credidit Nicolaus glossema illud, de quo dixerat, apostolorum tempore in editione Septuaginta seniorum fuisse receptum: qua rationis specie suspicari potuit, ex Theodotionis interpretatione illud ab Origene ipsorum editioni fuisse assutum, quum eorum utrumque post apostolorum tempora vixisse nemo nesciat. Et si Paulus credidisset cum Nicolao, inter promissionem et legem, 645. annorum spatium intercessisse; nulla secundum hominem argumentandi ratio requirebat, ut minorem ille numerum exprimeret: quum vi argumenti ipsius nihil decederet, si multis annis ante legem promulgatam, Abrahamo promissionem fuisse factam, indefinite pronunciasset.

Itaque huic refugio non satis confisus Jesuita, ad alterum hoc recurrendum sibi putavit. Non[k] "ait apostolus annis 430. post promissiones dictas Abrahamo, latam esse legem, sed post testamentum confirmatum a Deo. Confirmari porro dicitur non cum primis veluti lineis informatur, promittitur, aut etiam primo conditur; sed cum informatum et conditum antea fuerat, iterata testatoris voluntate renovatur." Postremam vero testamenti confirmationem, quæ, priusquam Deus Mosi loqueretur,

[i] Abram. in Pharo. cap. 15. [k] Ibid. cap. 14.

narratur facta patriarchis, eam promissionem fuisse affirmat, quæ Jacobo in Ægyptum profecturo, hisce verbis facta fuisse legitur: "Ego[l] descendam tecum, et inde adducam te huc repertentem." Quum, simul cum illa quæ immediate præcesserat, "In gentem magnam ponam te." Ibi Regenerus Barelius, vel quicunque fuit author Problematum harmoniæ chronologicæ in Genesim[m], affirmat esse "omnium promissionum tribus patriarchis factarum complementum: et quicquid priores omnes sigillatim, id hanc simul uno complexu conjunctim comprehendisse." Cui aliud nihil opponere hic fuerit opus, quam quod ab ipso Nicolao Abramo postea habetur objectum. Loquitur[n] enim apostolus, ut ille bene observat, non de qualibet promissione, sed de promissione quæ in omnes gentes redundarit: "ut in Gentibus benedictio Abrahæ fieret in Christo Jesu; ut pollicitationem Spiritus accipiamus per fidem[o]." quum in pollicitationibus Jacobo in Ægyptum cum tota familia migranti factis, ne verbum quidem appareat, quod secundum literam videri possit ad vocationem et benedictionem omnium gentium pertinere.

Recte igitur omnino statuit Dionysius Petavius; "Paulum[p] manifeste de prima illa ἐπαγγελίᾳ loqui, quæ anno Abraami 75. facta est: quæ et apud patres, et chronologos celeberrima est; uti ex Eusebii chronico liquet, qui ab ea sæpius titulum ducit annorum." Cujus sententiam ita hic oppugnat Nicolaus[q] noster, ut falsa nixus hypothesi, in ipsum apostolum cudat hanc fabam; quem, argumenti sui vim, in longinquitate temporis inter confirmatum a Deo testamentum legemque latam intercepti ponentem, "loqui debuisse ait, non de prima illa promissione, sed de postrema et novissima, conditione sive confirmatione testamenti. Alioquin," inquit, "parum solide et sophistice procederet, pessime ratiocinaretur, et ne secundum hominem quidem, id est, humano more, loqueretur. Testa-

[l] Genes. cap. 46. ver. 4.
[m] Dissert. 4. num. 21. et 25.
[n] Abram. num. 7. cap. 26.
[o] Galat. cap. 3. ver. 14.
[p] Petav. de doctr. temp. lib. 9. cap. 24.
[q] Abram. num. 7. cap. 16.

mentum enim ab ea testatoria voluntate vim habet, quæ postrema innotuit, unde et suprema voluntas dicitur: et quidem inter homines, ut notat apostolus, ad Hebræos cap. IX. ver. 16. testamentum in mortuis confirmatum est; alioquin non valet dum vixit qui relatus est." Quasi vero διαθήκης vocabulum, quod a vulgato Latino interprete testamentum reddi solet, supremam testatoris voluntatem semper denotaret; et non frequentiori usu ברית Hebraico responderet, quod Septuaginta, quorum loquendi genere uti solent apostoli, διαθήκην, Aquila vero et Symmachus συνθήκην, id est, pactum, interpretati sunt. Et in loco quidem ad Hebræos, ubi de Christo, sua morte novum fœdus nobis sanciente, agitur, restrictior illa vocis significatio locum habet: sed generalior illa altera in præsenti ad Galatas loco, ubi de Dei Patris promissione agitur, in quo primæ et supremæ voluntatis nullum admitti potest discrimen. Per διαθήκην igitur προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, nihil aliud intellexit apostolus, quam pactum illud gratuitum quod cum Abrahamo Deus primum iniit, atque ineundo sancivit, ratumque et authenticum effecit; subsequentibus ejusdem repetitionibus nihil amplioris authoritatis primævæ promissioni adjicientibus.

Sed objicit rursum Nicolaus, apostolum "aperte testamenti confirmationem ab illa prima promissione discriminare: nam si idem est confirmatum testamentum quod promissio, ridicula erit," inquit ille, "inepta, et putide redundans oratio. Quis enim nisi plane balbutiens ita loqueretur? Lex non irritum facit testamentum confirmatum a Deo, ad irritandum testamentum a Deo confirmatum; vel, Lex non evacuat promissionem, ad evacuandam promissionem." Et istas sane Nicolai locutiones, eadem iisdem verbis plusquam putide iterantes, plane nugatorias esse facile concedimus: cum in eo quo utitur apostolus loquendi modo, posterius membrum prioris explicationem contineat; et simplicem Dei promissionem, pro pactione satis in se authentica habendam esse, non edoceat.

Loco Exodi, cujus genuinam explicationem hactenus tutati sumus, affinis est prædiçtio illa Abrahamo a Deo

facta: "Scito[o] prænoscens quod peregrinum futurum sit semen tuum in terra non sua, et subjicient eos servituti et affligent eos quadringentis annis." Ubi per "terram non suam" Genebrardus Ægyptum intelligit, in qua Abrahami posteros peregrinatos fuisse per annos 430. existimat; rotunda 470. annorum summa, fractis numeris prætermissis, hic expressos. Sensit idem et Stapletonus: de quo, in commentariis ad dictum Actorum locum, Johannes Lorinus: "Gravius hallucinatur quam cæteri Stapletonus, in Antidotis ad hunc locum Actuum, volens totos quadringentos annos consumptos esse in Ægyptiaca habitatione, atque etiam afflictione. Non fuit opus valentibus antidoto, aut si quo modo hac in re male hæretici valerent, non laborarent morbo hæresis: cum citra fidei periculum hujusmodi res varie a Catholicis discutiantur." Alphonsus Cumiranus[p], ab eodem Lorino ibidem productus, adhuc ineptius, annos quidem 430. a promissione Abrahamo facta accepit, 400. vero ab ingressu Jacobi in Ægyptum; quem tamen 115. annis ipsa morte Abrahami posteriorem fuisse constat. Author Problematum harmoniæ chronologicæ, in dissertatione illa quarta, numero tertio, Israelitarum commorationi in terra Ægypti annos 430. cum Genebrardo et Stapletono tribuens, 400. durissimæ servitutis et afflictionis eorum annos a morte Levi[q] inchoat, et ad tempus quo deletis septem gentibus plenarie terram Chananis hæreditate illi possederunt, extendit.

Sed longe major et sanior chronologorum pars, per "terram non suam" tum Chananæam tum Ægyptum hic designari asserit: et 400. hosce annos a primis Isaaci annis incipit, in quo benedictum Abrahami semen vocari cœptum est[r]; ita ut intra illud spatium totius etiam peregrinationis, non servitutis tantum et afflictionis, quæ in extremis illius annis contigit, tempus complectatur. In his enim verbis, ut tum ab aliis, tum a Pererio est observatum, tria "continentur[s], quorum unum est peregrinatio se-

[o] Genes. cap. 15. ver. 13. Act. cap. 7. ver. 6.

[p] Cumiran. tom. 1. conciliat. 22.

[q] Exod. cap. 6. ver. 16.

[r] Genes. cap. 21. ver. 12. Rom. cap. 9. ver. 7. Hebr. cap. 11. ver. 20.

[s] Perer. in Exod. cap. 1. disput. 6. num. 29.

minis Abrahæ in terra non sua, alterum servitus, tertium afflictio. Tempus itaque illorum 400. annorum non competit in quodlibet illorum trium disjuncte ac separatim, sed in tria illa conjuncte; quod illa tria eventura essent et complenda intra spatium 400. annorum. Ergo sensus illorum verborum Domini ad Abraham, hic est. Semen tuum, priusquam veniat ad possidendum terram Chanaam, tibi et illi promissam, transiget 400. annos: in quo temporis spatio, et peregrinabitur in terra aliena, et aliquamdiu etiam dura servitute affligetur."

Quod[t] vero hic Abrami semen peregrinaturum fuisse dicitur "בארץ לא להם in terra non sibi," vel sua, ut in editione vulgata Latina rectissime est expressum, id de "terra non ipsis debita, non promissa, non destinata," accipi vult Nicolaus Abramus; ne Chananæa sub ea comprehendi posse putetur, quum simplicissimo ac maxime germano sensu in vulgata Græca Mosis versione, "In terra non propria; ἐν γῇ οὐκ ἰδίᾳ," in novo Testamento "ἐν[u] γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ in terra aliena," illud habeatur expositum. Ubi in primis observandum recte notavit Eustathius: "ὅτι[w] οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλ' ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πάροικον ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, quod non dixerit in Ægypto, sed in terra aliena peregrinum erit semen Abrahæ: Ἀλλοτρία δὲ ὑπῆρχε καὶ ἡ Χαναναία γῆ, ἣν παρῴκησεν ὁ Ισαὰκ σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. Aliena autem fuit terra Chanaan; quam incolebat Isaac semen Abrahæ."

At Nicolaus contra hic objicit: "Cum Deus posteris Abrahami terram Chanaan promisisset, jamque illi, si nondum jus in re, ut loquuntur, saltem jus ad rem suo tempore possidendam haberent; terram Chanaan magis eorum dici potuisse, quam non eorum;" verbisque illis Dei ad Jacobum, "Revertere[x] in terram patrum tuorum," rem totam confectam putat: conclusione hac inde deducta chronologis insultans: "Igitur Dei judicio terra Chanaan Abrahæ et seminis ejus fuit; chronologo-

[t] Perer. in Exod. cap. 12. [u] Act. cap. 7. ver. 6.
[w] V. Œconomen. in Act. cap. 7. ver. 6. et Caten. Græc. in Genes. cap. 15.
[x] Gen. cap. 31. ver. 3.

rum interpretatione non fuit." Verum mentem suam satis explicavit idem ipse Deus quum patribus illis daturum se dixit "terram[x] Chanaanis, terram peregrinationum ipsorum, in qua peregrinabantur." Quomodo et Isaac filio Jacobo optavit, "Ut[y] hæreditario jure possideret terram peregrinationum suarum quam Deus dedit Abrahamo." Similiterque de Jacobo et Esauo legimus, quum utrumque, ob armentorum multitudinem, terra peregrinationum ipsorum capere non posset, Esauum quidem, sive Edomum, cum tota sua familia in monte Seir habitavisse, quæ regio deinceps terra possessionis Edomæorum fuerit habita; Jacobum vero habitavisse "in[z] terra peregrinationis patris sui, in terra Chanaan;" quæ in Chananæorum respectu possessionis et *κτήσεος*, ita et Jacobi[a] et reliquorum Hebræorum terra fuit[b], respectu incolatus et *παροικήσεως*. Quamobrem et apostolus in Hebr. cap. XI. ver. 8. scribens. "*Πίστει καλούμενος Ἀβραὰμ ὑπήκουσεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἤμελλε λαβεῖν εἰς κληρονομίαν.* Per fidem vocatus Abraham auscultavit, ut exiret ad locum illum quem accepturus erat in hæreditatem:" cum illo tamen "jure ad rem suo tempore possidendam," consistere potuisse præsentem "peregrinationem in terra aliena," statim ostendit; in versu proxime sequente de eodem subjiciens: "*πίστει παρῴκησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν ἐν σκηναῖς κατοικήσας μετὰ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ τῶν συγκληρονόμων ἐπαγγελίας τῆς αὐτῆς.* Per fidem peregrinatus est in terra promissionis ut aliena, in tabernaculis habitans cum Isaac et Jacob cohæredibus ejusdem promissionis." Ut dubitare nemini jam liceat, Isaac, et ejus posteris in Chananæa commorantibus, divini illa verba oraculi Abrahamo facti, convenire posse: "*ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ παροικὸν ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ.* Quod semen illius peregrinum futurum esset in terra aliena."

Sed et hoc præterea a Nicolao objicitur: "De illa terra loquitur duntaxat Deus, de qua post servitutem egressi

[x] Exod. cap. 6. ver. 4.
[y] Gen. cap. 28. ver. 4.
[z] Gen. cap. 36. ver. 7, 8. 43. et cap. 37. ver. 1.
[a] Genes. cap. 30. ver. 25.
[b] Ibid. cap. 40. ver. 15.

sunt cum magna substantia." Nos vero ut ex Ægypto, non e Chananæa, ita eos fuisse egressos, facile concedimus: ita quod pro confesso hic ab eo sumitur, de illa terra duntaxat loqui Deum, unde illi ita sunt egressi, plane pernegamus. Quod in Chananæam deinde illi tendebant, ex illis oraculi verbis probat: "Generatione autem quarta revertentur HUC:" concluditque, "ut egressum ab ingressu, profectionem a reditu, sic Ægyptum (non eorum terram) a Chananæa (eorum terra) distingui." Atqui status peregrinationis seminis Abrahæ hic prædictus, a statu servitutis et afflictionis distinguendus primum fuerat, et prior ad Chananæam æque ac Ægyptum, posterior ad solam Ægypti terram referendus. Licet enim in posteriore hoc statu, "Egressum ab ingressu, profectionem a reditu, Ægyptum a Chananæa," distinguendam esse libenter agnoscamus: nihil tamen id obstat quo minus in priore, seminis "peregrinationi in terra non sua" Chananæam et Ægyptum conjunctim assignare valeamus.

Ad Achjoris denique Ammonitæ verba, de Hebræis in Ægypto per annos 400. tantopere multiplicatis, quæ ex libri Judithæ capite V. ver. 9. tam multis ab eo[c] urgentur, breviter respondemus: in Græco non haberi, et a Chaldaico editore, ex loco Genes. cap. XV. minus attente considerato, fuisse adjecta; eodem modo quo a Josepho[d], iidem 400. annorum spatio vexati fuisse dicuntur, quos tamen in proxime insequente capitulo 215. tantum annorum moram ibi fecisse, idem ipse comperit. Vide apud Torniellum plura, ad annum mundi 2329. num. 17.

Et hactenus quidem Nicolaus pro Genebrardo suo strenue depugnavit: sed tandem illum deserens[e], ad Thaddæi Duni castra transit, qui 400. annorum initium non a descensu Jacobi, sed a venditione et abductione Josephi in Ægyptorum, deducit: quo tempore promissionem illam Genes. cap. XXXV. ver. 11. 12. uterque

[c] Nicola. in Gen. cap. 20.

[d] Libro secundo Antiqu. cap. 5.

[e] Nicola. in Gen. cap. 24. et 3. sequent. Deinde peregrinat. filior. Isr. in Ægypto, grad. 21.

Jacobo factam fuisse affirmat; et consummatam fuisse promissionis confirmationem, a Paulo commemoratam existimat: "Ego sum Deus omnipotens: Cresce et multiplicare. Gens et cœtus gentium erit ex te: et reges e lumbis tuis egredientur. Et terram quam dedi Abrahamo et Isaaco, tibi dabo eam: et semini tuo post te dabo terram hanc." Verum hanc promissionem ante nativitatem Benjaminis dictam fuisse constat: quam ipsam aliquot annis venditione Josephi fuisse priorem, in capite decimo postea videbimus. Et si eo quo illi volunt tempore dicta ei fuisset; ad locum tamen apostoli nihil omnino facerent, quæ de promissione, non Jacobo, sed Abrahamo edita, locutum fuisse constat. Tichonius Donatista, in regula quinta, annorum illorum 430. exordium a regno, ut ille appellat, sive proregia dignitate Josephi arcessit: cujus annis 80. exactis, servitutem et afflictionem Israelitarum cœpisse putat, et per 350. annos duravisse; quos Deus[e] synecdochice 400. dixerit. Sed quia tam hæc quam Thaddæi Duni opinio, iisdem quibus illa Genebrardi refellitur argumentis; ulteriore utriusque examine lectorem fatigare noluimus.

[e] Genes. cap. 15. ver. 13.

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